

A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Bologna

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A Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Bologna

Edited by

Sarah Rubin Blanshei



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Sarah Rubin Blanshei

Atlanta, GA, August 23, 2017

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Introduction: History and Historiography of Bologna

Sarah Rubin Blanshei

The city of Bologna, located just north of the Apennines in the Po Valley, was a strategic and cultural crossroads in the Italian peninsula for centuries following the birth of the medieval *comune* in 1116. To today's tourist, however, it is often merely a brief stop on the *Freccia Rossa* high speed train from Florence to Venice or Milan, or perhaps a few hours' pause in the Piazza Maggiore on a bus tour, but in the 12th and 13th centuries Bologna was one of Italy's largest cities, with its university, the oldest in Europe, attracting thousands of students and sustaining its prosperous and expanding economy, despite its lack of a maritime or river outlet. But unlike other Italian cities of comparable rank – Venice, Milan, Naples, Florence – Bologna did not in the following centuries become the capital city of a regional state. In 1278 the city passed from imperial to papal hegemony and after more than a century of extreme political volatility, external and internal, with alternating periods of papal and Visconti domination, achieved in the concordat (*capitoli*) of 1447 with Pope Nicholas V recognition of its particular status as a city with a “*governo misto*,” a diarchy in which civic magistrates shared governmental authority with a papal legate under papal sovereignty. This political and institutional arrangement – subordination yet autonomy – became Bologna's defining profile. Nicholas Terpstra, in his introduction to a special issue of *Renaissance Studies* dedicated to Bologna, declared that the aim of that collection was “to demonstrate how cities with a proud history and healthy economy negotiated and accommodated their own subordination.”¹ In this volume, we embrace that goal but also have a larger and daunting purpose: to show the distinctive and multifaceted character of Bologna's medieval and Renaissance greatness as well as its weaknesses and limitations, and to explicate the transformations Bologna underwent as it developed from a medieval commune famous for its university to a major “industrial” city and cultural crossroads of the Renaissance. In doing so, in accordance with Brill's editorial goals for this series, we seek to introduce the reader to the major themes, issues, and controversies of Bologna's history and historiography for that period. Many of the essays contain the current and

¹ Terpstra, “Civic self-fashioning,” esp. pp. 389–90.

hitherto unpublished research of their authors as well as a distillation of scholarship made available for the first time in English.

Bologna's reputation has gyrated over the centuries. In the late Middle Ages it was renowned as *la dotta* – as a center of learning – and also as *la grassa* for its prosperity and abundance.² In the Quattrocento Giovanni II Bentivoglio strove to establish a court and palazzo of magnificence that successfully impressed ambassadors and foreign dignitaries.³ In 15th and 16th century Italy, Bologna's *studium* continued to flourish and may have been the only university never to close its doors during those "difficult times."⁴ In the late 16th and early 17th century it was at the forefront of artistic innovation, with the work of the Carracci laying the foundations for Baroque art.⁵

As Rosemary (Roey) Sweet has shown, in the 18th century Bologna did not attract British travelers to the extent that Florence, Rome, Venice, and Naples did, but its reputation for learning and artistic excellence meant that visitors did linger for a few days (in contrast to the merely overnight stop that other Po Valley cities merited), in order to study the art in churches and in private palazzi and the collections in the university's museums. But it was Baroque art, not the city itself, that was highly esteemed, although visitors did recognize and record their impressions of the city's prosperity in comparison with the decay and decline they found elsewhere. No particular building captured their imagination, and perhaps because of this, the porticoes, especially the extraordinary arcade that led up the hillside to the Sanctuary of the Madonna of San Luca, comprised the architectural feature most frequently described by visitors. By the early 19th century and in the following decades of the Risorgimento, medieval Bologna gained recognition for its history of republicanism and "*libertas*," but later in the century interest in Bologna flagged as taste in art shifted to that of the early and high Renaissance and away from the Baroque in which Bologna had been a preeminent center.⁶ Architectural restorations of the late 19th and early 20th century focused on Bologna as a medieval and Baroque city, with the artistic and architectural achievements of the Trecento and Quattrocento largely ignored.⁷ As Richard Tuttle has noted, the great

2 See the essay by Antonella Campanini in this volume.

3 Clarke, "Magnificence and the city."

4 Grendler, "The University of Bologna."

5 See the essay by David J. Drogin in this volume; also Idem, "Art, Patronage and Civic Identities," p. 246 for Jacob Burckhardt's low opinion of Bologna.

6 Sweet, "Beauty and convenience." For the great appeal of Florence, Rome, Naples, and Venice, see Eadem, *Cities and the Grand Tour*.

7 Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*, pp. 265 and 341, fn. 30. On the selective restorations of the Piazza Maggiore directed by Alfonso Rubbiani, see Bertelli and Mazzei, *Alfonso Rubbiani*.

monuments of the city center – the Palazzo del Podestà, Palazzo Re Enzo, and Palazzo Comunale – inspired by Risorgimento enthusiasm for communal independence – underwent extensive restoration in the late 19th century, but this activity did not extend to the papal city of Cinquecento Bologna. Indeed, eventually this neglect developed into a startling disdain. As recently as 2005, the *Cadogan Guide to Bologna and Emilia-Romagna* described Bologna in the harshest terms: “Bologna, for all its attractive porticoes, is unquestionably the most architecturally deprived great city of Italy.”⁸

These shifts in Bologna’s reputation are paralleled and rooted in the history and historiography of the city itself. The city’s medieval chronicle tradition developed more slowly than it did elsewhere: the earliest Bolognese chronicle, the *Chronicon Bononiense* (1162-1299) is essentially a listing of officials – *consoli*, *podestà*, and *capitani del popolo*.⁹ Bologna did not produce works in the civic *laudes* tradition (as did Milan and many other cities), nor have official chroniclers like Genoa, nor annals produced by communal officials as at Venice, nor writers such as those in the medieval humanist-rhetorical tradition at Padua.¹⁰ Antonio Ivan Pini noted that the city’s “rather late” development of civic sentiment did not occur until the end of the 12th century and then not in the form of a *laus civitatis* but in a hagiographical work – the Latin *Vita* of Saint Petronius which he deemed to have been somewhat “out of season.” Pini proposed that the delay should be attributed to the relationship between the *comune* and the *studium* and to the reciprocal diffidence and even at times hostility that existed between the two entities, the former local and particularistic in its culture, the latter of universalist inspiration, a contrast that paralyzed the literary expression of communal values. Civic pride did not fully emerge until the mid-Duecento with the capture of King Enzo, son of Frederick II, after the Battle of Fossalta in 1249 and enshrinement of that event in the anonymous *Sirventese dei Geremei e dei Lambertazzi*.¹¹ Moreover, Bologna’s major intellectual contributions during the Renaissance were not in historiography – it did not produce a Machiavelli, Guicciardini, or a Pietro Bembo – but rather made its mark in textual commentary: in the continuation of its renowned

8 Tuttle, “An American in Bologna.” Tuttle’s scholarship of the past 40 years has amply demonstrated the absurdity of that opinion. Idem, *Piazza Maggiore*; Idem, *The Neptune Fountain in Bologna*, published after the premature death of the author.

9 A fundamental work on Bolognese medieval historiography is Fasoli, “La storia delle storie di Bologna.”

10 Hyde, “Medieval Descriptions of Cities”; Idem, “Italian Social Chronicles in the Middle Ages”; Dale, Lewin and Osheim, *Chronicling History*; and the essay by Gabriella Zarri in this volume.

11 Pini, “Origine e testimonianze.”

school of jurisprudence, in the philological analysis of Latin and early Italian literature, and in scientific studies, in what Gian Mario Anselmi describes as Bologna's distinctive "academic humanism."¹² The chronicle tradition itself faltered in mid-Quattrocento. On the one hand, the *bolognesi* could find much in their history to support their pride in *libertas* (a word emblazoned on its civic emblem since 1376), its *studium*, its rebellion against Henry V and destruction of the *rocca imperiale* in 1115, its resistance to Frederick Barbarossa (1167-83), its hegemony over the Romagna in the Duecento, the Battle of Fossalta and capture and lengthy imprisonment of King Enzo, and its liberation of the serfs in 1256-57.

But the other side of the coin presented a stumbling block to establishing a laudatory historiographical identity – prominent in Bologna's late medieval history were also the recognition of papal sovereignty in 1278, the intermittent but frequent rebellions against and subjections to foreign *signori* (papal and Visconti), and the civic conflicts that marked the Trecento and continued until the concord achieved with Nicholas V in 1447. Indeed, if the latter had been applied effectively and consistently, Bolognese *libertas* would have ended in the mid-Quattrocento. Nor were the Bentivoglio *signori* of the second half of the Quattrocento eager patrons of Bolognese history: on the one hand they had no objections to accounts of the fall of the Pepoli or Visconti *signori*, but on the other hand they had no desire to hear of the tragic fate of their ancestors – Giovanni I (murdered in 1402), Antongaleazzo (murdered in 1435), and Annibale Bentivoglio (murdered in 1445), all failing in their efforts to establish control over the city. There were exceptions: the Dominican friar Girolamo Borselli (1432-97) developed a more critical stance, anticipating the later work of Carlo Sigonio, discussed below. Niccolò Burzio, who taught music at the *studium* and wrote one of the earliest treatises on music, also wrote a *Bononia illustrata* (1494) as a "guide" to visitors of Bologna presented by the figure of the city herself who explains the city's origins, introduces the great men of her city (including contemporaries) and recounts the history of medieval conflicts up to the coming to power of the Bentivoglio, concluding with an encomium to Giovanni II.¹³ Especially notable were the humanists Benedetto Morandi (1410-c.1478) and Giovanni Garzoni (1419-1505). The latter wrote a series of historical monographs that he collected into a narrative c.1494. Many of these authors had a great interest in Bologna's mythical origins, converging with the antiquarian currents and archaeological finds of their times. Garzoni, however, expanded his work to the era of Giovanni II Bentivoglio and revolved his

12 See the essay by Gian Mario Anselmi and Stefano Scioli in this volume.

13 Ballistreri, "Nicolò Burzio."

account around Bologna's struggle with the papacy, granting not just the Bentivoglio but the *populus Bononiensis* a key role in the fight for *libertas*.¹⁴ In Garzoni, professor in the faculty of medicine and arts in the *studium*, we find full-fledged the tradition of interpreting *libertas* – the struggle to gain it, its loss, and the continuous fight to salvage and safeguard it as much as possible against the popes, specifically connected to civic conflict, forming the *fil rouge* of Bologna's medieval and Renaissance history. But the work, dedicated to the Bentivoglio, was not published, even though they had at their disposal their own printing workshop.

It was only after Pope Julius II achieved direct control of Bologna that the city sought to find a scholar to write a “monumental” version of its history. Gina Fasoli underlined the irony of the city having made such an effort only after it definitively lost its autonomy, almost as if having such a history would have had the force to resist increasing papal pressure and defend what remained of *libertas*. Perhaps not coincidentally the Senate was careful to renew use of the motto *libertas* on the civic standard, a tradition that had been set in 1376 with the expulsion of the papal legate and restoration of communal government in the regime of the guilds and *lo stato popolare di libertà*.¹⁵

But in contrast to Venice, with its rich series of official historians, the appointments of the Bolognese Senate in search of works that would enhance civic identity were disappointing.¹⁶ The first to attempt such a history was Achille Bocchi (1488-1562), who presented the initial installment of his history to the Senate in 1517. Like Garzoni and his predecessors, he started with the flood and the ancient history of *Felsina* (the pre-Roman name of the city) and depended upon fantasy to fill the gaps in classical histories and the lack of medieval chronicles. But the Senate was pleased with his narrative and increased his stipend so that he would bring the work to the present day. Bocchi proceeded very slowly, however, only 30 years later reaching 1263, and the work remained unpublished. His friend Leandro Alberti (1479-1552), renowned for his *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (a geographical/historical survey of every Italian locality that was used initially by Ortelus in his atlas of the 1570s), took up the task of writing Bologna's history, but he succeeded in

14 Garzoni, *Historiae Bononiensis*; Mantovani, “History as civic vocation.” On Benedetto Morandi and Giovanni Garzoni, see De Maria and Ramboldi, “*Vetera rerum exempla*”; Trinkhaus, “A Bolognese Polemic.” For more on the Bolognese chroniclers and a brief survey of critical editions, see the essay by Armando Antonelli and Vincenzo Cassì in this volume.

15 Cencetti, “Lo stemma di Bologna”; Terpstra, “Civic self-fashioning,” p. 391.

16 Dursteller, “Introduction. A Brief Survey.”

reaching only 1273. His work was then continued by Lucio Caccianimici in 1589, who carried the work to 1274.¹⁷ The next scholar to attempt to write the history of Bologna was the erudite Modenese scholar Carlo Sigonio who had studied at the University of Bologna. He became a professor there in 1563 and in 1568 the Senate appointed him to write the city's history. Sigonio marks the passing from fantasy to archival sources in Bolognese historiography, but his critical approach to his sources ultimately precluded the success of his project. Attempting to write an official history of Bologna in the 16th and 17th centuries meant coping with the concerns of the Senate and powerful senatorial families to avoid negative readings of their past. In addition historians had to gain the approval of the papacy, despite the conflicting values of the Senate and papacy. The papacy was concerned that Sigonio was not supportive of the authenticity of the Donation of Constantine and hesitated to issue its approval of his work. The Senate for its part appointed four of its members to a commission (*Assunteria d'Istituto*) to review Sigonio's text and after two years they still had not completed their charge, but the work, which extended only to 1257, was finally published in 1578. A new redaction, which brought the work to 1280, however, languished for years under the review of papal *revisori* and was never published.¹⁸

Finally, in the Augustinian friar Cherubino Ghirardacci, Bologna found its "monumental" historian. Ghirardacci began his work in 1573 and based his writing on extensive research into ecclesiastical, private, and communal archives (the *camera degli atti del comune*). He finished part one in 1588 but faced delays from the senatorial and papal *revisori*. This first volume was finally approved and published only in 1596. In the interval he had completed the second volume, but he died in 1598 and that volume was not published until 1657. The fate of the third volume, which ended in 1508, was even more fraught. Its publication was opposed by the Marchese Guido Bentivoglio who wanted to suppress unflattering episodes of his ancestral history and was able to exert influence upon the papacy to withhold approval of the manuscript. When it was finally published in the Republic of Lucca in 1758, outside the Papal State, the marchese purchased and destroyed all the volumes except one exemplar which he retained in his private library. That copy was finally published again in 1932.¹⁹ Ghirardacci adhered strictly to an annalistic style and made no attempt at cohesion or analysis, but his precise use of historical sources

17 Fasoli, "La storia delle storie di Bologna," pp. 666-67.

18 Fasoli, "La storia delle storie di Bologna," pp. 668-71; Eadem, "Appunti sulla 'Historia Bononiensis'"; Pezzarossa, "La storiografia a Bologna," esp. pp. 223-50.

19 Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*; Fasoli, "La storia delle storie di Bologna," pp. 674-75.

continues to make his work a fundamental and indispensable text for modern historians.²⁰

The productivity of historians of Bologna in the senatorial period (and later) faced another obstacle in the deeply-rooted perception that the “golden age” of Bologna ended with the civic violence that tormented the city from the late 13th century and sporadically erupted and endured for decades (especially during the late 14th and early 15th centuries) until stability was finally achieved in the Cinquecento, but at the price of *libertas*. That very stability, moreover, encouraged the illusion that the mid-Quattrocento saw the beginning of a period of a progressively political and institutional crystallization with total immobilization in place from 1506, with the assumption of direct control of Bologna by Julius II and the expulsion of the Bentivoglio, a control that lasted until the advent of the Napoleonic armies in 1796.²¹ Modern historiography, not surprisingly, until recent decades therefore strongly focused on the medieval period and virtually shunned the later centuries.²² In so doing, historians were adhering to a tradition established in the 16th century by Sigonio who ended his history in 1280, followed by the most prominent of 18th-century Bolognese historians, Ludovico Savioli, who concluded his history in the 13th century. Indeed, facing the fears of the Senate that his work would not reflect well on senatorial families, Savioli had formally assured the *Assunteria d'Istituto* that he would not include the history of the last three centuries.²³ The censorious environment of papal lordship had deepened since the 16th century, and Savioli, following the advice of the cardinal legate and others, did not use the defense of *libertas* as his leitmotiv, but instead organized his work in annalistic style with the university as the fulcrum of the city's history. Gina Fasoli suggested that his choice of title, *Annali*, might have had a subtext – that the title, selected in honor of Tacitus, champion of the liberty of the Roman Senate in the face of absolutism, reflected Savioli's self-image as the defender of the Senate's liberty in the face of papal absolutism, “albeit with great caution.”²⁴ A century later, Alfred Hessel, the most magisterial of modern historians of medieval Bologna, returned explicitly to the theme of *libertas* but also did not

20 Fasoli, “La storia delle storie di Bologna,” pp. 677-78.

21 Colliva, “Bologna dal XIV al XVIII secolo,” esp. p. 13. Colliva famously labeled this period one “senza storia.”

22 Colliva also labeled this period as one of “secoli senza storiografia,” as a period that had evoked scorn from Enlightenment historians and indifference from Risorgimento historians.

23 Fasoli, “Appunti sulla ‘*Historia Bononiensis*,’” p. 708; Eadem, “Sugli ‘Annali bolognesi,’” esp. 735-36.

24 Fasoli, “Sugli ‘Annali bolognesi,’” p. 737.

venture beyond 1280. For him the “*decadenza*” of Bologna began with the unsuccessful war in 1270 with Venice that ended Bolognese territorial expansion and the outbreak of civil war in 1274.²⁵

Converging developments in the late 19th century gave rise to the first generation of modern Bolognese historians: formation of the *Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna* (1860), first under the leadership of Giovanni Gozzadini, then under Giosuè Carducci; establishment of the *Archivio di Stato* (1874) and organization of the Archives’ riches under the direction of Carlo Malagola, whose inventory of its documentation was indispensable for access to its resources; establishment of the *Istituto per la Storia dell’Università* and its two publication series – *Studi e Memorie* and *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis. Documenti per la storia dell’università di Bologna dalle origini fino al secolo xv*; initiation of the Biblioteca Comunale’s journal *L’Archiginnasio*; and the appointment of Pio Carlo Falletti, student of Pasquale Villari, as *professore ordinario* at the University of Bologna (1893). Falletti held that position for 30 years, and although he himself published very little during that period, he mentored an armada of scholars: Niccolò Rodolico, Albano Sorbelli, Vito Vitale, Lino Sighinolfi, Oreste Vancini, Michele Longhi, Filippo De Bosdari, Luigi Carcereri, Alma Gorreta, Lisetta Ciaccio, and Ferruccio Papi. With the exception of Carcereri’s work on the Council of Trent, all of these works addressed events of the late 13th and 14th centuries.²⁶ In almost every case these fundamental works have not been replaced by later historiography and remain essential starting points for today’s researchers. There are a few exceptions – Papi’s work on Romeo Pepoli must now be used with Massimo Giansante’s *Romeo Pepoli*, published in 1991, and Rodolico’s study of Taddeo Pepoli with Guido Antonioli’s monograph, published in 2004.²⁷

This prolonged caesura is symptomatic of a general attenuation in Bolognese historiographical productivity in the mid-20th century, with notable exceptions, of course – the greatest to be found in the outstanding and prolific scholarship of Gina Fasoli.²⁸ In general, however, Bolognese historiography lagged significantly behind that of other major Italian cities in the middle decades of the 20th century: in 1969 Gina Fasoli herself lamented the lack of a modern “monumental” history of Bologna, such as had already been produced for Brescia and which was soon to be followed by histories for Milan, Naples,

25 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, esp. pp. 243–61.

26 Giansante, “Profilo di Pio Carlo Falletti”; Idem, “Ferruccio Papi.”

27 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*; Idem, “Romeo Pepoli”; Antonioli, *Conservator pacis et iustitiae*.

28 For a listing of Fasoli’s works, see Fasoli, *Scritti di storia medievale*, pp. xv–xx. Her publication record extends from 1933–75.

Verona, Venice, and Ferrara.²⁹ In the case of Bologna, as Fasoli noted, the necessary monographic studies (especially the lack of scholarship for the papal period 1506-1859) and editions of primary sources had not yet been produced that would have made such a work possible.³⁰ An important start had been made in editing and publishing the statutes (an edition of the earliest, those from 1245-67 by Luigi Frati in 1869-80; the *Ordinamenti* of the *popolo* of 1282-84, by Augusto Gaudenzi in 1888 and re-edited with the communal statutes of 1288 by Gina Fasoli and Pietro Sella in 1937-39),³¹ but publication of critical editions of the 14th century statutes did not resume until those by Anna Laura Trombetti Budriesi of the 1335 statutes in 2008, the first three books of the 1352-76 statutes by Valeria Braidì in 2002, and the complete statutes of 1376 by Maria Venticelli in 1999.³² The statutes of 1454 were published in part by Philipus Saccus in the 18th century but have yet to receive an integrated modern edition.³³ A major advance was achieved with the inventorying of archival sources and publication of the Bolognese section in the first volume of the *Guida Generale degli Archivi di Stato* in 1981. Specialized inventories also made it possible to utilize documents in the Archivio di Stato that were earlier not available.³⁴ For example, unlike his predecessor (Ferruccio Papi), Massimo Giansante was able to use the reorganized collection of the *estimi* in his study of Romeo Pepoli and Guido Antonioli had the analytical inventory of legislative documents by Bruno Neppi as his guide for his work on Taddeo Pepoli.³⁵

29 Fasoli, "La storia delle storie di Bologna," p. 663; Giansante, "A proposito del secondo volume." Of course much had been produced since publication of Hessel in 1910, and Fasoli included a list of those works in the preface to her translation of Hessel in 1975.

30 Fasoli, "La storia delle storie di Bologna," p. 681. A series of works for a comprehensive history of Bologna had been planned, with publication of Ducati, *Storia di Bologna*; and Sorbelli, *Storia di Bologna*, but the volumes for later periods were not executed.

31 *Statuti del comune di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*; *Gli ordinamenti sacrali e sacratissimi*; *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*.

32 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*; Venticelli, "Metodologie elettroniche"; *Gli Statuti del Comune di Bologna*.

33 *Statuta Civilia et Criminalia*. Sara Cucini has edited the criminal statutes, "Législation statutaire," vol. 2. In addition, several other books have been edited in *tesi di laurea*: Leonardi, "Gli Statuti"; Medici, "Gli Statuti"; Vistoli, "Gli Statuti"; and selected rubrics on various magistracies have been edited by Tommaso Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 333-418.

34 See the essay by Diana Tura in this volume.

35 On the *estimi* see the essay by Rosa Smurra in this volume. Other indispensable inventories gradually became available: Orlandelli, *Gli Uffici economici*; the initial drafting of the *Curie giudiziarie* by William Montorsi, many years later revised and amplified by Lorena

The relatively slow pace of historiographical production changed dramatically beginning in the 1960s and early 1970s with a flow of major studies by Italian scholars not only of medieval but also of Renaissance and early modern Bologna,³⁶ but it was not until 2005-08 that the now indispensable multi-volume *Storia di Bologna* directed by Renato Zangheri filled the lacuna decried decades earlier by Gina Fasoli. Non-Italian scholars also engaged in this historiographical upturn.³⁷ To be sure, a few had made important contributions in earlier years, for example, the above-mentioned work of Alfred Hessel on 12th and 13th century Bologna (1910) and Cecilia Ady's classic study of the Bentivoglio in the Quattrocento (1937), but it was only in the early 1970s that Richard Tuttle began his decades-long research on architecture in various Bolognese archives, marking the beginning of a series of studies by English-language scholars in various fields that increased substantially in the following decades and continues today.³⁸

Rich revisionist work by both Italian and non-Italian scholars on political and institutional subjects led the new wave of historiography in the last quarter of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century. To be sure, autonomy and the vitality and breadth of communal institutions in the 13th century were distinguishing characteristics of Bologna and have continued to be of paramount interest, as meticulously documented in studies by Giorgio Tamba of the communal and *popolo* councils of that era.³⁹ Controversial, however, has been the interpretation as to when local government became more oligarchical and if the traditional motif of commune to *signoria*, marked by the lordship of Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget in 1327, marks a significant transition or the illusion of change.⁴⁰ The issue of autonomy and the meaning of *libertas* is bonded of course to Bologna's relationship to the papacy, especially from the

Scaccabarozzi, in Montorsi and Scaccabarozzi, *La giustizia del capitano del popolo*; Tamba, "I Documenti del Governo"; Plessi, *Le insignia degli anziani*; Salterini, *L'archivio dei Riformatori*.

36 The earliest works by Fasoli's eminent students, Antonio Ivan Pini and Francesca Bocchi, began to appear respectively in the early 1960s and 1970s. It is not possible here to list even a sample of their works and those of other scholars of the period, for which see the essays and bibliographies in Capitani, *Storia di Bologna* 2.

37 Zangheri, *Storia di Bologna*. A single-volume set of essays treating the history of Bologna chronologically was published earlier: Ferri and Roversi, *Storia di Bologna*.

38 Many of these works are referenced in the essays in this volume and cited in the General Bibliography.

39 See the essay in this volume by Giorgio Tamba.

40 See Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*; and the reviews of that monograph by Mineo, "Il popolo come regime"; Perani, "Recensione"; and Giansante, "Ancora magnati e popolani."

mid-15th century and also to the nature of Bologna's ruling classes.⁴¹ Angela De Benedictis's study of the *capitoli* of 1447 and successive accords⁴² and Andrea Gardi's study of Bologna's relations with the papacy⁴³ treat this issue with different emphases. De Benedictis finds a continuing tradition of contractual republicanism in the 16th century whereas Gardi maintains that Pope Sixtus V achieved control over the city's political and juridical institutions. This area of study continues to draw the attention of scholars, for example in the scholarship of Tommaso Duranti. Ian Robertson places Quattrocento political institutions within the framework of the city's relationship with Pope Paul II, and underscores the exploitative nature of the Bolognese oligarchy, painting a picture that sharply contradicts the positive view of Bandino Giacomo Zenobi on the aristocracies of Papal State cities.⁴⁴ The Visconti era of the mid-14th century is beginning to attract scholars – Giulia Lorenzoni combines study of the period's political institutions with analysis of foreign and local officeholders and their relationship in the networks of authority.⁴⁵ The late 14th and early 15th centuries are finally receiving attention as well, with Giorgio Tamba's and Patrick Lantschner's analyses of politics and factions in that period.⁴⁶ Moreover, additional political topics are receiving treatment with new approaches. In her essay in this volume, Angela De Benedictis explores the relationship between political institutions and events and the significance of political rhetoric, postulating that the vibrancy and influence of *popolo* language extended beyond the decline of the institutions that gave rise to it. Giuliano Milani in his essay analyzes late medieval factionalism with a revisionist focus on the relationship between external and internal conflicts, the impact on internal conflicts of Bologna's distinctive social structure and increasing inequality, and the predominance of political over economic causes on the changing fortunes of individuals and organizations.

Another area that has witnessed the bringing of significant new approaches to the sources is that of criminal justice history. The criminal court records of the *podestà* were plumbed by earlier historians to extract sensationalist anecdotes, by Hermann Kantorowicz (1907-26) in a magisterial study to compare Albertus Gandinus's theoretical treatise on criminal procedure to his activities

41 See the essays by Tommaso Duranti and Andrea Gardi in this volume.

42 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*.

43 Gardi, *Lo Stato in Provincia*.

44 Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*.

45 Lorenzoni, *Conquistare e governare la città*. Also see Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376."

46 Tamba, *Il regime*; Lantschner, "The Nourisher of Seditions"; Idem, *The Logic of Political Conflict*.

as a judge, and by Gina Fasoli (1933) to sample the enforcement of criminal justice legislation, but Massimo Vallerani in 1997 began a series of studies that applied a “processual” approach to judicial records, and Trevor Dean and Carol Lansing have used them to explore gender relations.⁴⁷ Giuliano Milani utilized the *Capitano del Popolo* series of judicial disputes concerning the confiscated properties of the defeated Lambertazzi faction and the singularly rich lists of those banned (which contain thousands of names) in an outstanding study of politics that reveals the networks of social relations behind institutional and political changes.⁴⁸ In addition, Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova have collaborated to apply quantitative analysis to large samples of data from the massive records of the *Torrone*, the criminal court established in the early 16th century, to produce a remarkable series of monographs that demonstrate how violence and banditry, for which Bologna was plagued during the late 13th century, extended well into the Renaissance.⁴⁹

In methodology as well as content, one of the most expansive and innovative bodies of scholarship has been that of Francesca Bocchi who has utilized archaeological, statutory, and fiscal sources, over the course of more than 40 years, to excavate the evolution of Bologna’s medieval and Renaissance physical structures – its *storia urbanistica*. In so doing she also provides an overview of Bologna’s political development from the Etruscan city of *Felsina* to Roman *Bononia* and to its role in the Renaissance as the second largest city of the Papal State. Moreover, in model-setting graphical and digital scholarship, she and her colleagues have utilized the *estimi* to portray Bologna in three dimensions and show how those documents can be used to explore the city’s material culture.⁵⁰

Traditional topics such as the university have received significant attention in the upsurge, for example, in major studies by Gian Paolo Brizzi, Christopher Carlsmith, David Lines, and Paul Grendler, and, in the field of ecclesiastical institutions – episcopal and conventual and the prosecution of heresy – for example from Lorenzo Paolini, Riccardo Parmeggiani, Gabriella Zarri, and Sherri Franks Johnson.⁵¹ The range of Bolognese scholarship has also expanded, as elsewhere, to a broader array of social, economic, cultural, intellectual, and

47 See the essay in this volume by Sarah Rubin Blanshei and Sara Cucini.

48 Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*.

49 Angelozzi and Casanova, *La nobiltà disciplinata*; Idem, *La giustizia criminale in una città di antico regime*; Idem, *La giustizia criminale a Bologna*; Idem, *Donne criminali*.

50 See the essays by Francesca Bocchi and Rosa Smurra in this volume.

51 See the essay on the university in this volume by David A. Lines, appropriately the longest essay in this collection, and on religious institutions, the essays by Riccardo Parmeggiani and Gabriella Zarri.

artistic topics. Art historians, Italian and non-Italian, such as Robert Gibbs, Massimo Medica, Vera Fortunati, Adelina Modesti, Babette Bohn, and Caroline Murphy have rescued major aspects of Bolognese art – from the miniatures of the 13th and 14th centuries to late 16th and 17th century female painters – from centuries of obscurity, “discovering” the contemporary prestige of Lavinia Fontana (1552-1614) and Elisabetta Sirani (1638-65) and the particularity of the Bolognese context that nourished their work, such as the impact of Caterina de’ Vigri, the Bolognese saint who herself was an artist, musician, and writer.⁵² In addition to art history, as Angela De Benedictis has noted, *charitas* has become one of the “most developed field[s] of interest [...] in its various civil and social dimensions” in Bolognese historiography.⁵³ Mario Fanti, starting in the late 1970s, has published a path-breaking corpus of work on the confraternities, and the Canadian scholar Nicholas Terpstra has put Bolognese charitable institutions and confraternities at the forefront of that subfield, in a rich series of studies that illuminates the relationship between public and private institutions and the socioeconomic roles of women.⁵⁴ Massimo Giansante has examined the preeminent political and economic roles of bankers and the issue of usury in communal Bologna, and Mauro Carboni, Massimo Fornasari, and Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli have opened up the field of early modern finance and banking, highlighting the special features of Jewish banking and the institution of the *Monte di Pietà*, which was established in 1473, faltered, and then restarted in 1504 and became *de facto* a public bank.⁵⁵ Perhaps the scholarship that has most revised our image of Bologna has been that of Carlo Poni and Alberto Guenzi. They have demonstrated that economically Bologna was far from being “merely” a university town (and certainly not one that declined during the Renaissance), and that technological innovation and supportive governmental policies from the late 12th to the 17th century were key to Bologna’s prosperity and status as an “industrial” city in the Renaissance.⁵⁶

The field of literature has also received extensive treatment in recent decades, especially by Gian Mario Anselmi whose copious body of scholarship has brought recognition to Bologna’s distinctive role in Renaissance humanism.⁵⁷ Armando Antonelli and Vincenzo Cassì have produced a pioneering

52 In addition to the essays by Raffaella Pini and David J. Drogin in this volume see Bohn, *Ludovico Carracci*; Eadem, “Female Self-portraiture”; Eadem, “Patronizing *pittrici*”; Modesti, *Elisabetta Sirani*; Fortunati, *Lavinia Fontana*; Murphy, *Lavinia Fontana. A Painter*.

53 De Benedictis, “Introduction,” esp. pp. x-xi.

54 See the essay by Nicholas Terpstra in this volume.

55 See the essay in this volume by Massimo Giansante.

56 See the essay by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

57 See the essay by Gian Mario Anselmi and Stefano Scioli in this volume.

series of articles in recent years that have opened up the study of medieval Bolognese vernacular linguistics.⁵⁸

These new studies, in every aspect of the city's history, give ample evidence that the traditional portrayal of Bologna's communal golden age and subsequent decline, encapsulated in Petrarch's gloomy assessment of Bologna in the late Trecento, is controversial, and that the dismissal by earlier historians of the later centuries as unworthy of study is without foundation. Bologna, to be sure, underwent severe crises in the 14th century, but Rolando Dondarini and Shona Kelly Wray have opened discussion of the extent and timing of those events. Dondarini emphasizes that there were positive as well as negative developments during that period and Wray challenges the view, exemplified in the work of Antonio Ivan Pini, that Bologna's decline began in the late 13th and early 14th century.⁵⁹ Moreover, unlike other non-capital cities, by the mid-15th century Bologna was again an economically and culturally vibrant city, ranking in population once more in the top tier of Italian cities and indeed was then larger than Florence and was not overtaken by Rome's population until the late 16th century.⁶⁰

However, the new historiography is not without its lacunae and disputes. One of the sharpest controversies lies in periodization, in the dismantling of the traditional view of the transition from "medieval" to "Renaissance" and in challenging whether the latter term should even be applied to an era or rather represents a limited movement, and whether it should be substituted by the concept "early modern," a controversy of course not limited to the history of Bologna. But as Stephen Bowd has noted, "[b]oth 'Renaissance' and 'early modern' contain implicit or explicit teleological assumptions about the transition from the 'medieval' to 'modern' worlds which have a venerable lineage [...] these assumptions have come under attack from different quarters during the last seventy years."⁶¹ Gina Fasoli in her essay in the 1977 *Storia di Bologna* was assigned the period 1115-1506 to treat as "the medieval era." Those dates were selected to mark the traditional boundaries bracketed on the one hand by the destruction of the *rocca imperiale* and the "birth" the following year of the commune with the granting of the diploma of privileges by Henry V, and on

58 See their essay in this volume.

59 Dondarini, "La crisi del XIV secolo." Wray argues against severe economic decline in the first half of the 14th century and also follows Douglas Dowd's view that decline began in the second half of the century. She especially emphasizes the resiliency of the *bolognesi* during the plague of 1348. Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, pp. 59 and 95.

60 On Bologna's demography, see the essay by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

61 Bowd, "General Introduction," esp. pp. 1-2.

the other hand by the expulsion of the Bentivoglio by Julius II in 1506.⁶² When Julian Deahl first approached me to consider a volume on Bologna for Brill's *Companion* series, he suggested 1506 as the terminus point. But historians today reject the concept that the assumption of direct control by the papacy marks closure of a period in Bolognese history. Indeed the chronological boundaries of this volume testify to the now dominant perception of continuity extending deep into the 16th century. The concluding date for each essay (except in the case of essays dealing only with an earlier period, e.g., those by Giorgio Tamba, Giuliano Milani, and Raffaella Pini) depends on the topic discussed in that essay. In general most of the essays see the late 16th century in Bologna as marking a point of culmination without the crisis and downward spiral that affected many other cities.⁶³ Bolognese art and humanistic culture reached a period of tremendous influence on the European-wide stage; Bolognese silk manufacturing and exports became dominant and remained so throughout the next century. And yet there are diverse points of continuity and discontinuity. Andrea Gardi finds the process in which the elite classes of Bologna melded into a legally defined aristocracy of political privilege reached its conclusion in 1590 but Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova have found that the papacy did not gain control – *disciplina* – over that aristocracy until the end of the 17th century.⁶⁴ The chronological boundaries of this volume, from the 13th to the late 16th century, have been chosen in order to bring particular attention to these issues of change and continuity in Bologna's history and to show how the expanding range of historiography to themes beyond the political/institutional have affected concepts of periodization, bringing, for example, the theme of aristocratization, in art and architecture, social structure, material culture and class identity, the "*nobilitazione*" of charitable and confraternal institutions, and the university itself, to share a leading role with the traditional one of *libertas*. But this focus and especially the constraints of space have meant that certain themes and studies at both ends of the chronological boundaries of this volume have been omitted, for example, on the one hand the work of Tiziana Lazzari on the nobility, Francesca Roversi Monaco on Matilda of Tuscany and her "juridical" circle, Carlo Dolcini on the Four Doctors of Bologna, and Rossella Rinaldi's and Augusto Vasina's scholarship on the

62 Fasoli, "Bologna nell'età medievale."

63 However, Colin Rose in a major recent study maintains that Bologna was adversely affected by the Great Plague of 1630 as evidenced by the unsuccessful efforts of the city's criminal court to "effectively police interpersonal violence" and sees that failure as "indicative of a developing state whose institutions and social structures were failing." Rose, "Homicide in North Italy," p. III.

64 Angelozzi and Casanova, *La nobiltà disciplinata*.

“extra-urban” Bologna of the pre-and early communal eras.⁶⁵ On the other hand, also missing from this volume *per forza* is consideration of the rich scholarship on 17th and early 18th century Bologna which would merit a volume in itself.⁶⁶

Other areas of current scholarship in medieval and Renaissance studies, moreover, are at early stages of development in the Bolognese context and this variety of research interests and achievements (and the availability of potential contributors) has also influenced the inclusivity of topics in this volume. Although there is cogent material on women and gender relations in the essays by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco, Sarah Rubin Blanshei and Sara Cucini, Antonella Campanini, Guy Geltner, and Nicholas Terpstra, I was not able to include an essay dedicated to gender and/or marriage and the family.⁶⁷ As noted in the essay on archival sources by Diana Tura, Bologna has rich material for the study of elite families, but those records remain relatively unexplored. The *Libri Memoriali* (official registrations of private contracts) offer a unique opportunity to investigate business and family ties, which, as Raffaella Pini shows in her essay in this volume, were closely connected in the artisanal world of painters and miniaturists.⁶⁸ Adelina Modesti similarly describes the close bonds between artists and household in the Sirani family of the 17th century.⁶⁹

Gender studies occasionally overlap with another topic prominent in today’s historiography – material culture,⁷⁰ and 16th and 17th century Bologna,

65 For an introduction to these topics, see the essays in Capitani, *Storia di Bologna* 2 and for the relationship between politics and law in the later period, see De Benedictis, “Amore per la patria.”

66 In addition to the art historians mentioned earlier, I can only refer here to a few of the many scholars for this period, such as Jennifer Mara DeSilva, Mauro Carboni, Bernardino Farolfi, Massimo Fornasari, Paula Findlen, Matthew Thomas Sneider, Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, Charles Dempsey, and Elizabeth Cropper.

67 See Trevor Dean, “Fathers and daughters”; Ferrante, “Il matrimonio disciplinato”; Carboni, “The Economics of Marriage.”

68 The study by Brian Carniello of family and business relations, established through contracts in the *Libri Memoriali*, although incomplete in presentation of some of its data, demonstrates the research potential this resource offers. Carniello, “The Notaries of Bologna.” Shona Kelly Wray at the time of her premature death was investigating the family relations of jurists and role of faculty wives in late medieval Bologna. Wray, “Law Faculty Wives.”

69 Modesti, “A casa con i Sirani.”

70 For example, Campbell, “Prophets, Saints, and Matriarchs.” The Bolognese context is not the focus of that article, but the paintings of Bartolomeo Passerotti (1529-92), a “painter, draughtsman, engraver, and collector in Bologna” are important to its argument.

its antiquarians and collectors, figure prominently in Paula Findlen's classic work on natural history collectors and museums, especially the humanist, philosopher, naturalist, and collector Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605).⁷¹ Archaeologists in recent decades have made significant contributions to our understanding of the productive side of the material culture of ancient and medieval Bologna, especially its pottery and coinage.⁷² Similarly in their essay in this volume Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco include a discussion of the system of silk production and its relationship to its geographical and anthropological environment. The subfield of material culture among historians, however, has become closely tied to the consumption rather than the production side of objects, and to the thesis, as Paula Findlen notes, that a "deliberate cultivation of cultural goods emerged gradually and inconsistently between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries."⁷³ In general, studies on the material culture of medieval and Renaissance Bologna have not focused on paintings and surviving museum objects, but have relied on written documents. Catherine Fletcher analyzes a detailed 1502 inventory of the Casali family's palazzo in the city and its villa in the nearby hills to construct a comparison of patrician urban and country lifestyles.⁷⁴ In this volume Antonella Campanini investigates the regulation of food and clothing, and demonstrates how these objects served to convey status and class identity and how their use changed over the centuries. Guy Geltner in his essay uses the records of the *fango* (dirt) notary to show how the commune sought to regulate the urban material environment to protect public health. Francesca Bocchi has studied in depth, utilizing in particular statutory and notarial documents, the complex infrastructure of sewers, pipes, and aqueducts constructed in the 13th century that made possible the urban growth of Bologna.⁷⁵ Shona Kelly Wray emphasized that wills comprise a valuable source for glimpsing the lives of those

71 Findlen, *Possessing Nature*. The bibliography on material culture is rapidly becoming immense. For the approach that focuses on objects of luxury, see Olson, Reilly and Sheperd, *The Biography of the Object*. For an approach that emphasizes consumption and everyday as well as luxury objects, see O'Malley and Welch, *The Material Renaissance*; for an approach that specifically goes beyond the focus "on the rich and their objects preserved in museums or reflected in paintings" see Cohn, "Renaissance attachment to things." For a critique of the "consumer" interpretation of the Renaissance, see the review essay by Martines, "The Renaissance."

72 For example, Gelichi and Merlo, *Archeologia medievale a Bologna*; Curina, Malnati, Negrelli and Pini, *Alla ricerca di Bologna antica e medievale*.

73 Findlen, "AHR Forum. Possessing the Past," esp. p. 90.

74 Fletcher, "Uno palazo bellissimo."

75 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico."

whose possessions have not survived in museums and paintings.⁷⁶ Antonella Campanini and Rossella Rinaldi and their students have initiated investigations into a variety of documents that yield data on the material aspects of life in Trecento Bologna: accounts of expenses in a monastic inventory, the records of a communal notary listing goods given in surety in court cases, the rich collection of wills held in the monastery of San Francesco, the type of goods the drapers' guild was permitted to sell according to their statutes, the goods upon which duties were levied as they entered the city. Again in this case, the emphasis is on the consumption rather than the production of objects.⁷⁷

Bologna's exceptional historical collections, described in this volume in the essays by Diana Tura, Rosa Smurra, David Lines, and Nicholas Terpstra, have increasingly gained recognition among scholars for the city's value as a laboratory for the study not only of traditional but still fruitful topics in political and institutional history but also the more *au courant* ones of social and cultural history. The increased productivity in the past 40 years of its historiography and its innovative methodologies and approaches is reflected in the broad range of essays in this volume and in the bibliographies attached to each essay. Tourists still may not flock to the city, but scholars to their advantage and satisfaction have discovered the greatness of medieval and Renaissance Bologna.

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⁷⁶ Wray, *Communities and Crisis*.

⁷⁷ Campanini and Rinaldi, *Le cose del quotidiano*. The value of notarial documents for investigating the objects of "daily life" was noted by Frati, *La vita privata di Bologna*, esp. 225-48.

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Archival Sources: Governmental, Judicial, Religious, Familial

Diana Tura

Bologna is one of the most fortunate of Italian cities in the abundance of the surviving documentary sources for its late medieval and Renaissance history. The major depositories include the Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna, with its almost 4 km of shelves and 70 *fondi* of approximately 10,000 archival units containing acts of the Bolognese Church from the Middle Ages to the present day;¹ the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, which holds the library collections of the religious organizations suppressed during the Napoleonic period and to the end of the 19th century, private donations, 10th-century manuscripts, and numerous texts relating to the city;² the Biblioteca Universitaria, with its rich collection of manuscripts, incunabula and *cinquecentine* (books published in the 16th century), including numerous narrative sources;³ the archives of the monastery of San Domenico;⁴ and private family archives, some of which are still held by the families themselves and in other cases in the civic institutes to which they have been donated. Almost all of these institutions have informative web-sites and databases of their holdings that can be consulted online, in addition to the paper-based guides and inventories described in this essay.⁵

1 Fanti, *L'Archivio Generale Arcivescovile*; Idem, "Gli archivi dei religiosi"; Idem, "L'Archivio generale arcivescovile di Bologna."

2 *Inventari dei manoscritti*, vols. 30, 32, 36, 40, 43, 47, 53, 69, 75, edited by Albano Sorbelli; Fanti, "Consistenza e condizioni." On the unpublished chronicles in the Archiginnasio, see Bernhardt, "Ginevra Sforza and the Bentivoglio."

3 *Inventari dei manoscritti*, vols. 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, edited by Albano Sorbelli; Frati, *Indici dei codici latini*.

4 D'Amato, *I Domenicani*.

5 For a detailed description of the archival and printed sources for late medieval Bologna that is of course much more comprehensive than is possible in this essay given the limitations of space, see the excellent work of Giuliano Milani, *Bologna*. A fundamental starting point is the *Guida Generale*, pp. 549-645. Not discussed in this essay are the sources for the study of the *studium*, for which see the essay in this volume by David A. Lines and Milani, *Bologna*, pp. 120-22.

The largest share of Bologna's documentary patrimony is held in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna, an archive remarkable not only for the chronological continuity and completeness of certain of its documentary series, but also for the criterion that in archivistic terms is referred to as "the principle of provenance," that is, the method by which documents have been organized, more or less from the beginning, according to the offices or magistracies that produced them.⁶ The Archivio was established in October 1874 to accommodate the need, particularly as felt in cultural circles of the city, to bring together documentary material that was scattered over a number of places in the city. The most important clusters of documentary deposits from the past were then collected in a new institution, which was located at that time in Palazzo Galvani, home of the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio – these deposits included the *Camera degli atti*, the secret archives of the Senate and the organizations (*assunterie*) connected to it, the archives of the *Corporazioni religiose soppresse*, the great collections of civil and criminal proceedings, and other less extensive but valuable holdings.

The most ancient Bolognese documents in the Archives date back to the 10th and 11th centuries but are exceptional since they were not issued by offices or agencies of government, and therefore are neither legislative, fiscal, nor legal, but rather private acts. For the most part they were held in the ecclesiastical archives of the oldest civic monasteries, then confiscated in the Napoleonic era and are now included in the documentary holdings of the Archivio di Stato.⁷ Up until 1877, the year in which they were deposited in the Archivio di Stato, documents from the monasteries, convents, chapters, and religious societies experienced the same fate as the material goods to which they were witness, that is, they were confiscated by the Napoleonic government and preserved in the *Ufficio del Demanio* (Office of State Property). It is from this experience that the tradition arose of identifying the documentary body of the *Corporazioni religiose soppresse*, consisting of over 9000 units, as the *Demaniale*.

The earliest surviving documents from the Bolognese territory are found in this collection, the oldest of which is a *livellaria* (sharecropping lease) from 922, which belonged to the archive of the Santo Stefano monastery. The archives of the suppressed monasteries predominantly consist of notarial deeds, constituting a rich heritage of valuable documentation for the study of medieval contract writing and paleography. Furthermore, the archives from San Domenico and San Francesco are outstanding for the thousands of wills

6 Zanni Rosiello, "L'Archivio," and Giansante, *Archivio di Stato di Bologna*; Giansante, Tamba and Tura, *Camera actorum*; Tura, "La conservazione."

7 On the archives of Bolognese convents see Giansante, "Conventi e monasteri."

and bequests that have survived, which on the one hand attest to the increase in the monasteries' landed properties, and on the other, constitute an extremely rich documentary source for the socioeconomic history of the city.⁸

Most of the medieval documentation held in the Archivio di Stato and produced by offices of the commune dates back to the 13th century, when unbound folios relating to property rights held, as noted above, by the oldest monasteries, were joined by cartularies, that is, registers into which the loose folios were officially copied, and the original registers compiled during the daily activity of individual offices or magistrates of the commune.⁹ Among this collection a key cluster of documentary series can be identified, the first of which contains most of the sources on which the essays in this volume are based – the documents stemming from the activities of civic government offices from the period of the *comune* and the *signoria*. This cluster is identified in the Archives as the *Comune-Governo* collection and contains the privileges and acts preserved by the city, in loose sheets (and as copied into the *Libri iurium*), statutes, lists of councillors, records of the deliberations of the legislative councils, letters, and other acts of the commune and of the various magistrates that from the 14th century on alternated as leaders of the city's government.¹⁰ Evidence for the period from the origins of the commune – its early institutional developments, foreign policy, and the later territorial expansion of the city – can be found in the series of the *Privilegi* and the *Diritti ed oneri del comune*, especially in the two oldest and most important cartularies of the commune, the *Registro Grosso* and the *Registro Nuovo*, which were created, as in other communal cities, for two fundamental purposes: first to preserve in a single volume documents that proved the legal foundations of the commune, and secondly to construct a monument of communal memory.

The *Registro Grosso*, the oldest surviving Bolognese cartulary, derived its name through custom, not by any official act. It was referred to as the *Registrum Maius* in 1288, as *Grossum* in the inventory of the *Camera degli atti* in 1290, and at times simply as *Registrum comunis* or *Liber contractuum*. It contains 533 sheets of parchment bound between wooden boards with a leather spine; the

8 See Milani, *Bologna*, pp. 93-98 on the contents of the *Demaniale* and for sources from the cathedral chapter of San Pietro and other episcopal documents that are not held in the *Demaniale*. For the mendicant orders and inquisition records, see the essay by Riccardo Parmeggiani in this volume. On wills, see Bertram, "Testamenti medievali bolognesi," and Wray, *Communities and Crisis*.

9 On the archives of Bologna as they existed in the Middle Ages, including earlier bibliography on the subject, see Giansante, Tamba, and Tura, *Camera actorum*, pp. 3-36.

10 Ariotti and Giansante, *Archivio di Stato di Bologna*, pp. 24-25; Tamba, "I documenti del governo."

original core of the volume was compiled by a group of notaries coordinated by Ranieri da Perugia, an expert in calligraphy and renowned as a master of the *ars notariae* who was active in Bologna in the first half of the 13th century. There is no documentary evidence of how and when the decision was made to undertake this project, but from both an intrinsic and extrinsic perspective, one can conclude that it was an official operation. Later additions were integrated into the original nucleus which then led to its continuation in a second volume.¹¹

The first volume of the *Registro Grosso* opens with the famous charter traditionally used to date the birth of the Bolognese commune: the diploma issued by Henry v in 1116, addressed to the Bolognese *concives*, who at that time still lacked any recognized institutional representation, but had already organized themselves as an entity that administered public funds. Within the volume, two sections can be identified: the first, pre-1199, contains the founding deeds of the commune; the second contains acts tied to problems in administration.

The *Registro Nuovo* is the third cartulary of the commune (if the second volume of the *Registro Grosso* is considered a volume in its own right). It is prefaced with a communal resolution, later inserted into the redaction of the communal statutes of 1259, that sanctions it as an official operation for creating a new cartulary, even specifying the modalities for its drafting. The *Registro Nuovo* is a volume of 510 parchment folios, which begins with a copy of Henry v's diploma of 1116 from the first volume of the *Registro Grosso*, followed by four older documents, three of which are forgeries dated 423 – the Theodosian privilege and two documents associated with it and the spurious diploma of Rachis, dated 746 and also copied from the first volume.¹²

Ascribable to the same year, 1257, and inserted into the same archival series, is the *Liber Paradisus*, the official list of the approximately 5800 *servi*, *ancille*, and *uomini di masnada* emancipated by the commune after it acquired them from their respective masters (at a price of 10 *lire* for adults and 8 for minors). It consists of four *Memoriali* written by four notaries, one for each administrative quarter. Three of the *Memoriali* are prefaced by a prologue in which the motivating ideals of the provision are expressed, followed by the list of the liberated serfs, collected in family groups and with the names of their proprietors. The codex is virtually a unique document within Italian historical records and constitutes a source of extraordinary importance for demographic history and for the history of servitude and its related problems. The graphic beauty

11 Trombetti Budriesi and Duranti, *I Libri iurium*, pp. xxii-xxxix.

12 Trombetti Budriesi and Duranti, *I Libri iurium*, pp. xxxix-xlvi.

and the important contents of the *Liber Paradisus* render it a truly significant document, giving Bologna an important role in the history of the promotion and defense of freedom and human rights.¹³

Within the *Comune-Governo* cluster the most outstanding of the legislative documentation consists of the numerous redactions of the civic statutes, collected together in a series of 18 volumes. The norms issued by the *podestà* and the various communal bodies were first codified into a single *corpus* c.1237, but the earliest statutes to survive date only from the mid-13th century. The series includes eight redactions from 1248 to 1454, covering, in practice, the entire period of civic autonomy, attesting to the various stages in the communal and signorial history of the city, from the oldest, an expression of the mid-13th century podestarial commune, to that of 1376, thus encompassing the period of the ascent and maintenance (with interruptions) of the *populares*, and finally to the last redaction of 1454, the year in which, under the *signoria* of Sante Bentivoglio, Bologna lost its legislative autonomy and entered into that particular political regime defined as a *governo misto*. As already established in a concordat of 1447 (the *capitoli* of Nicholas v), governance of the city became a complex equilibrium between local (the Senate) and pontifical authorities (the legate)¹⁴ The statutes, divided into books by subject matter and subdivided into rubrics, are the primary source for the study of the organization and operation of civic offices, civil and criminal tribunals, guilds, notaries, commerce, urban planning, public works, sumptuary ordinances, the election of officials and magistrates – in short, for the norms that regulated all aspects of civic and social life from a perspective far removed from modern concepts of the division between the private and public spheres.¹⁵

Other legislative sources from the communal and signorial periods include the acts of the various civic councils, a remarkable *corpus* that extends almost uninterruptedly from the mid-13th to the mid-16th century. The series of the *Riformagioni del Consiglio del popolo* holds the formal laws issued by the *Consiglio del popolo e della massa*, which held full legislative authority from 1282 until 1327. The measures it issued, sometimes in response to petitions

13 For a new edition and related documents, see Antonelli, *Il Liber Paradisus*, and for bibliography and an anthology of the extensive literature on the subject, see Antonelli and Giansante, *Il Liber Paradisus*.

14 The diarchic structure of government initiated by the *capitoli* has been much explored in recent decades; see Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, p. 58 and his essay in this volume.

15 A relatively complete inventory relating to the statutes can be found in the Bolognese section of Vasina, *Repertorio degli statuti*. The inventory contains indices for all extant collections of the statutes (1248-67; 1288; 1352; 1357; 1376; 1389; 1454), and provides information on their historical context and the contents of the volumes.

submitted to it, were collected in volumes of parchment and registers of paper. In addition, the acts of smaller councils for the same period (such as those of the *anziani e consoli* and the *parte guelfa*) were collected in five parchment volumes of the *Provvisioni dei consigli minori* and also in paper registers.¹⁶ For the period 1327-76 the *provvisioni* from the smaller, restricted councils of signorial regimes (Cardinal legate Bertrand du Pouget, Taddeo Pepoli, the Visconti, and the papal vicars and rectors) are in paper registers in the *Riformagioni e provvisioni serie cartacea* subdivision, together with 51 registers in paper (1379-1400) from acts of the smaller councils of the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* government. From 1376-1400 the acts of the *Consiglio generale*, as well as those of other councils that were written on parchment, are collected in six volumes in the series *Provvisioni in capreto*.

The typology of legislative documentation into *Riformagioni* and *provvisioni* changed with the development of the *balie* of the *Riformatori dello stato di libertà* into a permanent magistracy by the mid-15th century. The acts of that body are collected in two series: the *Libri Partitorum* consisting of the body's deliberations, in 14 registers from 1450-1513, and the *Libri Mandatorum*, containing mandates, license concessions, safe-conducts, and other provisions from the *anziani e consoli* and papal legates, in 24 registers, again from 1450-1513.¹⁷ These new categories were then carried over into the documentary organization of legislative activity of the Senate, the new legislative organ established by Julius II in 1506, together with archival subdivisions for the new administrative bodies of the *assunterie*.¹⁸

As rich as the legislative documentation is, the sources that are chronologically most complete for the history of late medieval and Renaissance Bologna are the judicial records that are predominantly held in the holdings of the *Curia del podestà*, in the *Giudici* and *Ufficio del giudice ai beni dei banditi e ribelli*

16 The *Riformagioni* (both the large volumes and the series on paper in registers) and the *Provvisioni* are inventoried and annotated in Neppi, *Riformagioni e provvisioni*. After 1327, the *provvisioni* from the smaller, restricted councils of the signorial regimes and the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* are in paper registers in the *Riformagioni e provvisioni serie cartacea* collection, also inventoried by Neppi. These documents have been utilized by Giorgio Tamba in a series of indispensable studies for the administrative and political structures of communal and signorial Bologna, for which see his essay in this volume.

17 Legislative documentation for the volatile period of the first half of the 15th century is found in miscellaneous collections of the *Liber novarum provisionum*, the *Liber Fantaccini* and the *Libri dei banditori*. For an inventory of the *Libri Partitorum*, *Libri Mandatorum*, *Anziani Consoli*, and *Liber Fantini*, see Tamba, "I documenti del governo," pp. 54-61.

18 For the Senate and *assunterie* see the essay by Tommaso Duranti in this volume and the series listings in Tamba, *Inventario generale*, pp. 46-56.

series of the *Capitano del popolo*, and in the massive collection of the *Tribunale del Torrione*. The *Curia del podestà*, which in the early, aristocratically-dominated phase of the commune controlled the political, military, and judicial administration of the city, was transformed in the second half of the 13th century into a primarily judicial structure, a role that allowed it to survive later regime changes and function until it was replaced by the *Torrione* in the early 16th century. Its courts produced vast quantities of documentation, much of which has survived and which, in addition to its intrinsic juridical value, also permits reconstruction of the conflicts and tensions of late medieval society.¹⁹ Criminal justice was exercised by two judges, the *giudici ad maleficia*, assisted by notaries who produced over 3500 extant archival units, including registers of trial proceedings and *Carte di corredo*. The latter series contains unbound parchment sheets which record various aspects of trial procedures as transcribed by the notaries during the trials, such as *consilia sapientum* (opinions of court-appointed jurists), petitions, payments, and the opinions of court-appointed doctors of medicine, the earliest of which survive from the mid-13th century and which constitute an important resource for the history of legal medicine.²⁰ The criminal court records of the *podestà* are subdivided into four major series: *Accusationes*, *Libri inquisitionum et testium*, *Sententiae*, and *Notai forensi*.

The *Accusationes* series, in large bound parchment *buste*, records trials launched by an accusation from an injured party, and extends from 1226 to 1327, with however, very few extant documents prior to the 1280s. It also contains scattered registers of banishment and corporal condemnations. Trials initiated by private accusation declined significantly by the 15th century and all trials in the *Torrione* court were initiated by inquisition procedure.

The *Libri inquisitionum et testium* series contains trials initiated *ex officio* or by denunciation of an official and extends from 1242 to 1532 (again with very few surviving documents prior to the 1280s) and comprises 494 registers, divided until the second half of the 14th century between those that recorded the various stages of a trial and those that recorded the testimony of witness. The former contains the various phases of the trial, from the opening of the inquest to its conclusion. In the second half of the 14th century, the trial records and the testimony of witnesses were gradually combined, but a new office, the

19 For an overview of the 13th and 14th-century criminal court records, see Vallerani, "Giustizia e documentazione." Massimo Vallerani has utilized these records for numerous studies of criminal justice in late medieval Bologna, for which see the essay by Sarah Rubin Blanshei and Sara Cucini in this volume.

20 Ortalli, "La perizia medica"; Chandelier and Nicoud, "Entre droit et médecine."

Notai forensi, was created in 1376 to record separately the testimony of witnesses, the records of which begin in 1379 and continue until 1531 in 322 registers. The registers of the *Sententiae* (1327-1510) contain a miscellaneous collection of trial sentences – acquittals, corporal penalties, and banishments as well as some records of accusation trials from the mid-14th century.²¹ Other criminal courts of the *podestà* were presided over by Bolognese judges or notaries – the *Ufficio corone ed armi* concerned with gambling, sumptuary, and curfew offenses; the *Giudici al sindacato* which monitored the conduct of the *podestà*'s officials, especially in their fiscal responsibilities, and conducted trials against those accused of malfeasance; the *Ufficio delle acque, strade, ponti, calanchi, selciate e fango*, responsible for the cleanliness and maintenance of the city's streets; and the *Ufficio per la custodia delle vigne, palancati e broili*, which surveyed cultivations, especially of the vineyards and any damages to them.²²

Civil justice was exercised by two foreign judges of the *podestà*, but scarcely any documentation has survived from their court (the *dischum Aquile*) prior to the late 14th century. Bolognese judges or notaries were appointed to preside over the *dischum Ursi*, *Cervi*, *Equi*, *Griphonis*, *Montonis*, and *Bovis*; these offices were called *dischi dalle insegne* for their emblems which made their specific jurisdictions recognizable to citizens, for example, the *dischum Ursi* with responsibility for the payments of fines, taxes, and disputes over those payments.

After the establishment of direct papal control of Bologna by Julius II, at least by the 1530s, administration of criminal and civil justice was reorganized into the tribunals of the *Torrone* and *Rota* respectively. The *Torrone* contains a huge mass of documents, some 10,400 volumes and *filze* extending from the mid-15th to the end of the 18th century; the *Rota* contains approximately 18,500 volumes and *filze* spanning the same period.²³

Following the uprising of 1228, the *pars populi* began to construct an autonomous and parallel government alongside that of the *podestà*, head of the *pars comunis*, a development that was definitively settled in 1255 with the

21 With closure of the *podestà*'s office these documents were added to the other administrative documents in the *Camera degli atti*, under the names of the various *podestà*. Only over the course of the 19th century were they subdivided into their current series.

22 For the office of the *fango*, see the essay in this volume by Guy Geltner; on sumptuary legislation the essay by Antonella Campanini.

23 For a brief overview and bibliography for the *Torrone* and the *Rota*, see Francesca Boris and Tiziana Di Zio, "La giustizia monocola." The *Torrone* records have recently been studied by Giancarlo Angelozzi and Cesarina Casanova in numerous publications, e.g., Angelozzi and Casanova, *La giustizia criminale in una città di antico regime*.

establishment of the *capitano del popolo*²⁴ (like the *podestà* a foreigner), placed at the vertex of the *pars populi*. The magistracy of the *capitano del popolo* was not renewed between 1256 and 1267, but reappeared during the conflicts in the 1270s between the Geremei and the Lambertazzi factions that concluded with the establishment of the Geremei regime. The office was suppressed during the 14th-century *signorie* but briefly revived during the restored *signoria del popolo e delle arti* of 1376.

The *podestà* and *capitano del popolo* had similar characteristics, but the *podestà* had much broader judicial, military, and administrative functions whereas the *capitano* had mainly political ones. Control over membership of the guilds and arms societies of the *popolo* and adjudication of disputes between the guilds were entrusted to the *capitano*. The court of the *Giudici del capitano del popolo* was responsible for political crimes; the *Ufficio del giudice ai beni dei banditi e ribelli* for the administration of the confiscated properties of political opponents and the disputes that arose concerning them. The former series comprises 820 registers extending from 1275-1511; the latter has seven *buste* and 59 registers from 1245-1438.²⁵

The authority exerted by the *capitano del popolo* over the guilds and arms societies affected the production of documents that, in addition to being of primary historiographical importance, also have a strong artistic component in the miniatures that embellished the copies of the statutes and membership lists (*matricole*) that each of the popular societies had to present to the *Consiglio del popolo*, presided over by the *capitano*, who, after they were approved by the *Consiglio*, preserved them in the appropriate *Armarium populi*.²⁶ In addition to the copy presented to the *Consiglio*, each society retained its own duplicate exemplar, which often was of finer calligraphy and decoration. The documents underwent considerable dispersion after the Napoleonic suppression of the guilds, and some had to be eventually recovered from antiquities' markets. Many are now located in the Archivio di Stato in two sep-

24 The records of the *capitano's* courts, hitherto neglected, have been recently utilized by Jehn, "Die Versteckte Macht"; Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*; and Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*. Also see Blanshei's appendix in the same volume, "Jurisdictions of the Courts of the Capitano del Popolo," pp. 511-25, for an overview of the responsibilities of the *capitano* and the offices that made up his *curia*.

25 See Montorsi and Scaccabarozzi, *La giustizia del capitano*, for an annotated inventory of the *capitano's* courts.

26 For bibliography and the importance of these miniatures from both the artistic and political perspectives, see Boris, Giansante and Tura, *La memoria ornata* and the essay by Raffaella Pini in this volume.

arate series, others in the Museo Civico Medievale and elsewhere.²⁷ In addition to their artistic value, these documents are vastly important for studying developments between the mid-13th and 15th centuries in the principal socioeconomic structures of the city that formed the fulcrum of its political life, and for its economy in the early modern era.

Other sources for the economy and also for the fiscal administration of the commune are found in the various series of the *Camera del Comune* cluster. In order to apply extraordinary taxes, the *comune* required that self-assessments of property, debits, and credits be made to the *Ufficio dei Riformatori degli estimi*. These declarations are preserved in huge numbers, approximately 50,000 unbound sheets for the survey of 1296 alone.²⁸ The collection of duties on goods and commerce (*dazi* and *gabelle*) constituted the most significant source of revenue for the *comune*: its organization was entrusted to the *sopras-tanti e depositari* officials or contracted out to private individuals. Their activities produced more than 2300 registers between the 13th and 16th centuries, organized by economic sector.²⁹

However, the administrative office of the commune that has left the most unique and important resource for the socioeconomic history of Bologna is the *Ufficio dei Memoriali*, established in 1265 with the aim of guaranteeing the legal authority of private contracts and avoiding the falsification and loss of notarial deeds.³⁰ Although various treatises written in this period on the *ars notarie* dedicated particular attention to the structure, content, and formulas of notarial deeds,³¹ legislative bodies still had not paid particular attention to the preservation of deeds written by notaries for private individuals who did not request, for financial reasons, an immediate copy of the deed that the notary had written in his register. Since notaries were not obligated to preserve their protocols, there was no guarantee that in the future the original redaction in the notary's register of the deed or a copy made for private individuals would be available to settle any dispute that arose. Therefore registration of contracts was required by notaries of the *Ufficio dei Memoriali*, appointed and paid for by the commune, and this process by a public office became the guarantee of the permanent preservation of private deeds. All transactions greater than 20 *lire*

27 Silvia Battistini, "Problemi di dispersione."

28 For the *estimi* documentation see the essay by Rosa Smurra in this volume.

29 Orlandelli, *Gli uffici economici*; Carboni, "La Gabella Grossa."

30 For bibliography and a discussion of how the office operated and the introduction in the 1330s of a parallel series, the *Libri provvisorum* or *Provvisori*, see Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, pp. 36-41. For the most recent overview, see the essays in Giansante, *I Memoriali del Comune*.

31 On this topic and related bibliography see Tamba, *Una corporazione*, pp. 9-41.

had to be registered except for deeds stipulated by the commune (excluding emancipations or guardianships), apprenticeship contracts, and the rental of land *ad laborandum*. The *Ufficio dei Memoriali* remained in existence until 1452 when Cardinal legate Bessarion ordered its suppression and replacement with the new *Ufficio del Registro*. The more than 2000 registers in paper or parchment from the *Ufficio dei Memoriali* were later rebound (between the end of the 17th and the middle of the 18th century) into the 322 large volumes with wooden covers and leather spines that are currently held in the Archivio di Stato. The volumes also contain valuable inscriptions of Italian lyric poetry, interspersed among the registered contracts.³²

The registrations in the volumes of the *Memoriali* are of fundamental importance especially because they fill the large lacunae in the surviving notarial *imbreviature* (protocols or cartularies of the notary in which he wrote his copy, sometimes abbreviated, of the contract). These *imbreviature* are of great value for other cities but lacking in the case of Bologna for the late medieval period. The earliest is from 1252 by the notary Manfredus de Sala, followed by two other Duecento cartularies and eight from 1301-08; from the second half of the 14th century 52 have survived.³³ However, copies in the form submitted to the contracting parties are found in the series of the *Corporazioni religiose soppresse* and in the private archives of individual families. Documentation from the family archives in the Archivio di Stato is preserved under a number of headings (purchases, gifts, deposits) for elite Bolognese families who were involved in the political and socioeconomic affairs of the city. Some of these archives extend from the late communal period, others are limited to either the communal or the early modern eras. These archives are from families of the earliest medieval aristocracy such as the Lambertini; from families that ascended into the aristocracy in the late communal or signorial era, such as the Pepoli and the Fantuzzi, and from families of the senatorial nobility, protagonists of civic political life during the period of the *governo misto* such as the Albergati, Aldrovandi, Malvezzi, and Ranuzzi. Not included, however, are the papers of the Bentivoglio family who dominated, above all other families, the political scene of the 15th century, but who suffered the consequences, even in archival terms, of their disastrous flights from the city. These documents attest not only to the families' political participation within the city, but also to their

32 For an overview of the *Ufficio dei Memoriali* and description of the registers, see Continelli, *L'archivio dell'Ufficio dei Memoriali del comune di Bologna. Inventario*. 1 and *L'archivio dell'Ufficio dei Memoriali del comune di Bologna. Inventario*. 2. For Italian lyric poetry, see the essay by Armando Antonelli and Vincenzo Cassi in this volume.

33 Tamba, "La formazione."

activities in the commercial, credit, and entrepreneurial sectors. Their consistency varies: some comprise 2000 to 3000 units, such as those of the Pepoli, Marsili, Ranuzzi, and Malvezzi Campeggi, but the collections of other important families, although of considerable value, comprise fewer than 50 *buste*, such as the Lambertini family archives.³⁴

But for the Bolognese families one must also look beyond the “official” family archives themselves. The complex and important relationship that existed between the noble and elite families and the religious organizations of the city means that one finds valuable documents concerning the families, especially their donations to religious entities, that were deposited in the city’s convents and monasteries, documents which after the Napoleonic suppression of those institutions came to the Archivio di Stato, to the *fondo* of the *Demaniale*, described above. Similar to the “family archives” proper, these documents comprise “*archivi nascosti*” which are very little known to scholars and therefore are described here in some detail.³⁵ In many cases these documents are fragmentary, but in some cases they comprise proper archival entities, similar in structure and contents to the autonomous family sources described above, but scattered and hidden within the various holdings of the *Demaniale*. The *Archivio Bonasoni*, for example, is found within the canonical chapter of San Petronio; the *fondo Fantuzzi* within the archive of the nuns of Santissima Trinità; the important *Archivio Sanuti*, a family extinct in the Quattrocento, among the papers of the canons of San Salvatore and Santa Maria di Reno. The Bonasoni, a rich family that gained noble status at the beginning of the Cinquecento, donated its properties to the San Petronio chapter during the 17th and 18th centuries, as branches of the family became extinct – the 33 *buste* preserved in the Petronian chapter extend from 1475 to 1753 and include notarial acts, trials, correspondence, genealogical trees, all according to a structure typical of private archives, comprising a unique source for the rise and fall of this elite family. Even richer is the documentation relative to the Fantuzzi, a senatorial family, celebrated at Bologna for its palazzo in Strada San Vitale, adorned with statues of elephants, from which the family derived its name. Fifty-nine *buste* of Fantuzzi documents are located in the archive of the

34 The family archives have been relatively neglected, with a few exceptions that show their potential, for example, Montanari, “La formazione del patrimonio fondiario”; Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*; DeSilva, “Ecclesiastical Dynasticism.”

35 This section on the family documents in the *Demaniale* series is based on an unpublished paper by Francesca Boris, “Archivi nascosti. Carte di famiglie private nei fondi delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse di Bologna.” I warmly thank her for sharing this work with me.

convent of Santissima Trinità, comprising the majority of the 93 *buste* in that collection. Especially of value are the papers of the merchant Nicolò Sanuti, holder of the pontifical fief of the county of Porretta. He died without heirs in the mid-15th century and his county then passed to the noble family of the Ranuzzi. Twenty-seven *buste* in the *Demaniale fondo* of the canon regulars of San Salvatore contain information on the family's commercial, entrepreneurial, and charitable activities, including notarial acts going back to 1308 and account books, such as the family account books from 1387 to 1480.

In contrast to the "*archivi nascosti*," other *fondi* of non-governmental provenance have received extensive treatment by recent historians. In late medieval Bologna, in addition to political and economic organizations, citizens formed associations of lay piety, reciprocal assistance, hospitality, and charity. These associations of confraternities and hospitals were consolidated in the Duecento and by the 14th and 15th centuries were in almost complete control of a number of civil functions such as the management of hospitals, which at that time not only cared for the ill, but also for abandoned children, pilgrims, and convicts. During the 14th century, the hospitals of Santa Maria della Vita and Santa Maria della Morte were created from the union of certain confraternities, and with the merger of additional confraternities, a process of progressive centralization of charitable institutions was launched. Originally private societies, by the 16th century these institutions were absorbed into and managed by public entities, the *assunterie*. But although controlled by the government, they were not government organizations *per se* and therefore their documents are found not only in the Archivio di Stato, but also in the Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, the Archivio Arcivescovile, and the Amministrazione provinciale.³⁶

Documentation for constructing the history of medieval and Renaissance Bologna thus can be characterized as abundant and rich to the point of overwhelming the historian who ventures to work with the surviving masses of archival sources, and who also faces a particularly complex task because of the variety of institutions in which those treasures are housed. But the rewards are of remarkable potential as is clearly evidenced in the analyses and broad range of the essays in this volume.

36 Thus, on the hospitals there is the *Archivio degli Ospedali* series in the Archivio di Stato and the *Fondo Ospedale* series in the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio. On the confraternities and charitable institutions, see Fanti, *Confraternite e città*; Idem, "Confraternite e istituzione"; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*; and his essay in this volume, in which he discusses the use of confraternal records.

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Fiscal Sources: the *Estimi*

Rosa Smurra

“In that year the first *estimi* were made in Bologna and in its *contado*.” Thus the chronicler and parchment-maker, Pietro Villola, noted an important change in the Bolognese fiscal panorama that took place in 1235 – establishment of the *estimo* as the system of direct taxation, a system that would endure for the city until the late 14th century and for the *contado* until the late 18th century.¹ This innovation marked the passage from forms of direct taxation based on the person or one’s livestock – the *focatico* and the *testatico* (the number of hearths and the individuals within them) and the *boateria* (the number of cattle as tools of agricultural labor) – to a system of taxation based on an estimation of the patrimonial wealth of the contributors.² The taxpayer’s relative fiscal burden was then calculated from this estimate. Citizens (*cives*) and residents of the *contado* (*fumantes*) were required to make a declaration of their liquid assets (animals, tools, debts, and credits) as well as their landed properties and houses. On the assessment figure derived from the total estimate of the value of the goods and properties listed in the self-declaration and validated or revised by the *revisori*, the commune fixed the *collecta*, a tax whose percentage varied depending upon the needs of public finance, especially when the expenses of war had to be met.

The Bolognese *estimo* of 1235 was not the first in Italy; other cities had already provided themselves with this fiscal instrument.³ At Bologna, the first *estimo*, with its shift to greater fiscal equity, represented the political advance-

1 “In quello anno fo fatti li primi extimi in Bologna e in lo contado.” Villola, “Cronaca,” p. 105, also cited in Bocchi, “I debiti dei contadini,” p. 173. On Villola, see Smurra, “‘Studium,’ manuscript book production, and urban landscape.” For bibliography on the Bolognese *estimi*, see Smurra, *Città, cittadini e imposta*, pp. 5–6 and *Progetto Fonti Medievali in Rete* <http://www.centrofasoli.unibo.it/asbo/generale/estimi_bibliogr_citta.html> (accessed 29 April 2016).

2 On indirect taxation – the *gabelle* and *dazi* on foodstuffs, animals, the grinding of grain, etc. and commerce (*Gabella Grossa*) – which continued to be of great importance, see Frescura Nepoti, “Natura ed evoluzione”; Orlandelli, *Gli uffici economici*; Greci, “La tariffa daziaria.” In the 16th and 17th centuries indirect taxation provided three-quarters of total revenues. Carboni, *Il debito della città*, pp. 63–64. Also see Idem, “La finanza pubblica.”

3 The Pisans were among the first, by 1162. Violante, “Imposte dirette,” pp. 109–10. The historiography on direct taxation in medieval cities is considerable, for which see Grohmann, *Le fonti*

ment in 1228 of the guilds and arms societies, components of the *pars populi*, and constituted one its earliest reforms.⁴ From this *estimo* only a small group of quires relative to rural communities has survived.⁵ In the absence of documentation relative to the city, it is not possible to know if the great landed proprietors, aristocratic and ecclesiastic, in addition to the urban merchants, bankers, and entrepreneurs, were in any way affected by this innovation. At least some nobles of the *contado*, however, were included in the 1235 *estimo*, and in 1249 a complete list of *Nobiles et exempti* of the *contado* was compiled and attached to the survey of that year. The nobles listed were not exempted from the *estimo*, as has sometimes been assumed, but were distinguished from other inhabitants of the *contado* who were subjected to fiscal burdens in addition to the *estimo*.⁶

Given the significant demographic increase of the Duecento,⁷ it was inevitable that further fiscal censuses would be undertaken to take account of the continuing process of urbanization and modifications in the social structure. But hardly any documentation of such surveys has survived until the urban *estimo* of 1296-97. Only a few years after the first *estimo* of 1235, another one was carried out in 1239, during one phase of the struggle with Frederick II, which has not survived.⁸ An *estimo* of the *contado* has survived from 1245, but is incomplete and in very poor condition.⁹

Antonio Ivan Pini postulated that an urban *estimo* which has not survived was also implemented in either 1250-52 or 1252-53, but the statutory evidence he cites in support of that conclusion seems to indicate instead that it was

censuarie; Mainoni, *Politiche finanziarie*; Cavaciocchi, *La fiscalità nell'economia*; Rigaudière, *De l'estime au cadastre*.

4 Bocchi, "L'imposte dirette," p. 311.

5 ASB, Comune, Governo, Ufficio dei Riformatori degli estimi (henceforth Estimi), series 2, Estimi del contado (1235), Busta 267; Bocchi, "I debiti dei contadini," pp. 169-209, esp. p. 173.

6 Bocchi, "L'imposte dirette," pp. 292-300; ASB, Estimi, series 1, Ruoli d'estimo 2, Elenco di nobili ed esenti.

7 See the essays by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

8 *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, Bk. 7, Rubric 98 "Quod volentes probare diminutionem extimi audiantur" (1250), vol. 2, pp. 102-03. The search for fiscal "equalitas inter homines communis bon." is affirmed in this rubric which provides that, presenting adequate documentation, the taxpayer could seek from the *podestà* and his judges a diminution of the assessment levied upon him or her.

9 Bocchi, "Le imposte dirette," pp. 297-98. There was also an urban *estimo* of that year, of which only a single *busta* has survived, relative to the *cappella* San Lorenzo of Porta Stiera. ASB, Estimi, series 2, Denunce dei cittadini, Busta 1.

limited to the *contado* in the first period and to foreigners in the second.¹⁰ The next major survey of which we have knowledge is one carried out under the direction of the eminent jurist Pax de Pacibus, compiled during 1277-79.¹¹ The records of that *estimo* also have not survived, but we do know some of the results of that survey through a copy of the tax roll (the list of contributors and their assessments) made in 1281. It is a partial record, consisting only of the quarter of Porta Ravegnana and a fragment of Porta Piera¹² and has been divided and preserved in two different institutions – the Archivio di Stato di Bologna and the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio.¹³ The copy apparently was made in order to implement a substantial change in the assessable values of the taxpayers, bringing up to 10 *lire* those that were less than that figure and reducing by a third those that were higher.¹⁴ Further additions were made between 1281 and the next major urban survey of 1296, but very little record of that activity has survived.¹⁵ Surveys of the *contado* were also compiled: in 1282 a *Liber fumantium* (used for the *boateria* tax) under the direction of Federico de Regratatis and an *estimo* in 1286 under Rafael de Roncho and Crissius de la Turre.¹⁶ These surveys, however, also have not survived, nor has another urban

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- 10 Pini, "Gli estimi cittadini," p. 116 and Idem, "La politica demografica," p. 387; *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, Bk. 7, Rubric 94 "De facto extimi et impositione equorum et armorum," vol. 2, p. 100; Rubric 95 "Quod quelibet terra episcopatus faciat novum extimum," vol. 2, p. 100; and Rubric 96 "Quod bona omnium forensium que sunt jn nostro districtu debeant extimari," vol. 2, p. 101.
 - 11 Smurra, *Città, cittadini e imposta*, pp. 41-51, esp. p. 50.
 - 12 The city and contado were organized for administrative purposes into four sectors: Porta Ravegnana, Porta Piera, Porta Stiera, and Porta Procola.
 - 13 ASB, Estimi, series 3, Busta 17/2, a parchment manuscript consisting of four quires for a total of 32 folios; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Gozzadini, ms. 80. For a description of the manuscripts, see Smurra, *Città, cittadini e imposta*, pp. 45-46.
 - 14 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Gozzadini, ms. 80, fol. 1r.
 - 15 Also extant is a register from 1284 containing the additions of those who wanted to make changes to their assessments and the assessments of widows. ASB, Estimi, series 1, Busta 1, n. 3. There is also a register of those who had never had assessments, compiled in 1288, consisting of approximately 30 folios in which are registered the new taxpayers' assessments, divided by quarters and *cappelle*. ASB, Estimi, series 1, Busta 3.
 - 16 The *Liber fumantium* was initiated in 1280 but not completed until 1282. On the dating of that survey, see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, p. 202. The *contado estimo* of 1286 was modified as hundreds of persons who were inscribed as *fumantes* succeeded through judicial acts to prove that they were *cives*. ASB, Estimi, series 3, Busta 8. For a transcription of the *incipit* (fol. 1r), see Smurra, *Città, cittadini e imposta*, p. 51. On the importance of registration in an urban *estimo* for the recognition of citizenship, see Vallerani, "Fiscalità e limiti."

survey of 1287.¹⁷ The next major urban *estimo*, of 1296-97, fortunately is extant almost in its entirety and its detailed richness makes it possible to analyze the fiscal and bureaucratic mechanisms employed in its creation. It also offers one of the most valuable documents for the socioeconomic history of late medieval Bologna, serving as the basis of studies on the social and topographical distribution of wealth and case studies of entrepreneurial activity.¹⁸

The *Estimo* of 1296-97

The compelling incentive for undertaking a new *estimo* of urban inhabitants in 1296 was the war against Azzo VIII d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, and the huge expenses that war engendered. Two days after the Bolognese army was defeated at the river Santerno on 1 April 1296, a war commission (*balia*) consisting of eight *sapientes* (with four *anziani e consoli* as consultants), was established and entrusted with full emergency powers, including that of levying taxes.¹⁹ On 17 April the *balia* named six *boni homines*, no younger than 40 years, and a notary for each quarter, to whom were assigned the tasks of revising the assessments of those who had presented their *estimi* since the survey directed by Pax de Pacibus (1277-79), and to add those to be assessed *de novo*. On 24 April the *balia* completed the list of the responsible officials, naming another four *boni homines* no younger than 30 years and a notary from each quarter, thus establishing four commissions known as the *Decem pro quarterio*.²⁰

Provisions by the *balia* beginning in May 1296 called for the new *estimo* to include all citizen inhabitants in the *civitas* (the area within the 12th-century circle of walls called the *Torresotti*), in the *borghi* (within the 13th-century circle, called the *Circla*), and in the *Guardia*, the area immediately outside the

17 Smurra, *Città, cittadini e imposta*, p. 54.

18 On the value of the *estimo* of the 1296-97 as a source for socioeconomic history, see Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 144-92, with analysis and bibliography on the social and topographical distribution of wealth, including the earlier studies based on the *estimi* by Massimo Giansante, Donatella Micheletti, and Olimpia Castagnini. For case studies of individuals and families, see Castagnini, "Una famiglia di cambiatori"; Greci, "Una famiglia mercantile"; Pini, "Gli estimi cittadini." For other uses of the Bolognese *estimi* of the 13th and 14th centuries, see the essays in Grohmann, *Le fonti censuarie e catastali*.

19 ASB, Comune, Governo, Provvigioni dei Consigli minori (henceforth Provvigioni) 1, fols. 104v-05r (3 April 1296). On the war with Ferrara, see Gorreta, *La lotta fra il Comune*, esp. pp. 61-65 for the battle of Santerno.

20 ASB, Provvigioni 1, fols. 113v-17r (17 and 24 April 1296).

walls;²¹ all who had been registered in prior surveys, women and men, of any political party, both those already registered in the *estimo* of Pax de Pacibus and those registered since then; as well as those who had never been registered. All were to present their new self-declarations in person in the offices of the *Decem* of their quarter. If they were more than 100 miles away from Bologna or physically impeded, they were to do so through a relative or procurator. Sons who still lived with their families and engaged in commercial activities or were inscribed in a guild had to declare their movable and landed properties and the contingent rights due them unless they were under the authority of others (their fathers, but also their mothers). Married women who owned properties, dotal rights or an increase in their dowries, which had not been given to their husbands or that they had acquired after marriage, were equally held to appear before the *Decem* and present a description of such goods and rights, as well as their values, which applied both to those who were under someone's authority and those who were responsible for themselves. Widows who enjoyed the usufruct of their husband's properties, and whoever else had usufruct of any properties, had to appear before the officials and present a list of such goods and rights for registration.²²

In addition to citizens *pleno iure*, servants who lived in the households of their masters and possessed goods subject to the *estimo* of a value greater than 10 *lire di bolognini* also were required to come before the officials, be registered and comply with all regulations applicable to citizens, unless they were inscribed in the *Libri fumantium* of the *contado* made under the direction of Federico de Regratatis and his associates (1280-82).²³ Also nobles of the *contado* who resided in the city – this point is not given in the provisions of 3 May but in those of 11 May 1296 – had to present themselves before the *Decem*.²⁴ Exemptions were to be made for married women who did not have properties other than their dowries and for foreign students who had not been registered previously and their descendants.²⁵ However, those who claimed to be without

21 On the walls, see the essay by Francesca Bocchi in this volume.

22 ASB, Provvigioni 1, fol. 79r (3 May 1296). Photographic reproductions of these provisions and those in footnotes 23 and 24 are available in *Progetto Fonti Medievali in Rete*, at <<http://www.centrofasoli.unibo.it/asbo/generale/riformagione.html>> (accessed 29 May 2016).

23 *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 5, Rubric 73 "De privilegio concesso condemptibus ordinameta predicta et eorum patribus, filiis, fratribus et aliis consiliariis populi," vol. 1, pp. 381-91, esp. p. 388; Bk. 9, Rubric 6 "De fumantibus terrarum de districtu Bononie," vol. 2, pp. 1114-15.

24 ASB, Provvigioni 1, fol. 82r (11 May 1296).

25 ASB, Provvigioni 1, fol. 79r (3 May 1296).

landed property or taxable movable goods (*nichil habere in bonis*), were also included in the survey and assigned assessments, with a minimum of 10 *lire*. Some, however, were deemed to be totally without taxable assets and their *cedole* contain no evidence of a self-assessment or one assigned by the *revisori* who reviewed and validated the self-assessments.²⁶

The patrimony to be declared was specified in a very precise manner. The declarant in his or her declaration had to include all goods and properties that belonged to the following categories:

1. landed properties to which the declarant had direct ownership²⁷;
2. landed properties of someone else held in his or her name;
3. dotal properties held directly;
4. landed properties possessed in the exercise of authority as proprietor or any other title (for example, properties forming part of public lands assigned by lease from the commune);
5. properties held by emphyteusis (perpetual lease) or as a fief, their value and by what right they were held;
6. credits due to the declarant and their values;
7. large animals;
8. revenue from *soccida* contracts (pasturage for payment) and the name of the person with whom contracted;
9. capital invested in commerce or production²⁸ or in the collection of *dazi* and *gabelle*;
10. quantities of grain, wine, and beans greater than 100 *corbe*;
11. debts contracted for any reason and the persons to whom the money was owed.²⁹

Each self-declaration had to contain the *cappella* (parish) in whose tax rolls the person had previously been enrolled and in which he or she wished to be registered. When the two *cappelle* were not the same – because of a relocation

²⁶ Smurra, *Città, cittadini e imposta*, pp. 157-60.

²⁷ Descriptions of landed properties include location, size, crops cultivated, boundaries, value per *tornatura*, and total value.

²⁸ References to capital in the self-declaration in the majority of cases use the formula *habet de capitale in arte sua*, followed by specification of the activity (*merçarie, calçolarie, straçarie, bixellerie et sete, bursellorum*, etc.).

²⁹ Debts had to be declared not because they would be subtracted from the taxable assessment, but in order to permit verification of the *estimi* of the creditors. In fact the enabling legislation does not indicate on the basis of which goods the taxable assessment was computed, but only the goods (landed and liquid) that had to be declared.

or for other not indicated reasons – the officials carried out a verification in the tax rolls of Pax de Pacibus or later *estimi*. If the valuations of properties did not seem veracious to the *Decem*, they were subjected to verification by those officials *per inquisitionem*, with visits to the property sites and information gathered from neighbors.³⁰ The result of such reviews is evidenced in many of the declarations which contain different evaluations as a result of such contested cases.

The documentation that survives from the 1296-97 assessment survey does not consist of the tax rolls but rather the thousands of individual declarations (*cedole*) presented by the taxpayers. In 1299 the notaries of the *podestà* consigned four sacks full of these documents to officials of the communal archive (*camera actorum*), sacks that the podestarial notaries had received from the notaries of the *Decem* upon completion of the assessment process.³¹ Within the sacks the *cedole*, the self-declarations for the most part on pieces of parchment, had been organized by *cappella* into *filze*, that is, stacks strung together with a thin cord that was passed through holes made in the center of the documents, thus keeping sheets of varying sizes in compact order and avoiding the danger of losing the smallest pieces, which measured only a few square centimeters. This mass of material was lodged until 1390 in the *Palatium Vetus*, today the Palazzo del Podestà, then transferred to the *Palatium Novus*, the present-day Palazzo di Re Enzo, where it remained until 1874 when it was brought to the newly-established Archivio di Stato di Bologna.³² At that time the documents were removed from the sacks, their cords cut, and the sacks were found to contain approximately 10,000 individual *cedole*, representing almost the complete survey of 1296-97, except for some dispersed or destroyed pieces.

In 2003 the *Progetto Fonti Medievali in Rete: gli Estimi di Bologna del 1296-97* was initiated which now makes it possible to view the *estimi* online on the website established by the “Centro ‘Gina Fasoli’ per la Storia delle Città” of the University of Bologna in cooperation with the Archivio di Stato di Bologna.³³ The *cedole* can be consulted in their entirety (*recto* and *verso*) in high definition digital images through several different research pathways: by quarter and *cappella*; by use of a topographical map; by the names of the declarants, and by their assets and total evaluations in *lire*.

³⁰ ASB, Provvigioni 1, fol. 119.

³¹ Romiti, *L'armarium Communis*, pp. CCCIII-CCCVI.

³² ASB, Estimi, series 2 (1296-97), Buste 2-48 (henceforth Estimi 1296-97). Tura and Giansante, “Premessa all'inventario.”

³³ *Progetto Fonti Medievali in Rete*.

From 1296-97 to the First Signorial *Estimo* (1329)

Implementation of the *estimi* was never just a fiscal operation. It was also one of the instruments used by political regimes to affirm their leadership in confrontations with their adversaries and to favor their supporters. For this reason it has been held, for example by Antonio Ivan Pini, that governments of the *popolo* taxed landed property, which characterized the patrimony of aristocratic families, but not the liquid wealth derived from the productive, commercial, and financial activities to which were dedicated the “middling” classes, who hence would have favored such a fiscal policy.³⁴ The *estimo* of 1296-97 was in fact implemented in the period following decades of generally harsh anti-magnate policies. Despite some signs of pacification and unraveling of those policies, the governments of the 1290s that implemented the *estimo* remained in the hands of the societies of the *popolo*. Given, however, that the possibility of exemption from the *estimo* extended, beyond that for the clergy, to a very limited number of subjects and that, in addition to landed property, the taxpayers had to report capital investments in entrepreneurial activity and liquid assets, the *estimo* of 1296 does not seem to have served as a selective instrument of class conflict, probably because the magnate class did not constitute an imminent danger to the government at that time. The compelling necessity for instituting a new *estimo* was rather to find funds for financing the huge costs of the war against the Estensi. For that purpose almost everyone was identified as subject to payment of the taxes, from the richest (Romeo Pepoli, who had an evaluation affirmed by the commune of 71,809 *lire*) to the poorest (those who had a small patrimony and even those who possessed nothing to whom was nevertheless assigned a figure of a minimal assessable amount).³⁵

New *estimi* were implemented frequently in the early 14th century, in response to internal crises and especially to the tensions and uncertainties incited by external dangers. The arrival of the Emperor Henry VII in Italy in 1310 and the subsequent resurgence of Ghibellinism and Bologna's military obligations to its Guelf allies determined an increasing need for greater revenues.³⁶ After the *estimo* of 1296-97 and up to the *signoria* of Cardinal legate Bertrand du Pouget which began in 1327, four surveys were taken, all of which

34 Pini, “Dalla fiscalità comunale,” p. 353.

35 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*; ASB, *Estimi*, Porta Procola, Sant'Agata (1296-97), Busta 12, fol. 15 and the essay by Massimo Giansante in this volume.

36 On factionalism in this period, see the essay by Giuliano Milani in this volume.

survive as *carte sciolte* (unbound sheets of individual assessments).³⁷ Du Pouget, deeply involved in military campaigns in the Romagna, used Bologna as a fiscal resource and instituted a new *estimo* shortly after becoming the city's *signore* in 1327, but replaced that with yet another *estimo* carried out in 1329 (only the 1329 survey has survived).³⁸ The structure of the signorial *estimi* was not different in general from their communal predecessors and remained unvaried in successive iterations.³⁹ But in contrast to the *estimo* of 1296-97, exclusion of the taxpayer's residence from assessment, already exempted in the *estimi* of 1315-16, was retained.⁴⁰ There was, however, a significant change in policy represented by the increased authority granted to the commission. In sanctioning those who did not obey its directions, the commission was required to consider their status (*considerata conditione et qualitate personarum*). This formula gave the commission full discretion for the purpose of helping those who would have been impoverished by taxation,⁴¹ but also made it possible in fact to favor adherents to the regime or penalize adversaries, policies that fanned discontent and contributed to the overthrow and expulsion of du Pouget from the city in 1334.⁴²

The Last *Estimo* of the Trecento: 1385

After decades of alternating periods of local and foreign domination (the *signorie* of Taddeo Pepoli, his sons, the Visconti, and the reassertion of papal authority) and economic and demographic crisis, the *bolognesi* regained their autonomy and re-established a communal government, albeit a considerably more narrowly based one.⁴³ The new government found itself in grave financial difficulty and also facing a *contado* depopulated by recurring epidemics and the predations of military companies, and impoverished by fiscal policies

37 ASB, *Estimi*, series 2 (1304-05), Buste 49-102; *Estimi*, series 2 (1307-08), Buste 103-49; *Estimi*, series 2 (1313), Busta 150 (partial); *Estimi*, series 2 (1315-16), Buste 151-99.

38 On Bertrand du Pouget, see Ciaccio, "Il cardinale legato Bertrando del Poggetto"; Vasina, "Dal Comune verso la Signoria." On the provisions for the *estimo* of 1329, see the analysis of Pirillo, "La provvigione istitutiva," pp. 375-79 and the text of the provisions on pp. 389-412. For the surviving survey itself, ASB, *Estimi*, series 2 (1328-29), Buste 200-54b.

39 Pini, "Dalla fiscalità comunale," p. 350.

40 Pirillo, "La provvigione istitutiva," p. 383.

41 Pini, "Dalla fiscalità comunale," p. 384; Matassoni, "Piangere miseria," pp. 413-27.

42 Castelnuovo, "Bologna come Avignone"; Benevolo, "Bertrando del Poggetto e la sede."

43 For these developments, see the essays by Giorgio Tamba, Fabio Giusberti, and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

that had ignored the worsening economic and demographic conditions. In order to find a way to replenish communal coffers without increasing the burden on taxpayers, the government enacted measures of great political significance, including implementation of a new general *estimo*, that would favor repopulation of the countryside. For example, exemptions from taxation for ten years were granted to those who went to live in the Bolognese territory.⁴⁴

The regulations for execution of the *estimo* were complex and time-consuming since they concerned not only the inhabitants of the city, but also those of the *contado*.⁴⁵ Although usually referred to as the *estimo* of 1385, in fact the survey of the *contado* was carried out in 1384-86 and operations relative to the city were implemented in 1386-87. A technical innovation that distinguished this *estimo* from earlier ones was the use of large paper volumes in which were inscribed the names of declarants, the properties subject to taxation, and debits and credits, in contrast to the earlier method of collecting *cedole* in parchment from the contributors and then redacting them into tax rolls, that is the lists of contributors for each of whom was indicated only the taxable assessment. In the 1385 *estimo* the assessment of *cittadini* took place quarter by quarter, *cappella* by *cappella*, but only the volumes relative to the quarters of Porta Procola and Porta Ravegnana have survived. At this point it is not known if this gap of approximately half of the hypothetical documentation results from loss over time, or from the non-implementation of the survey for the other two quarters (Porta Stiera and Porta Piera), or if the survey was completed but not transcribed into the large paper volumes. In the case of the *estimi* of taxpayers from the *contado*, however, which was done by rural commune, all four volumes relative to the quarters in which the territory was divided have survived.⁴⁶ In the *estimo* of 1385 both the rural and urban populations, in contrast to the urban *estimi* of 1315-16 and 1329, were required to declare the value of their residences among their landed properties, as well as their liquid assets (sheep, cattle, horses), credits and debits.

44 For establishment of the *estimo* of 1385, see *La 'Descriptio civitatis Bononie'*, pp. 17-44. For the tax exemptions, ASB, Comune, Governo, Provvigioni in capreto, vol. 11, fol. 153r, "Provisio facta ad habitandum in territorio comunis Bononie." Historians' utilization of the *estimi* of 1385 has been largely focused on debates concerning their value as a demographic source (*La 'Descriptio civitatis Bononie'*, pp. 18-23), but for an exception, see Dean, "Wealth distribution."

45 In 1392 the inclusivity of the taxation net was extended by an *estimo* of the properties of ecclesiastical persons and religious institutions. ASB, Estimi, series 4, Estimi ecclesiastici (1392).

46 ASB, Estimi, series 1 (1385), Registers 8 and 9.

Citizens *pleno iure*, as in preceding *estimi*, also had to declare landed possessions located in the *contado*, whose evaluations then became part of their taxable assessments. However, in 1385 as earlier, they were subject to a fiscal regimen different from those of taxpayers from the *contado*, upon whom fell burdens not expected of citizens, as, for example, the maintenance of roads and riverways. Hence fiscal policy traditionally did not put the urban contributor and the resident of the *contado* on the same level. This distinction became much sharper in the decades following 1385 and lasted until the end of the 18th century. In the 15th century, during both the Bentivoglio period (1401-1506) and that of the pontifical legate (1506-1796), *estimi* of the *contado* residents were repeatedly carried out. After 1385 the direct tax burdened only inhabitants of the *contado* and foreigners while citizens remained exempt for centuries. Only indirect taxes (*dazi, gabelle*) were levied on citizens. The only known episode with the purpose of applying a form of direct taxation on the urban population occurred in 1502, the epoch during which the *Descriptio bonorum comitatus* was compiled. In the extant portion of that document the landed properties in the *contado* of 1469 citizen-proprietors, corresponding to approximately 3 per cent of the urban population, were surveyed.⁴⁷

Citizens, after centuries of exemption, were once again subjected to direct taxes of their landed properties only with the institution of the catasto, a fiscal modality no longer based on the self-declarations of contributors' patrimony, but on the evaluations of expert surveyors. The first Bolognese catasto, after years of preparation, was promoted by Cardinal legate Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi in 1780, but was not implemented until the Napoleonic era.⁴⁸ The "Boncompagni catasto" was an instrument for applying a universal direct property tax that would characterize a new more equitable fiscal system, one that eliminated wholesale exemptions by social status, and it heavily affected the Bolognese aristocracy, holder of extensive property in the *contado* – the senatorial aristocracy which had stood beside and supported the pontifical legates for centuries. The new system initiated an epoch of reform, in which evaluation of rural lands was executed by expert surveyors with technical instruments that left no room for privilege.

47 Farolfi, *Strutture agrarie*, p. 9.

48 On the Boncompagni catasto see the magisterial work of Renato Zangheri, *La proprietà terriera*; also Tabacchi, *Land Registers and Cadastral Policy*, pp. 121-43.

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Shaping the City: Urban Planning and Physical Structures

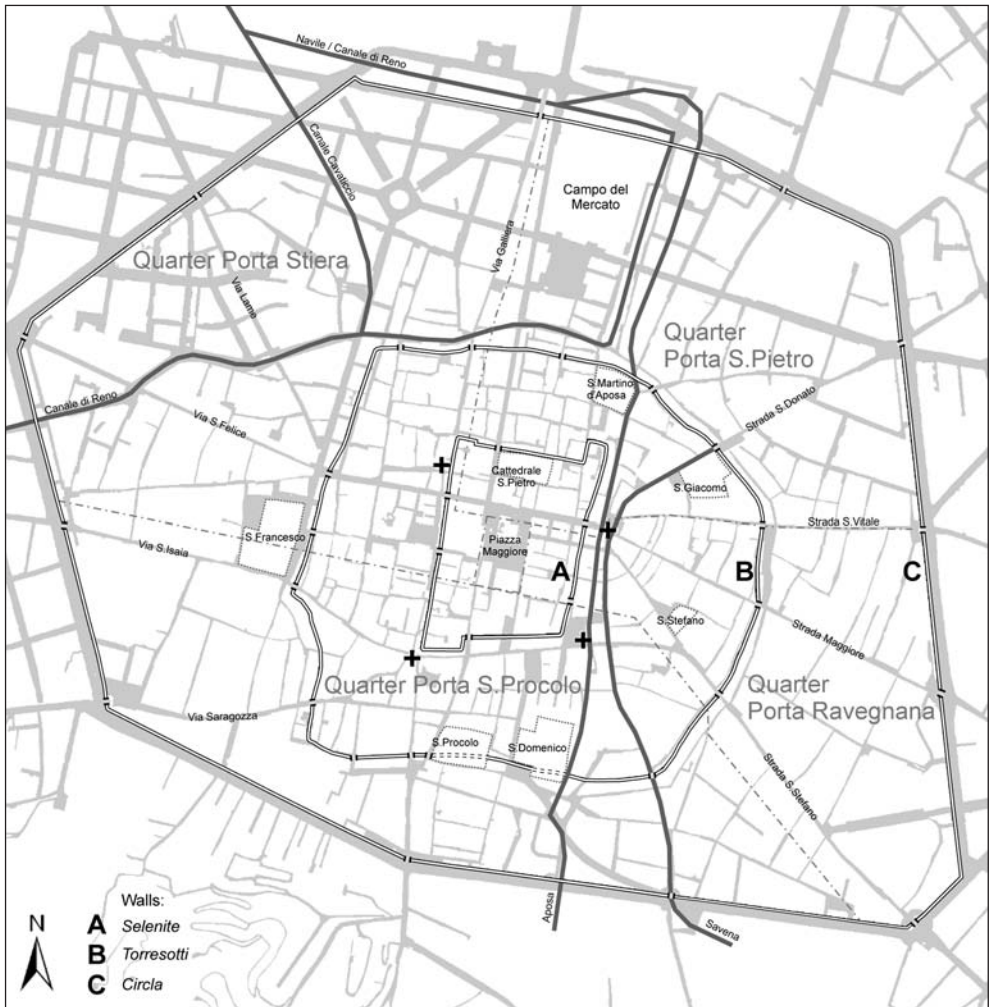
Francesca Bocchi

Antiquity: From Felsina to Bononia

The roots of the city of Bologna extend deep into Antiquity. In the present-day urban zone Etruscan villages consisting of circular huts (called Villanovan culture)¹ existed by the 9th century BC. By the 7th century the villages, now connected, gave life to the city of *Felsina*, which became the most important urban center of the Po Valley. Residential buildings acquired well-structured and durable forms and the remains of industrial activity have been found in numerous parts of today's city. *Felsina* was situated in an area geographically favorable to urban development; in the high plain between the Aposa stream to the east and the Ravone to the west, at the point where the hills began to ascend. The sanctuary of the city (today the Facoltà di Ingegneria) was built on one of the offshoots of the hills (*acropoli*). Other evidence of Etruscan religiosity can be found in various areas of the city, for example, the two large memorial stones (*cippi*) that marked the monumental entrance to a burial site in the area that is today the Via Fondazza. The invasion of the Gauls in the 4th century BC ended Etruscan government in northern Italy, and *Felsina*, like the other principal cities, disappeared, shrunk and transformed into a *vicus*. Archaeological remains from the 4th to the 2nd century BC are few, indicating that buildings during that period were not constructed with durable materials.

In the 3rd century BC the Romans appeared north of the Apennines, laying the basis for their conquest of Cisalpine Gaul with the founding of the colony of Rimini (*Arminium*, 268 BC). The Gauls were definitively defeated at the end of the century, eliminating any obstacle to Roman expansion in northern Italy. The construction of the *Via Aemilia* (187 BC, which ran west from Rimini along the high plain, reached the river Po at Piacenza, thus creating the conditions for the establishment of the Roman colony of *Bononia* on the site of the ancient Etruscan *Felsina*.

¹ A label created by Count Giovanni Gozzadini after his discovery of a necropolis near Bologna in 1853. Artifacts from Villanovan culture are found in the Museo Archeologico di Bologna.



MAP 3.1 *Map of Bologna: walls, quarters, streams, and canals.* DESIGN: FERNANDO LUGLI.

The urban structure of Roman *Bononia* determined the urbanistic history of Bologna for the following two millennia (Map 3.1). It was quadrangular in shape, with sides of 600 meters. Articulation of the *cardo* and *decumanus* (the two major intersecting streets) is still quite evident today in that section of the city which was continuously inhabited, even if now 6 meters below the surface. The *decumanus* constituted part of the *Via Aemilia*, whose archaeological remains of paving stones can be found now under Via Rizzoli and Via Ugo Bassi. The *cardo maximus* ran through the inhabited area from north to south

(Via Indipendenza and Via D'Azeglio). The Forum, with its monuments, including the civil basilica, opened up at the crossroads of the two principal axes (in the eastern section of the Palazzo Comunale in the Piazza Maggiore).² Near the *cardo*, within the city at its southern boundary (in the area of Piazza Celestini), was located one of the oldest theaters in northern Italy (first 20 years of the first century BC). The water supply was guaranteed by an aqueduct, excavated in large part under the hills during the last 20 years of the first century BC. Water was tapped from the Setta stream, first at its confluence with the Reno river, then traveled through a subterranean tunnel of about 70×200 centimeters and 20 km in length until it reached the southern part of the city, where it was distributed into public fountains through lead tubes (*fistule*).³ During the imperial age *Bononia* underwent additional important innovations, especially those promoted by Nero, who in 53 AD asked the Roman Senate to finance renovation of the city's buildings and monuments. In addition to the aqueduct, theatre, and basilica, several temple complexes and an efficient sewer network were built.⁴

The sanctuary of Isis, an Egyptian divinity, erected in the second century AD, was located in the eastern suburban area. Its dedicatory inscription was inserted in the Middle Ages into the walls of the church of the Crucifix in the Santo Stefano cluster of churches. The Isis complex, extraneous to the Romano-Italic pantheon, was broadened and extended into the area later occupied by the Stefanian cluster. Seven columns of cipolin marble, arranged in a semicircle, which probably were part of an exedra or a nymphaeum of the Isis sanctuary, were incorporated into the Stefanian church of the Holy Sepulcher as protection for the tomb of Saint Petronius, patron of Bologna.⁵

The Crisis of Late Antiquity: Destruction of the City

The dissolution of the late Roman Empire and the establishment of the Romano-barbarian kingdoms had a strong impact on the cities of the Po Valley.

2 The archaeological remains of the basilica are visible under the Sala Borsa (in the Palazzo Comunale).

3 Giorgetti, "L'acquedotto romano," p. 98.

4 For Villanovan culture see Gualandri, "Bologna preromana"; for the aqueduct and renovations of Nero, see Bergonzoni "Bononia." For sources and bibliography on *Bononia* during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see Neri, "Bologna tardoantica"; Cosentino, "Bologna tra la tarda antichità."

5 The Isis attribution is controversial, for which see Cosentino, "Bologna tra la tarda antichità," pp. 49-50.

With the exception of Ravenna, capital of the empire (402-76), *Bononia* and the other cities suffered deeply from the crisis, with great shrinkage of their surface areas. The spread of Christianity contributed decisively to the transformation of the city, which from this period onward can be called “Bologna.” The cathedral, dedicated to San Pietro, occupied a space very close to the Forum, almost at its *cardo*, where it is still situated today; the complex of Santo Stefano began to replace the sanctuary of Isis and a necropolis was established at that location.⁶

Sources for the history of Bologna for these centuries are very rare, but one of great importance is a well-known passage from a letter (c.387) of Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan and metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province of which Emilia was a part. On a journey along the Via Emilia, he took note of the cities’ degradation, describing them as “cadavers of semi-destroyed cities” (“semirutarum urbium cadavera”).⁷ Ambrose was probably at Bologna at least two other times: once on the occasion of the transfer and reburial of the bodies of the martyred Bolognese saints Vitalis and Agricola in the basilica dedicated to them in the Stefanian complex,⁸ and a second time for the establishment of the “Four Crosses” in four salient points of the half-destroyed city (Fig. 3.2). The Four Crosses, found today in the basilica of San Petronio, are devotional and artistic artifacts, but also monuments of great urbanistic value. Many times replaced and remade (the surviving ones date from the 12th and 13th centuries, although the columns on which they rest are Roman), they document a very ancient phase in the history of the city.⁹ Originally crosses were located at Porta Ravennana (Croce degli Apostoli ed Evangelisti), in Via Castiglione at the crossroads with Via Farini (Croce delle Vergini), in Via Barberia at the Valdaposa corner (Croce dei Santi), and in Via Montegrappa at the Porta di Castello corner (Croce dei Martiri). Their dedication is typical of the Ambrosian church of the 4th century, which supports the hypothesis that Saint Ambrose himself participated at the procession and ceremonies for their placement.¹⁰

6 Fanti, “La cattedrale di San Pietro.”

7 As cited in Cosentino, “Bologna tra la tarda antichità,” pp. 27 and 89, fn. 101; Bocchi “Lo sviluppo,” pp. 187 and 294, fn. 1; Neri, “Bologna tardoantica,” pp. 704-05.

8 Porta, “Riflessioni sulla cripta.”

9 For example, the surviving form of the Croce degli Apostoli ed Evangelisti dates from 1159. It and the other crosses were placed inside the basilica of San Petronio in 1798 after the entrance of the French in Bologna, when it was decided to modernize the city to permit more vehicular traffic. On Saint Ambrose and the Four Crosses, see Bocchi, “Lo sviluppo,” pp. 187-90.

10 Fasoli, “Momenti di storia,” and the discussion of her thesis in Cosentino, “Bologna tra la tarda antichità,” pp. 37-38; also Bocchi, “Dalla grande crisi.”



FIGURE 3.2 *Four Crosses of Saint Ambrose*. SOURCE: BOLOGNA, VOL. 1, ATLANTE STORICO DELLE CITTÀ ITALIANE (BOLOGNA, 1996).

The Selenite Walls

The Four Crosses defined an area within the Roman city, which historians agree delimited the inhabited and then still functioning section of the city, in which the surviving population was concentrated. Along the pathway that linked the crosses, the first circuit of walls, called the *Mura di Selenite*,¹¹ was

¹¹ The name is derived from the stone, which came from nearby Monte Donato, with which the walls were constructed. Cosentino, "Bologna tra la tarda antichità," p. 30.

constructed for the protection of the surviving inhabited space, while the entire section of the Roman city to the north and west was abandoned, an area described in medieval documentary sources as “*civitas rupta antiqua*.”¹²

The blocks of dry-mounted selenite were in part parallelepiped, measuring about $2 \times 2 \times 4$ Roman feet ($= 58 \times 58 \times 116$ centimeters), but for the most part were of various measurements, coming from other buildings as re-employed material. The nature of the masonry – retaining characteristics of classicism – is datable from the 4th to the 7th centuries. Many hypotheses have been formulated on the dating of these walls, but the most probable is that they were built during the reign of the Ostrogothic King Theoderic (493-526), a period of moderate economic recovery and one sufficiently peaceful to mark it as plausible for their construction.¹³

The small city enclosed within the Selenite walls corresponded to little more than one-third of the Roman city. Four gates opened to the surrounding territory: to the east Porta Ravennana to the Via Emilia and the road that led to Ravenna; to the west Porta Stiera to the Via Emilia toward Modena; to the north Porta San Cassiano (later called Porta Piera); and to the south the gate later called Porta Procola. Because of the disproportion between the parts of the city located to the north of the ancient *decumanus* and that of the south, two other gates were later opened, Porta Nuova to the west and Porta Nuova di Castiglione to the east, and a third gate, Porta di Castello, to give access to the imperial Rocca.¹⁴

The Slow Development and Reurbanization of the Ancient City

The period from the Greco-Gothic War (535-53) to the conquest of Bologna by the Lombards in 727 was very harsh. Only after the Lombard conquest were the first signs of recovery seen, characterized by urban settlement outside Porta Ravennana and Porta Nuova di Castiglione, fostered by the property allotments

12 The earliest is a perpetual contract (emphyteusis) from 1008 describing a piece of land located “*foris hanc civitatem Bononie infra civitas rupta antiqua*.” *Annali bolognesi*, vol. 1, pp. 67-68. For the size of the inhabited sector of the early medieval city, approximately 20 hectares, in comparison to the 50 hectares of the city in the Augustan age, see Pini, “Bologna bizantina,” p. 266.

13 Fasoli, “Momenti di storia,” for the Theodoric hypothesis and Bocchi, “Lo sviluppo,” p. 192 for discussion of that topic.

14 Bocchi, “Lo sviluppo,” pp. 190-94, and Eadem, “Dalle grande crisi,” p. 55, for a map of the Selenite walls and gates. Remains of these walls are few, but some can be seen in the Museo Civico Medievale (Via Manzoni).

carried out by the abbots of the monastery of Santo Stefano between the 10th and 11th centuries on lands they possessed outside the Selenite walls.¹⁵

The importance of the Santo Stefano complex increased with the passing of the centuries, especially because the Bolognese bishops, given the reputation acquired by that place because of the devotion bestowed on the relics of Saints Vitalis and Agricola, chose that necropolis for their own burials. According to tradition, Bishop Petronius, toward the middle of the 5th century, had restructured the cemetery in order to render it in the likeness of the Holy Places of Jerusalem. In the rotunda, designed to recall the Anastasis in the Holy Sepulcher, were placed the mortal remains of Petronius, where they are still found today, even if the artistic and architectural forms of the Stefanian complex have undergone many changes.¹⁶

While the Stefanian documentation makes it possible to follow, step by step, the expanding area of habitation to the east and south, documentation for expansion in other suburban areas is rare. Gradual reappropriation of the abandoned areas of the ancient city to the west and north of the Selenite walls took place for the most part in the course of the 10th century and also to a considerable degree in the next century, but the *civitas* true and proper long remained enclosed within the Selenite walls. With the new millennium the documentary sources are more copious and archaeology has helped clarify these phases of Bolognese urbanistic history. A privilege of 1074 from Pope Gregory VII to Bishop Lamberto cites the market which took place near the church of San Giovanni Battista in the Stefanian complex, hence outside the urban walls, but in an already inhabited area. The urbanistic scene of the last quarter of the 11th century was distinguished in the eastern part of Bologna by a broad stretch of enclosed land, presumably cultivated with orchards and vineyards belonging to the monastery.¹⁷ That area was intersected by roads from the territory that converged toward the gates of Porta Ravennana and Porta Nuova di Castiglione, setting boundaries to the east for the defense of the *borgo*. In order to respond to demographic growth, the monastery had, as noted above, carved a band of land along the great roads into very small lots, on average from 24 feet (= 4.56 meters) to 36 feet (= 9.12 meters) in depth, with some having a street front of less than 10 feet (= 3.8 meters). The lands were not

15 Bocchi, "Trasformazioni urbane."

16 Cosentino, "Bologna tra la tarda antichità," pp. 46-50, 96-97.

17 The patrimony of the monastery was formed through donations, among them one made in 1017 by Lamberto di Ermengarda, grandson of Count Alberto, in order to honor the memory of Bishop Giovanni III, in the restoration "ecclesie Sancti Stephani qui vocatur Jerusalem." Lazzari, "I 'de Ermengarda'."

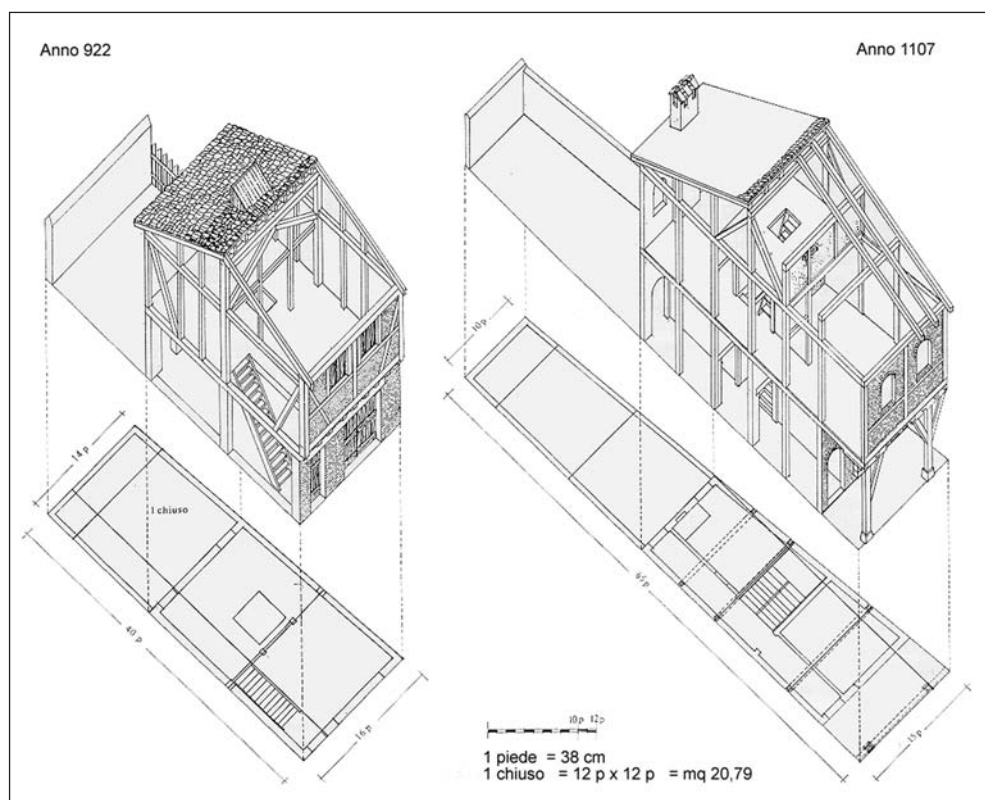


FIGURE 3.3 *Graphic reconstruction of two houses built in the apportionment of lots of the monastery of Santo Stefano, based on leases from 922 and 1107. DESIGN: PAOLO NANNELLI.*

sold, but were rented on condition that the lease-holder construct a house, which would have been quite small (Fig. 3.3), but with the possibility of acquiring additional space from the internal area of the monastery's orchards and vineyards that bordered the lots. Most likely the small houses were set up side by side in a row with common lateral walls.¹⁸

The Stefanian documentation furthermore testifies to the presence of a portico on the front of some buildings, with the characteristics that had evolved relative to the juridical nature of the ground on which it rested, as revealed for

18 Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, p. 38, and p. 123 of the English translation; Eadem, "Lo sviluppo," p. 246.

the first time in an emphyteusis contract of 1041.¹⁹ The indication of the measurement of the long sides of the parcel of land (those which were adjoined to neighboring houses) carries the specification “cum portico et accesso suo” to signify that the computation of the length had included the depth of the portico in addition to that of the house: the portico thus was considered an integral part of the building and the ground on which it rested belonged to the owner of the building, as will be discussed in more detail below.

In addition to the monastery of Santo Stefano, Bologna was the site of other Benedictine monastic communities, all located outside the old Selenite walls: San Procolo to the south, Santi Vitale e Agricola (a female foundation) to the east, Santi Naborre e Felice to the northwest, San Salvatore to the west, and some time later, San Giovanni in Monte, not far from Santo Stefano. In the course of the 11th century the Benedictine monasteries of Bologna underwent very consistent building renovations, as still can be seen today in the preserved crypts of San Vitale,²⁰ Santi Naborre e Felice, and the church of the Crucifix (1019). Many of the ecclesiastical structures were thus in place by the end of the 11th century with three major exceptions – San Petronio, founded in the late Trecento and discussed below, San Domenico, founded in 1219 by the saint himself, a structure which required vast changes to the southeastern part of the city between Via Castiglione and Via San Mamolo; and San Francesco in 1236 in the western sector, outside the *Torresotti* walls. In both of the latter instances the commune expended great efforts to protect the monasteries’ sites and provide them with effective drainage and suitable access roads.²¹

During the 11th century Bologna shared in the traumas of the conflict between emperor and pope, the former having temporal power over the cities of north-central Italy. In that period public authority resided, as it had probably since the Ottonian era (10th century), in the imperial Rocca, a prominent building which occupied the northwestern corner of the Selenite walls, some parts of which were incorporated into the building which replaced it and from

19 The contract, 16 September 1041, is a perpetual lease (emphyteusis) of land with a house located outside the city, near the Cross of the Trivio of Porta Ravegnana. *Le carte bolognesi*, p. 98.

20 Porta, “Riflessioni sulla cripta,” pp. 91–103.

21 Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, pp. 75–80 and the references therein to the mid-century statutes, and pp. 120 and 136–38 of the English translation. San Giacomo (1267), the third mendicant order, received much less support and was actively opposed by the bishop of Bologna. In the 15th century, however, it received extensive patronage from the Bentivoglio. Ottanti Cavina, “La cappella Bentivoglio”; Volpe, *Il tempio di San Giacomo Maggiore*. For an overview of the ecclesiastical, civil, and private buildings in Duecento Bologna, see Hubert, “Architettura e urbanistica.”



FIGURE 3.4 *The Asinelli and Garisenda Towers in Piazza di Porta Ravegnana.* PHOTO: ENRICO PASQUALI.

which the date of its destruction is known – 1115, the year in which the *bolongesi* claimed their autonomy. In front of the entrance to the Rocca was positioned one of the Four Crosses (the Cross of Porta Stiera). The existence of the Rocca is still echoed in the toponymy of the Via Porta di Castello, a street with a steep slope due to the sub-surface ruins of the Rocca. The 11th century closed with two important developments: construction of the Two Towers (Asinelli and Garisenda) in the piazza in front of the ancient Porta Ravegnana, which had become a marketplace; and the formation of the *studium*, the first

European university in which the *Corpus iuris civilis* was studied at a higher level.

The Asinelli tower is the oldest of the known towers of Bologna: from examination of the bricks by the process of thermoluminescence, it has been proposed that it was built at the end of the 11th century (Fig. 3.4). Its construction utilized a very advanced technology, a model that was not applied to later urban towers, which used a less painstaking method from an architectural point of view. It is situated at the strategic point where the principal streets converged radially and connected to the eastern quadrant of the territory outside the city. Around that point, well-laid-out concentric semicircles of streets were mapped out as the city expanded, and it was most likely already the location of the daily market²² (Fig. 3.5).

The *studium* was formed toward the end of the century – the 1088 date is a traditional one, but not far from reality. The difficulty of identifying a precise date derives from the Bolognese *studium* not having been established by any authority, but having arisen spontaneously from private initiative on the basis of contracts stipulated between the masters and the students. Throughout the Middle Ages it did not have a physical center: the masters held classes in their private homes until construction of the Archiginnasio in the 16th century, as discussed below.

Formation and Development of the Comune

The establishment of an autonomous government (the *comune*) at Bologna took place later than in other cities of north-central Italy. In fact, lay government was held firmly in the hands of Matilda of Canossa in the role of imperial representative. However, as in every other city, the *bolognesi* aspired to autonomous management of civic government, one capable of interpreting the needs of a society in which fully represented social classes had evolved. At the news of Matilda's death (24 July 1115), the *bolognesi* attacked and destroyed the imperial Rocca. It was an unequivocally violent act, which cut deeply into the physical structure of the city, freeing it from a now incongruous appendix – the northwestern quadrant of the Selenite walls, which at many points had been amply superseded by urbanization.

22 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 229-33 for not only the famous Asinelli and Garisenda towers, but also the towers and *cappelle gentilizie* (courtly parishes) of the urban elite, such as the Galluzzi, the Scannabecchi, and the Carbonesi. For a listing and topographical identification of the surviving towers, see Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, p. 52.

There is no source for events immediately after the destruction of the Rocca, but we know that less than a year later (15 May 1116) a delegation of *bolognesi* went to Governolo in Mantuan territory to ask the Emperor Henry V for a privilege, which in those years and subsequent centuries was to be considered the constitutional basis of urban autonomy. The diploma recognized the *antiquas consuetudines* of the *bolognesi* as well as protection of a commercial nature in its dealings with the Florentines, their competitors in international markets. The diploma was followed by a document granting a pardon to the *popolo* of Bologna for the destruction of the Rocca.²³ After 1116, with the initiation of autonomous government, the city immediately began to look beyond its walls and suburbs to conquest of the *contado*, which took place gradually, without military action, and which guaranteed a grain supply to the city and control of the major transit arteries.

The city was governed by a *collegio dei consoli* (council of the consuls), whose first appearance in the surviving documents is from 1123 and which occurred in the *curia Sancti Ambroxii*, the open space in front of the very ancient church of Sant'Ambrogio, located within the Selenite walls.²⁴ The cathedral was not selected for important public meetings of the commune; it had been too greatly compromised during the period of the Investiture Struggle, nor was the Stefanian complex, center of the new eastern urbanization, selected, because up to that time its abbots had not endeavored to insert themselves directly into political events. The choice therefore had fallen upon a church that guaranteed a certain neutrality and great civic tradition – or so it seems, judging from its antiquity (we know of its existence from the 9th century) – and for its location in an extremely important point in the city (appreciated only when one pictures that area without the present-day Piazza Maggiore, communal palazzi, and basilica of San Petronio). That sector of the city, crammed with buildings that had become more densely packed together with the passing of the centuries, was still articulated according to the street pattern inherited from antiquity. The church of Sant'Ambrogio could be approached from many streets, one of which was heavily frequented because it connected to the ancient *cardo maximus*, noted in successive documents as

23 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 212-14; Simeoni, "Bologna e la politica italiana."

24 The church no longer exists. It was destroyed at the end of the Trecento to make room for the building of the basilica of San Petronio, but a remnant remains of the first Palazzo Comunale of the *curia Sancti Ambroxii*, built into a structure at the corner of the Vicolo Colombina. Up to that time the *curia Sancti Ambroxii* had been held in great esteem by Bolognese administrators who had guaranteed its public nature in 1203 and its dignity in the statutes of the Duecento. For the early 13th century documentation, ASB, Registro Grosso 1; for the statutes, *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*.

the *platéa maior*, that is, the street that went from the cathedral to the present-day Via D'Azeglio.²⁵

Also significant for the development of the *studium* and the city was the law which the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa issued in 1155 (and again in 1158 at the Diet of Roncaglia) in favor of the students (*Authentica Habita*).²⁶ It marked a strong point in the relations between the city and the *studium*, favoring the permanence of the students in Bologna, with all the economic impetus they brought to the city. Relations between the emperor and the commune were complicated, however, by the war which he conducted against the autonomy of Italian cities.

Defense of Autonomy and Construction of the *Torresotti* Walls

The communes sought to resist vigorously every attempt of Frederick Barbarossa to restore imperial rights over the Italian communes, but the resistance of the *milanesi* was repressed with extreme harshness (1162). At Bologna the *podestà*, Guido da Sasso, appointed by the emperor, apparently did not inflict heavy hardships upon the city. The example of the repression at Milan may have counseled caution, all the more so since at Bologna the emperor had imposed a monetary sanction, consignment of hostages, and tearing down of the walls and ditches (*fossati*). The latter, however, did not take place or took place only in a symbolic manner and involved the old Selenite walls, which had been completely superseded by the expansion of the city.²⁷

During the more than 20 years of tension with the emperor, construction took place on the second circuit of walls, called the *Torresotti* because of their numerous masonry gates in the form of low towers.²⁸ It was also the time (1150s and 1160s) when the *borghi* (suburbs) which had developed outside the Selenite walls, all around the city, were protected with a solid masonry wall (*cortina*), especially in view of the risk of a direct clash with the imperial army. The city thus assumed a somewhat circular shape: in a central position were the cathedral, the *curia Sancti Ambroxii* and the surrounding buildings where public activities in the first phase of the commune took place. The surface which offi-

25 Foschi, "La 'domus Communis Bononie'"; De Angelis, "Le costruzioni medievali."

26 Dolcini, "Lo *Studium*," pp. 489 and 498, fn. 22.

27 Hessel, *Storia della Città di Bologna*, pp. 47-50, 56.

28 On the second and third circle of walls, see Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, pp. 18, 33-34 and the English translation pp. 118, 122-23; Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 190-92; Foschi "Le fortificazioni di Bologna"; Roversi, *Le mura perdute*.

cially became the *civitas* expanded from approximately 19 hectares or more within the Selenite walls to 113 hectares enclosed by the new circle. The walls consisted not only of the *cortina*, but also of a ditch, with an internal road running parallel to the *cortina* along its internal path and an external road also parallel to the ditch and walls. The complex of *cortina*, ditch, and roads, on average measuring 45/50 meters in width, formed a strip that ringed the city, traces of which are preserved in large part in today's street system.

Despite the delays in the city's development caused by the war with the emperor, the 12th century was a period of economic expansion which permitted the construction of an infrastructure which in turn created the conditions for further expansion. Most important were two major sources of energy: the Savena and Reno canals. The Savena canal was excavated in order to bring water to the *Torresotti* walls for their ditches.²⁹ It reached Porta Castiglione from the east after having tapped the waters of the Savena river which was approximately 6 km to the east of the city. A canal probably already existed since along its course many privately-owned mills were displaced by the new enterprise. In October 1176, when the imperial army defeated in May at Legnano was no longer a threat, the *consoli* of the commune decided to reorganize the Savena canal and exercise public control over its mills. Among the proprietors was the monastery of Santo Stefano, whose role was so important that the organizational act was executed neither in the *curia Sancti Ambroxii*, nor in any other communal building, but in the chamber of the abbot of Santo Stefano, who probably acted as a mediator between the commune and the other proprietors. The terms of that mediation are explicated in the statute of the *consoli* of 29 December 1176, which contains a long list of the mills that utilized the waters of the Savena with details of their complexes. Fourteen *capanne* (sheds) and 60 mills are listed. It was a veritable "industrial complex," under a mix of public and private management.

Construction of the Reno canal followed shortly after that of the Savena. Thanks to the lock at Casalecchio which raised its level, the canal today still permits water from the Reno river, albeit with some modification, to reach Bologna. The earliest surviving information about the canal and the mills that were constructed on it is from the 1180s, from the era after the war with Barbarossa during which communal institutions were strengthened. Excavation of the Reno canal was accomplished as a private enterprise by about 30 *Ramisani* who joined together in a consortium, investing huge amounts of capital in the project. The canal reached from the west into the area of the western ditch of the *Torresotti* walls, perhaps utilizing its bed, continued

29 Pini, "Energia e industria."

beyond Porta Piella to the present-day Via delle Moline, then turned north toward the countryside.³⁰

Il Duecento: Bologna's Golden Century

The Piazza Maggiore and the New Palazzi Pubblici

The Duecento opened at Bologna with an urban planning project of great importance for the city: the commune in 1200 began to acquire houses and lands in order to open a great public and secular space in the piazza of the commune, known today as the Piazza Maggiore, from the name of the ancient *cardo* which ran along its side (*platéa maior*). It was not the intention of those who planned the piazza at the end of the 12th century to include any ecclesiastical element, as there now is with the basilica of San Petronio, built almost 200 years later. Rather, it was conceived as a space completely dedicated to economic and public activities (*palazzi pubblici* and a market), identified and carved out with perseverance and determination. The opening of the piazza of the commune determined the urban center of gravity which had been taking shape since the epoch of the *curia Sancti Ambroxii*. It also became a space charged with symbols of political significance.³¹

The death of Emperor Henry V (1197) marked the end of external influence over Bologna: the city now decided on its own external policy, forging alliances that assured it a period of peace and stability, during which it allocated great energy and resources to urban planning, modernizing the city with services that had become essential for a city that was to become one of the most important cities in Italy if not of Europe, not only for the development of its *studium*, but also for the entrepreneurial capacities of its middle social classes. In this political and economic context the decision was made to endow the city with a great public piazza, symbol of its autonomy and mirror of the political compromise between the ancient great families and the new social forces that were contributing to the city's economic success. The commune, aware of its own institutional role, presented itself as a force able to exercise very decisive control over the city, one that knew how to provide order and efficiency, and had the capacity to plan and manage construction of the Palazzo Pubblico and the piazza simultaneously.

30 Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, pp. 21-24, 196-97 and pp. 118-19 of the English translation. Also see the essay by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume on the economic importance of the canals.

31 Bocchi, "The Topography."



FIGURE 3.6 *Digital reconstruction of the Via Mercato di Mezzo (now Via Rizzoli) towards the Piazza di Porta Ravegnana, with the Chapel of the Cross and the Asinelli and Garisenda Towers, based on the Liber Terminorum of 1294. CENTRO "GINA FASOLI" PER LA STORIA DELLE CITTÀ, UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA.*

Historical reconstruction of the Piazza Maggiore and Piazza Porta Ravegnana of the Duecento has been enriched since the late 1990s thanks to utilization of the extraordinary *Liber Terminorum* which recorded the measurement and placement of boundary markers in public and private spaces from the mid-13th century to 1294 and application of new methodologies to urban history (digital and GIS technology) to produce three and four-dimensional virtual recreations of those sites, including adjacent private homes – the “Nuovo Museo Elettronico della città di Bologna” (Nu.M.E.)³² (Fig. 3.6).

Opening up the Piazza Maggiore was an important investment not only because it offered an adequate space for the market, until now poorly located in the Piazza of Porta Ravegnana,³³ but also because the new Palazzo Comunale (located on the northern side of the piazza and today the Palazzo del Podestà)

32 Smurra, “Prassi amministrativa”; Bocchi, “Nuove metodologie per la storia della città”; Eadem, “Medioevo ‘cablato’”; Bocchi and Smurra, *La storia della città* <<http://www.centrofasoli.unibo.it/nume/italiano/home.html>> (accessed 3 June 2016).

33 It ran along the ancient *decumanus* (Via Mercato di Mezzo, today Via Rizzoli). On the opening of the piazza and the construction of the Palazzo Pubblico, see Bocchi, *Il*

would permit a better organization of administrative and judicial functions in comparison to the older and by this time insufficient offices of the *curia Sancti Ambroxii*. The new Palazzo would become the center of reference and management for civic institutions and a depository for the archive, heart and substance of public life. Between 28 April 1200 and 20 February 1203 the procurators of the commune expropriated, by forced purchase and for public utility (“for the purpose of making a courtyard and palazzo of the commune”), all the houses within a perimeter that today marks the Piazza Maggiore, including the areas in which the first Palazzo Pubblico would be constructed. It was a complex operation because the expropriation had to be carried out in a manner that would not arouse too much discontent on the part of the individual proprietors who had to be convinced of the project’s “public utility.” Less than a year after its first acquisition, 20 March 1201, the *curia nova Communis* and the loggias of the ground floor of the Palazzo Pubblico (*sub voltis palatii Communis*) were available. In 1208 the structure of the Palazzo had taken greater shape, even if still incomplete. Part of it was rented for commercial purposes (sale of salt, oil, and grains) to a group of six persons with a five-year contract.³⁴ Already in place in the earliest decades of the Duecento was the covered crossroad which today still is contained within the Palazzo, at the center of which, resting on four arches, was later (at mid-century) constructed the ponderous *Torre dell’Arengo* (the work of Albertus *inzignerius*) in which was placed the communal bell.³⁵

Systematization of the “Historical” City and Opening of the Campo del Mercato

In the Duecento Bologna already had a “historic center” that needed “modernization.” On 13 May 1211 a commission consisting of eminent persons, among whom were two overseers of the ancient defense moat, at the mandate of the *podestà* Guglielmo da Pusterla established the width of the streets that were to run south along the filled-in ditch of the Selenite walls and in the nearby areas, thereby creating a series of new blocks for urbanization. The new streets (a few still exist – Via Farini and in part Via Carbonesi) had to meet three requirements: first, they were to have a width no less than 10 feet (3.80 meters); second, it was forbidden to build porticos on the public surface of these roads; and third, it was necessary to construct the roads so that the façades of the houses

Duecento, pp. 11-16, 85-86, and pp. 116-18, 139 of the English translation; also Eadem, “Lo sviluppo,” pp. 236-37.

34 Smurra, “The *Palatia Communis Bononie*.”

35 *Statuti di Bologna dall’anno 1245 all’anno 1267*, Bk. 11, Rubric 84 “De una turri facienda inter utrumque palatium,” vol. 3, p. 332.



FIGURE 3.7 *Campo del mercato and the mills on the Reno canal, fresco of 1575. VATICAN CITY, PALAZZO APOSTOLICO, SALA BOLOGNA.*

would face the new streets. The last point was specified because before construction of the *Torresotti* walls the city *pleno iure* comprised the area that was found within the quadrilateral Selenite walls and hence the buildings had been turned inwards. With the new and wider streets a hinge was created that joined the ancient to the new heart of the city. This expansion took place so rapidly that even as the remains of the first circle were systematized, it was perhaps already recognized that the new walls of the *Torresotti* were no longer sufficient. Respect for public ground on these streets thus had to be unequivocal: if the façades of the houses were turned the other way the portico (by now a common feature at Bologna, especially in the areas of most recent expansion) would be a private utilization of public space by means of the upper part of the building, which was absolutely forbidden. At the same time it was ordered that a portico had to be constructed, thereby creating an obligation to construct houses with porticos on private ground. It was with provisions of this nature

that the city of Bologna assumed its character as the *Città dei Portici*, for which it is known today throughout the world.³⁶

Another innovation in the city's infrastructure carried out by the commune was the opening in 1219 of a great piazza outside the walls of the *Torresotti* for development of the annual fairs and, later, the weekly cattle market. The opening of the *Campus Mercati* was an initiative directly tied to the guilds, which participated, through the commune, by financial investments. A major goal of the project was to provide the guilds with well-defined spaces for their activities during the specified periods and days of fairs and markets. Procurement of the needed land for this project was again accomplished by a system of expropriation for public utility. In addition to the annual fair which was celebrated, beginning 15 August, in the Campo del Mercato (today the *Piazzola*, an area narrower than that originally acquired by the commune), the weekly cattle market was also celebrated, which began to be held every Saturday, beginning in 1223: today the weekly market is still held in the same place and on the same day (Fig. 3.7).

Construction of the Third Circle of Walls (the Circla)

Approximately 70 years after the construction of the *Torresotti* walls, it was already recognized that they no longer met the needs of a city in full economic expansion. Bologna shared in the productive and commercial growth that all Europe was experiencing, but it also enjoyed a distinctive impetus to its economy from the *studium*; thousands of students from all over Europe came to this city to pursue its very well-known courses of civil and canon law. These students were wealthy, not poor as one might imagine, or they could not have faced the costs of travel, acquisition of very expensive books, and renting of a house.³⁷ Economic growth in turn brought immigrants from the countryside and from neighboring cities who needed space for the construction of houses. In response to this demand, the city had to be enlarged and a new set of walls constructed.

For the third circle of walls, called the *Circla* by the *bolognesi* of the Middle Ages, work most likely began in the period of great tension between Bologna

36 Bocchi, "Storia urbanistica"; Eadem, *Il Duecento*, pp. 45-48 and pp. 125-26 of the English translation; Eadem, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 237-38; Eadem, *Bologna e i suoi portici*. The obligation to build a portico, already in place early in the 13th century, was formalized by inclusion in the Statutes of 1288. *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 10, Rubric 52 "De porticibus faciendis per civitatem et burgos," vol. 2, p. 163.

37 For an example of student life at Bologna, see Smurra, *Iohannes de Pontissara vescovo*, and on the importance of books, Eadem, "'Studium,' manuscript book production and urban landscape."

and Emperor Frederick II (1226-27), and the first traces of the ditch go back to that era.³⁸ The new walls had a polygonal form, quite regular except for the southeast corner, which extended in the direction of Via Santo Stefano in order to enclose the properties of that monastery within the urban area. The total surface of Bologna was over 408 hectares. The new circuit measured 7720 meters and had a breadth – including the ditch, the *cortina*, the supportive land, and the internal and external roads – of about 40-50 meters. Its excavation therefore required a major employment of animals, carts, and human labor, which the inhabitants of the *contado* were required to supply, drawing them away from their work and agricultural production. The *cortina* was not immediately constructed in masonry, and remained for many decades a strong wooden palisade, well and efficiently constructed, with construction in brick not beginning until 1327. The gates and their enclosures (*serragli*), however, were built from the start in masonry.

The area within the new circuit contained a considerable amount of ecclesiastical property, consisting of orchards and vineyards, which thus became urban areas, adapted to respond to the demands for areas suitable for building houses for the growing population. In the form and disposition of present-day cadastral parcels in the broad area between the *Torresotti* and the *Circla*, can be found still preserved the structure of the allotments which were carried out by the great and wealthy ecclesiastical bodies: Santo Stefano in the east and southeast; San Procolo in the south; San Salvatore and San Giovanni in Monte to the west; the cathedral of San Pietro to the north. The new streets formed in this urban band were not called *vie*, but *borghi*, since the term *via* indicated the streets of the *civitas* within the *Torresotti* walls, while the streets of the *Circla* were lined with habitations in large part constructed before the building of the new walls and hence were *borghi*. Evidence of this is found in the persistence of the toponym *Via del Borgo di San Pietro* (referring to the allotments of the cathedral of San Pietro), although the street is located in the full historic center.³⁹

The Porticos

The streets flanked with porticos were for the most part in the urban band created between the *Torresotti* and *Circla* walls.⁴⁰ Today, within the circuit of the

38 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, pp. 102 and 230. Also see Foschi, "Le fortificazioni di Bologna."

39 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 243-51; Eadem, *Il Duecento*, pp. 37-43 and pp. 122-25 of the English translation.

40 The following section on porticos is based on the references given above in fn. 36.



FIGURE 3.8
*Basilica of San Luca
 and the Seicento
 portico leading to the
 Sanctuary. PHOTO:
 ENRICO PASQUALI.*

Circla, there still are 39 km of such streets. Not included in this figure are the extra-urban porticos from the 16th and 17th centuries: the celebrated portico (4 km) which leads to the basilica of San Luca on the hills of the Guardia (Fig. 3.8); the portico of the Certosa; and the portico degli Alemanni on the Via Emilia. The presence of porticos in a medieval city is not rare: they were built almost everywhere where there was no great control by the authorities over public ground (up to the 11th and 12th centuries). In fact, private proprietors had sought to acquire habitable space by constructing buildings with *sporti*, overhangs supported by wooden beams extending from the second-storey. With the passage of time these *sporti* became larger, so much so that they needed better support from beams resting on the ground. In this way private buildings came to occupy the public space of the street.

This situation occurred in all Italian medieval cities until demographic and urban development made it imperative to bring order into the public space of cities that were growing too rapidly and without regulation. Any intrusion into

public ground was prohibited; the removal of porticos and every other type of building that impeded the regular transit of traffic was forbidden. In general, as a result in most cities houses with porticos were no longer constructed, because if one wished to construct such a building, it was necessary to request a “license” from the city’s administration to occupy public ground. Bologna had a somewhat similar history, but only up to the phase in which the occupation of public ground was forbidden to private proprietors. The successive practice at Bologna did not mean the end of the construction of houses with porticos, but just the opposite – it meant establishment of the obligation for private proprietors to construct their own houses with a portico on private ground for the use of the entire community.

The portico, which had been formed by the needs of private proprietors who occupied the public street, became at Bologna a public use that utilized private ground. The codification of this norm did not take place until 1288,⁴¹ but for the two prior centuries many houses had been constructed in the area of new urbanization with the portico resting on private property,⁴² and also in the mid-13th century statutes many rubrics were dedicated to the systematization and enlargement of the streets, with consequent effect on the porticos. For example, in 1250 a general norm concerned the possibility that every *contrada* (street) of the city, with the approval of at least two-thirds of its inhabitants, could decide to arrange for a sewer system and moving back of the *sporti*. Obviously the expenses would have fallen on all inhabitants, including those who had not approved the decision. Once the works were approved by the commune, these provisions were inserted into the statutes and then had to be implemented.⁴³ Other provisions had as their purpose the enlargement and drainage of the streets near public or religious buildings, for example, near the church of Sant’Ambrogio, a place held in great esteem for the saint to whom it was dedicated and, as noted above, for its status as the ancient communal seat. The open space in front of the cathedral of San Pietro and the street (*platéa maior*) that went toward Piazza Maggiore also were paved and the porticos and external stairs permanently removed.

41 See above, fn. 36.

42 Bocchi, “Trasformazioni urbane,” table in the appendix. In the allotments of Santo Stefano there is evidence of others on the Via di Castiglione (1101) and in the *borgo* of Santo Stefano (1107).

43 *Statuti di Bologna dall’anno 1245 all’anno 1267*, Bk. 9, Rubric 19 “De clavigis faciendis et solariis retrahendis,” vol. 2, p. 358. A sophisticated system of drains and disposal of industrial waste was built at mid-century, for which see Bocchi, “Lo sviluppo,” pp. 257-68; Eadem, *Il Duecento*, pp. 57-70 and pp. 129-34 of the English translation.

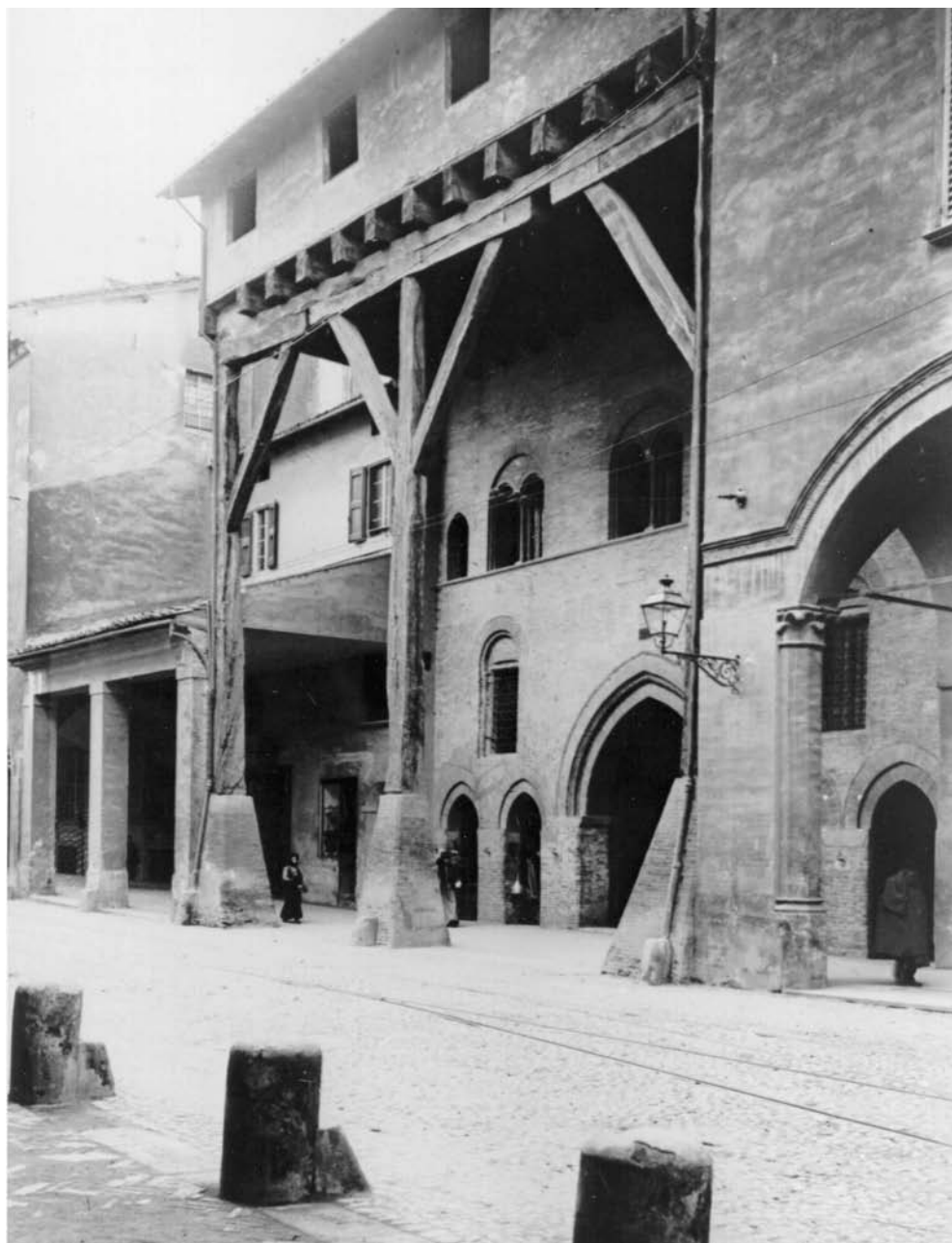


FIGURE 3.10 *Casa Isolani, Strada Maggiore, built during the 13th century.* PHOTO: FROM THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY, FOTOTECA DELLA FONDAZIONE CASSA DI RISPARMIO IN BOLOGNA.

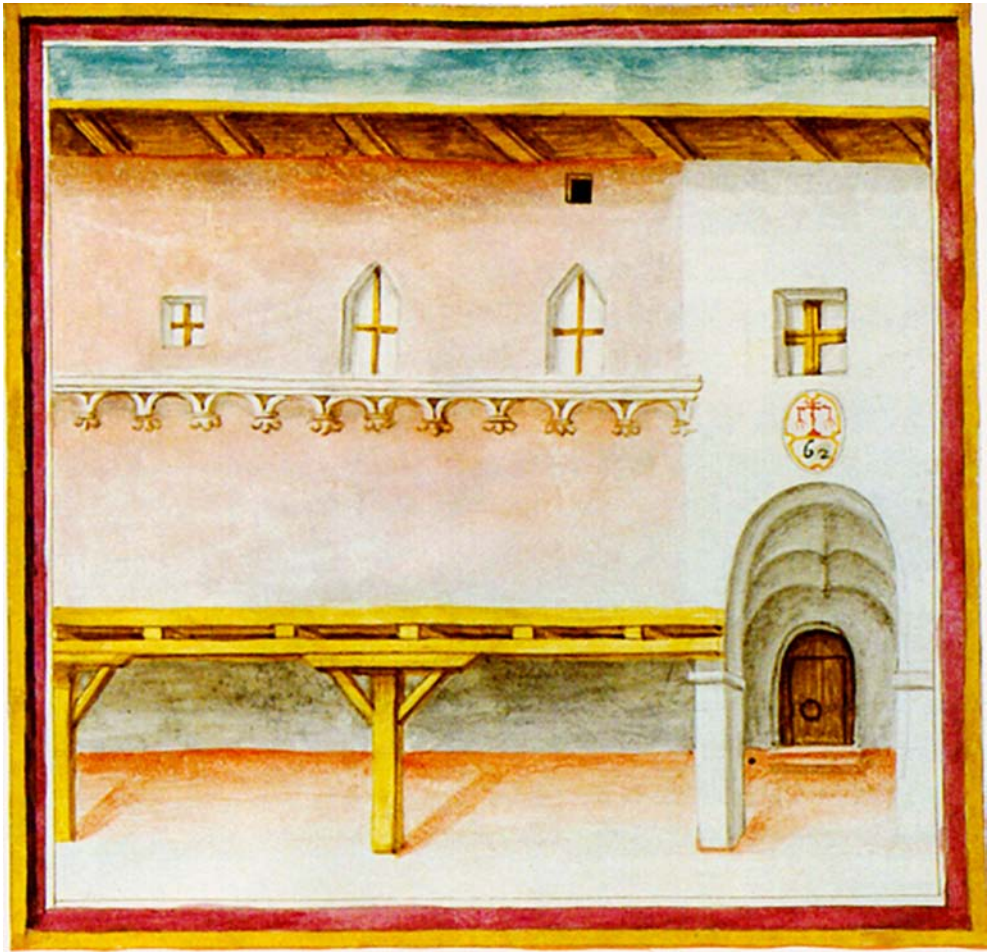


FIGURE 3.11 *Casa di Via Riva Reno*. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA, DEMANIALE, CAMPIONE DI SANTA MARIA DELLA VITA, 1584-1604.

stone types co-existed for centuries. On the one hand one finds a late-Gothic building, probably built in the 15th century, whose portico, however, featured a wooden structure of the medieval type, while on the other hand, in the adjacent building, the portico was an integral part of the structure⁴⁶ (Fig. 3.11). Porticos at Bologna not only came into being as they did in other cities, but here they lasted for centuries, were deliberately and officially incorporated into the urban fabric, and became the city's identifying characteristic with

46 Bocchi, *L'edilizia civile*.

houses, public buildings, and churches today still having their porticos as a continuation of the street, as part of the public sphere.

"Modernization" of the urban fabric by the communal government as portrayed above was thus a slow, but energetic and vigorous project whose development took place throughout the 13th century. It should be noted, however, that another interpretation exists, as espoused by Jacques Heers in 1984.⁴⁷ Heers's thesis is that the communal government was unable to exercise full control over the city and its physical growth until the *popolo* came to power late in the 13th century. Only with their banning of aristocratic opponents and the destruction (*guasto*) and confiscation of their properties, did space become available for enlargement and systematization of streets and piazzas. The interpretation presented here and evidenced in an earlier work argues to the contrary that "public control over the city was very long-established [...] this does not mean that the presence of noble *corti* (courtyards), churches, and towers was irrelevant, it means instead that in the slow but sure modernization that took place over the century, even the nobles adapted, when necessary, to the needs of the city."⁴⁸

Building Projects of the 14th and 15th Centuries

The era of great enterprises for development of the infrastructure and urban expansion ended with the coming of foreign and local *signori* in the Trecento and Quattrocento. During that period few projects of great scope were carried out except on the occasion of a military crisis for defense purposes (the most important exception was the basilica of San Petronio, for which see below). Ordinary maintenance, the resurfacing of pavement in certain piazzas, and restoration of public buildings completed under the threat of a loss of urban functionality were indeed carried out, but activity was not homogenous over the entire urban landscape. The war with Ferrara at the end of the 13th century, tense relations with the Emperor Henry VII, defeat at the Battle of Zappolino (1325), the cyclical return of papal dominion: all contributed to a climate that channeled resources primarily to military defense. For example, systematization of the streets between Porta Stiera, Porta Nuova, and the Pratello in part were repaved and in part unencumbered from *sporti* and porticos so that the inhabitants could reach the Piazza Maggiore more rapidly when called to

47 Heers, *Espaces publics*. On confiscation of the properties of banned persons, now see Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*.

48 Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, p.141. Also see the review of Heers's book by Fasoli, "Un nuovo libro."

defend the city.⁴⁹ Moreover, foreign *signori* militarized the city, with building projects aimed at defending the regime and controlling the population: the fortress of Galliera, built in 1330-32 during the *signoria* of Cardinal legate Bertrand du Pouget and destroyed when he was forced to flee the city in 1334, and the Fortezza del Pratello, erected in 1353 by the Visconti governor, Giovanni da Oleggio, but torn down in the rebellion of 1375.⁵⁰

Shifts in governmental regimes by families who held power also determined the construction of dwellings suited to the institutional role of their proprietors, as in the case of the Pepoli and Bentivoglio. The crypto-*signoria* of Romeo Pepoli (1306-21) and the acknowledged *signoria* of his son Taddeo (1336-47) had a very profound impact on the neighborhood where the family lived for centuries, with construction of their palazzi between Via Castiglione and the contiguous Vivaro (now Via Pepoli)⁵¹ (Fig. 3.12).

The establishment of university colleges was a sign of the deep economic crisis of the Trecento. The colleges sought to supply food and lodging in Bologna for the maintenance of young men who lacked sufficient funds to pursue their studies. The first of these, a modest residence for eight students which belonged to the diocese of Avignon, already existed in the 13th century. The most celebrated Bolognese *collegio* was the Collegio di San Clemente, known as the Collegio di Spagna, which today still fulfills the function for which it was instituted by Cardinal Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz in 1364. This monumental complex, which occupies an entire block between the eponymous street and Via Belfiore and Via Urbana, was the work of the celebrated architect Matteo Gattaponi of Gubbio.⁵² The lessening of the students' capacity to meet their expenditures is rendered even more evident by the establishment of the Collegio Gregoriano in a building acquired by the Pepoli in 1371, at the wish of Pope Gregory XI, who provided funds for the maintenance of 30 poor *scolari*, six priests, and 15 staff members.⁵³ Other colleges for poor students flourished in the course of the Trecento, but only the Collegio di Spagna, supported by a rich patrimony, was able to continue its work across the centuries.

49 Dondarini, "Il tramonto," pp. 15-19 and pp. 120-22 of the English translation.

50 Guidoni and Zolla, *Progetti per una città*, pp. 66-69; Dondarini, "Il tramonto," pp. 23-24 and p. 123 of the English translation.

51 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 287-88. On the Bentivoglio Palazzo, see below.

52 Serra Desfilis, *Matteo Gattapone*.

53 Vasina, "Lo 'studio' nei rapporti," pp. 57-59.



FIGURE 3.12 *Palazzo Pepoli (Vecchio) in Via Castiglione. PHOTO: FRANCESCA BOCCHI.*

The Symbols of the Last Popular Commune (1376-1401): the Mercanzia, the Palazzo dei Notai, the Basilica of San Petronio

In a single night (between 19 and 20 March 1376), the *bolognesi*, without spilling blood and with the help of the Florentines, expelled the pontifical legate, restoring Bologna's autonomy and liberty. From that time on the word *Libertas* was prominently displayed in the commune's coat of arms. The Palazzo dei Notai on the Piazza Maggiore, the Mercanzia, and the basilica of San Petronio are the symbols of the new political and economic order and the civic spirit of the last quarter of the 14th century.⁵⁴

In 1384, not far from the Piazza of Porta Ravegnana at the confluence of Via Santo Stefano and Via Castiglione, where the offices of the *Gabella Grossa* and the stalls of the bankers were located, the architect Antonio di Vincenzo began construction of the Palazzo della Mercanzia, the splendid late Gothic building in which the Camera di Commercio still has its seat today. The building interpreted perfectly the economic energy of the productive and financial classes of Bologna and their centrality in the local economy⁵⁵ (Fig. 3.13).

Construction of the Palazzo dei Notai in the Piazza Maggiore also was of symbolic value. The guild of the notaries was the most powerful of the corporations in Bologna, especially in the 13th century.⁵⁶ At the end of the century Francesco di Accursio had sold a *domus* to the society, located on the southern side of the piazza at the corner with Via San Mamolo (now Via D'Azeglio), which would become the nucleus of the Palazzo. During the signorial period of the 14th century the notaries' guild lost its earlier political role, but the restoration of the popular commune reinvigorated the society, and in the 1380s the Palazzo was given its present structure as a *domus merlata* (crenelated; that is, a structure topped with squared notches), a form and substance that fit the politico-institutional prominence of the notaries and served as the symbol of their political presence⁵⁷ (Fig. 3.14).

The basilica of San Petronio was born as a civic temple and remained as such until 1929.⁵⁸ (Fig. 3.15) It was configured as an *ex-voto* of the city for Bologna's escape from the risk of Milanese domination (1389). Construction of

54 Dondarini, "Il tramonto," pp. 36-37 and pp. 128-29 of the English translation.

55 Matteucci, *Antonio di Vincenzo*.

56 Tamba, *La società dei notai* and the Appendix to his essay in this volume.

57 Cencetti, *Il Palazzo dei Notai*.

58 The decision to construct a basilica was inserted in the statutes with immediate effect 1 January 1389. The sources were also indicated for its financial backing. Fanti, "La basilica"; Trombetti Budriesi, "I primi anni del cantiere"; D'Amico and Grandi, *Il tramonto del Medioevo*; Lugli, "Il cantiere di S. Petronio."



FIGURE 3.13 *Palazzo della Mercanzia*, by the architect Antonio di Vincenzo, 1384.

PHOTO: FRANCESCA BOCCHI.



FIGURE 3.14
*Palazzo della Società
dei Notai, Piazza
Maggiore, 1382.*
PHOTO: FRANCESCA
BOCCHI.



FIGURE 3.15
*Piazza Maggiore
seen from the north.*
Center: the Palazzo
del Podestà and to
its right Piazza del
Nettuno; top:
basilica of San
Petronio and to its
left Palazzo dei
Notai; eastern side:
Palazzo Accursio;
western side: the
Pavaglione. PHOTO:
ENRICO PASQUALI.

the basilica was the most important urbanistic project of the Trecento, involving great resources and requiring dismantling a large portion of the oldest part of the city. The archives of the *Fabbriceria* preserve systematically all documents concerning the acquisition by public utility of the houses and churches that were destroyed, and the works and expenses of the building site. Analysis of these documents permits us to understand how the head of the building site, Antonio di Vincenzo, programmed the works and managed the supply of materials and the hiring of manual laborers, all with such great competence that the work unfolded rapidly, so much so that at this death (1401), one-third of the building had already been completed. From its initiation, politico-administrative responsibility was given to the *Fabbriceria* (an entity elsewhere called an *Opera*), consisting of four *fabbricieri*, with decision-making powers, who were appointed by the commune, all laymen, making the undertaking a civic enterprise.

In 1389 the *fabbricieri* were employed in obtaining resources and identifying and assessing the value of the buildings to be acquired and torn down in the name of public utility. The area involved was previously occupied by two blocks separated in a north-south direction by a street, whose paving was rediscovered during archeological excavations. The work of demolition began on the side of the Piazza Maggiore on 3 March 1390. On 7 June, with a splendid ceremony, the first stone was set in place, on which was engraved the insignia of the commune, blazoned with the word *libertas*. Before his death in 1401 Antonio di Vincenzo had time to construct the first two bays of the basilica with two chapels on the side of each bay, the roof trusses, and the enclosure of the building with a wall to the south to allow officiating of the mass. But the death of Antonio di Vincenzo, architect of two monumental buildings that were the physical manifestation of civic sentiment, the Mercanzia and San Petronio, coincided with the effective end of the restored popular commune.⁵⁹

The Rinascimento: the *Bentivoglio* "Signori"

The 15th century opened with the seizure of power by the Bentivoglio family. At least initially it was a crypto-signory, that is, a form of personal power that was not derived from investiture by a sovereign but by conferment of a public office for life by civic bodies.⁶⁰ However, before the Bentivoglio gained power, an important architectural project was executed by the *Fabbriceria* of San

59 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo," pp. 291-93.

60 On this controversial concept, see the essay by Tommaso Duranti in this volume.

Petronio for the public piazza, in order to make it an adequate setting for the temple being constructed within it. In 1400, plans were made and work initiated for systematization of the eastern side of the Piazza Maggiore. That side did indeed present a disordered complex of private buildings of modest quality, in contrast to the other three sides which were already well characterized by public buildings and by the basilica of San Petronio itself which was under construction.⁶¹ The new project envisioned the “refacing” of the old buildings by constructing a harmonious series of porticos, with semi-circular arches and ribbed vaults, which are still visible in part in the present-day portico of the façade of the *Banchi* designed by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (called Vignola) in 1565 (for the latter see below).

For the most part, however, the urban changes of the 15th century were characterized by building renovations to the dwellings of the Bentivoglio family and those families who supported them, such as the Ca' Grande dei Malvezzi in Via Belmeloro, the Palazzo Paleotti of Via San Donato, the Palazzo Sanuti in Via San Mamolo, and the Palazzo Ghisilardi in the present-day Via Manzoni (built on the ruins of the imperial Rocca destroyed in 1115). The most significant architectural undertaking was the construction of the Palazzo, destroyed in 1506-07, in which the Bentivoglio family resided, located in Strada San Donato (today Piazza Verdi, in the area of the Teatro Comunale and the Giardino del Guasto).⁶² It was an imposing building, with a tower that intentionally and symbolically was taller than that of the Palazzo Comunale. The only surviving representation of the tower is found in the skyline of Bologna painted by Francesco Francia in 1505 as an ex-voto on the occasion of the earthquake of that year⁶³ (Fig. 3.16). The Palazzo (called *domus aurea* and *pala-tium regale* by contemporaries) was begun in the 1460s, during the *signoria* of

61 On the western side of the piazza, the Palazzo della Biada (today the Palazzo d'Accursio) was renovated and enlarged and became the permanent residence of the *anziani* (the executive council of the government) during the 1340s. A further important architectural project on that building was carried out by Fioravante Fioravanti in 1425, to which is owed the wing that reaches the present-day Via Ugo Bassi. For the first renovation, see Dondarini, “Il tramonto,” p. 24 and pp. 123-24 of the English translation.

62 The toponym *Guasto* refers to the destroyed area of the Palazzo. In part it is now a public garden located on a tract created by the demolition of the Palazzo. The capitals, portals, and other architectural fittings were carted away by those who carried out the demolition and were re-employed in many important buildings at the beginning of the Cinquecento. Most likely the portal of the Palazzo Marescotti in Via Barberia, constructed in 1508, came from the Palazzo Bentivoglio.

63 The tower of the Palazzo Bentivoglio is second only to the Asinelli Tower. For the Palazzo itself, see Antonelli and Poli, *Il palazzo dei Bentivoglio*.



FIGURE 3.16 *Francesco Francia*, *Madonna del Terremoto*, 1505. PALAZZO COMUNALE, SALA D'ERCOLE.

Sante Bentivoglio (1424-63), by the Florentine sculptor-architect Pagno di Lapo Portigiani; a manifestation of Florentine cultural influence on Sante who was from a collateral branch of the family resident in Tuscany. Tuscan architectural taste was broadly diffused in Bologna, as also seen, for example, in the Palazzo degli Strazzaroli (or Palazzo dei Drappieri, 1496) in the Piazza di Porta Ravegnana, and in the Palazzo Sanuti-Bevilacqua in Via San Mamolo (1481).⁶⁴

Giovanni II Bentivoglio ("signore" 1463-1506) completed the construction of the residential Palazzo (destroyed in 1507), while his son Annibale II built for himself the "Casino della Viola" in the verdant northeastern sector of the city, designed by the architect Giuseppe Nardi.⁶⁵ Giovanni furthermore intervened, directly or indirectly, in the planning of various monuments in the city: he had constructed, at the expense of the city,⁶⁶ the Renaissance portico of San Giacomo with the frieze *in cotto* (1477-78); he also had major renovations carried out in what is now called the Palazzo del Podestà. Furthermore, towards the end of the century Giovanni II directed a decisive shift in the organization of the city center, creating the Via Imperiale (today Via Ugo Bassi), by enlargement of the section of the ancient *decumanus* that connected the façade of the Palazzo degli Anziani with the Piazza di Porta Stiera. But full systematization of the public central area would be completed only in the next century by the vice-legate Pier Donato Cesi.

The City of the Legate and the Senate

With the fall of the Bentivoglio (1506) at the hands of Pope Julius II, Bologna became definitively part of the Papal State. All power was vested in the pontifical legate or his substitute, even if the Bolognese Senate, presided over by the standard bearer of justice, officially functioned alongside him.⁶⁷ The senators did leave a cultural and historical "monument" that illustrates many aspects of the city and the life unfolding within it from the 16th through the 18th centuries, in the form of 16 volumes in parchment of the *Insignia degli anziani consoli*

64 Rubbi, *L'architettura del Rinascimento*, pp. 101-22; Ricci, *L'architettura a Bologna*.

65 For the "Casino," and its description by Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti, see *La stagione dei Bentivoglio*, pp. 112-22.

66 One *quattrino* (= 4 *denari*) was raised for every *lira* spent in the city, for a total of 3633 *lire*, 7 *soldi*, 3 *denari*. Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 216. On the Bentivoglio chapel in San Giacomo, see the essay by David Drogin in this volume.

67 See the essays by Tommaso Duranti and Andrea Gardi in this volume, the former for an interpretation that lays more stress on the autonomy exercised by the Senate and the latter for the social composition of that body.

(elders).⁶⁸ It is a collection of miniatures carried out every two months from 1530 to 1796, for memorializing the names of the eight *anziani* and the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* (standard bearer of justice) as they succeeded in office. The Piazza Maggiore was the theatre for the display of the wealth of these elected officials, as can be seen in the *Insignia* as they preserve the record of these events and testify to the lifestyle of a narrow social group.

The senatorial families enjoyed the privilege, if they wished to do so, of constructing their palazzi without porticos; indeed, sometimes they obtained permission to even occupy some portion of public space. The decision not to have a portico could have been a stylistic choice (*palazzo alla romana*), but perhaps also was a means of emphasizing one's noble supremacy in comparison with the rest of the population. Only with the end of pontifical government in the 19th century would this norm requiring the construction of porticos, obligatory since the 13th century, return to its medieval egalitarian mode.

The senatorial palazzi are very prominent in the Bolognese urban fabric. At least 25 were constructed during the Cinquecento, for example, Palazzo Fantuzzi in Via San Vitale (1517-21), Palazzo Albergati in Via Saragozza (1520), Palazzo Bocchi in Via Goito (1545), Palazzo Bentivoglio (a branch separate from the ruling family) in Via delle Belle Arti (1551), and Palazzo Boncompagni in Via del Monte (1544). But not all senatorial families wanted to live in a palazzo whose design served to isolate them. Having a portico and sharing this building feature with non-senatorial families did not signify for some families any diminution of their power and wealth. Indeed, many grand palazzi of the Cinquecento had porticos facing the street: for example, Palazzo Malvezzi-Campeggi in Via San Donato (1522), Palazzo Bolognini Armorini in Piazza Santo Stefano (1520) (Fig. 3.17), Palazzo Fava Marescotti (1573) in Via Manzoni, and Palazzo Magnani (1570) in Via San Donato, which has a salon frescoed by the Carracci in 1590.⁶⁹

The greatest urban-planning projects of the pontifical government were undertaken by Pier Donato Cesi, vice-legate of Carlo Borromeo from 1560. He carried out the urban renovations desired by Pope Pius IV, defining the present-day axis of Piazza Maggiore with construction of the Neptune Fountain

68 The *Insignia* are conserved in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna. Plessi, *Le Insignia degli Anziani del Comune*; Zanni Rosiello, "Le 'Insignia' degli Anziani. Un autoritratto."

69 Cuppini, *I palazzi senatori*; De Angelis, "Istituzioni e città," for the senatorial palazzi, the Neptune Fountain, the Archiginnasio, and the Portico dei Banchi. On the Palazzo Bentivoglio, also Bocchi, *Il patrimonio bentivolesco*. For a discussion of the palazzi as "the most spectacular way in which the oligarchs placed their 'signatures' on the city" see Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 92-98.



FIGURE 3.17
*Palazzo Bolognini
 Armorini in Piazza
 Santo Stefano, 16th
 century. PHOTO:
 CARLO PELAGALLI.*

and the Portico dei Banchi (or Portico del Pavaglione), and also gave the city the first public seat of the *studium*, the Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio.

The Neptune Fountain, work of Giambologna (Jean de Boulogne, 1563-67), represents more than the creation of a magnificent urban ornament⁷⁰ (Fig. 3.18). It also served as the opportunity to clear away the old houses that occupied the space between the Palazzo del Legato and the Palazzi of the Podestà and Re Enzo. This project made it possible to connect the Piazza Maggiore with both the entrance to the Canton dei Fiori (at the corner of present-day Via Indipendenza) and hence with the cathedral, as well as with the Via Imperiale (today the Via Ugo Bassi) and the Via Mercato di Mezzo (today the Via Rizzoli), traffic axes that would support public buildings and distribute traffic into the rest of the city.⁷¹ Moreover, construction of the fountain also required building a hydraulic system. Water was brought from the ancient spring of the Remonda under San Michele in Bosco and from Valverde, which today still supply the fountain, by means of a system of conduits that also carried water to the Giardino dei Semplici, founded by Ulisse Aldrovandi in a courtyard of the Palazzo Pubblico (near the present-day Sala Borsa).⁷²

Systematization of the eastern side of the Piazza Maggiore (Portico dei Banchi) at the beginning of the 15th century had produced a late-Gothic

⁷⁰ Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*; Miller, *Renaissance Bologna*; Tuttle, *The Neptune Fountain*.

⁷¹ Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, p. 206.

⁷² In 1568 Aldrovandi founded a later version. Since 1803 the Orto Botanico dell'Università has been located in the Via Imerio.



FIGURE 3.18 *The Neptune Fountain in Piazza Nettuno, 1563-67. PHOTO: FRANCESCA BOCCHI.*



FIGURE 3.19 *Portico dei Banchi of Piazza Maggiore*. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA, CAMPIONE DI SANTA MARIA DELLA VITA, 1595-1601.

crenelated façade⁷³ that was not consonant with the taste and architectural style that had become the signature of the Renaissance at Rome and of which Pier Donato Cesi was the interpreter. No documentation has survived that permits establishing with certitude the patron of the new grand façade, but considering that it was a public undertaking, it was probably the vice-legate Cesi who in 1563 entrusted the project to Vignola. The renovation increased the height of the earlier construction significantly: the façade, 96 meters in length and under 10 meters in width, had three stories (about 20 meters high), giving the entire piazza a sumptuous architectural balance (Fig. 3.19). The Portico dei Banchi continued beyond the Piazza Maggiore with the Pavaglione,⁷⁴ the portico of the Ospedale della Morte (today the Museo Civico Archeologico),

73 Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, p. 18. Memory of the 15th century-façade was still so pleasing to contemporary writers that they preserved its memory in their writings.

74 Pavaglione (= padiglione, pavilion) was the name of the tents under which were held the fairs for the sale and purchase of silkworms.

restored by Antonio Morandi (il Terribilia), and then joined the portico of the Archiginnasio, forming a *continuum* of more than 300 meters uninterrupted by perpendicular streets but linked with the street network by fornices (arched or vaulted entrances).⁷⁵

The construction of the Archiginnasio, also planned by il Terribilia (1562-1563) and financed by the state, was the first and politically most important undertaking of Cesi's years. It was a grand, innovative, and very "modern" Palazzo intended as a seat of higher learning. It was built with a central part that tied together two wings, one for the halls of the *legisti* (students of civil and canon law) and the other for the *artisti* (students of the liberal arts). The massive number of students from all over Europe who passed through the building is evidenced by their numerous coats of arms, frescoed on all the walls. Construction of the Archiginnasio put an end to the Bolognese project to complete the basilica of San Petronio with a great transept, an enormous cupola at the crossing of the nave, and an apse with ambulatory. The façade of the Archiginnasio, located at its narrowest point at less than 10 meters from the eastern side of the basilica, had another urbanistic effect: in order to give dignity to the Palazzo, space began to be cleared in front of it and that space became the Piazza delle Scole (today Piazza Galvani), definitively systematized in the Seicento when the apse was constructed (deprived of an ambulatory), which closed the central nave of the basilica to the south⁷⁶ (Fig. 3.20).

The Archiginnasio was the unequivocal expression of the rigorous control that the Holy See exercised over the delicate and decisive nerve center of university formation in order to apply the principles developed at the Council of Trent. Bologna, a culturally and politically autonomous city, had not earlier possessed a public building in which all activities relative to university teaching were concentrated. The *scolae* of the Middle Ages were scattered throughout the city, organized by the professors who utilized their own buildings and properties for lessons, and often even furnished a residence for students who were unable to secure their own lodgings, for which they paid the professor directly. With construction of the Archiginnasio the epoch of university autonomy ended, both for the teachers and for the students.⁷⁷ It was also one of the major physical manifestations that signaled the definitive end of the autonomy of Bologna itself and the making of a papal city.

75 Tuttle, "Vignola's facciata."

76 Roversi, *L'Archiginnasio*.

77 De Benedictis, "La fine dell'autonomia"; Eadem, "Luoghi del potere e Studio."



FIGURE 3.20 *Portico of the Archiginnasio, 1562-63.* PHOTO: FRANCESCA BOCCHI.

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Public Health

G. Geltner*

Thirteenth-century *bolognesi* had access to a greater range of medical healers, knowledge, and services than most city dwellers of that era, let alone rustics.¹ Yet they also faced unique and serious risks to their well-being. While the latter would certainly have included sins, scandals, and other moral dangers plaguing urban centers in particular (for instance, in the shape of prostitutes or financial greed), *bolognesi* also routinely remarked upon threats to their physical safety and health. Overcrowding, filth, violence, corrupt produce, noise, rampaging animals, and blocked waterways: one does not have to embrace a Victorian image of the Middle Ages in order to recognize what lurked (or was thought to lurk) among the city's streets, homes, taverns, workshops, and markets.² Much of the available literature on premodern public health assumes or implies that earlier societies failed to react to or take preventative measures against health hazards, real or perceived.³ As this essay will show, however, concerns about and approaches to population-level health are a central, but often neglected, aspect of the city's late medieval history.

The concerted promotion – and by implication fragility – of public health is particularly well documented for Bologna in the 13th and 14th centuries. It was a period that saw the city's population peak (probably at around 55,000-60,000)

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1 Dall'Osso, *L'organizzazione medico-legale*; Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*; Nutton, "Continuity or Rediscovery?," pp. 26-28.

2 Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies*, who gives due attention to the interconnected medieval notions of spiritual and physical health. On scandal as essentially a moral danger, see Fossier, "*Propter vitandum scandalum*."

3 The entrenched view of medieval cities as growing heaps of dung is discussed in Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies*, pp. 12-15. For a recent and typical illustration, see Shepard, *An Illustrated History of Health and Fitness*, pp. 307-8. And see footnote 5 below.

around 1280, dip, and then downright tumble with the onset of plague in 1348, whose visitations upon the city continued for the next century.⁴ Preventative activities hardly began in this period, but even the documents' earliest proliferation demonstrates that residents sought to improve their environments well before the Black Death struck and centuries prior to the establishment of health boards. Modern historians tend to represent both of these events as watershed moments in the history of public health, the former as a trigger to any and all interventions, and the latter as either a culmination of that process or as the dawn of modern public health.⁵ Different series in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna, however, provide a radically different view. The registers of one organ in particular, known as the *fango* ("dirt," "mud") official, allow us to observe how preventative practices were conceived, what they meant both before and after an alleged sea change in local public health history, and test some hypotheses about their impact, the kind of activities and people targeted as public health (or environmental) offenders, and the means for detecting, prosecuting, and punishing them. In this sense, the history of Bologna's public health interventions cannot be set entirely apart from developments in its demographic profile, physical layout and infrastructure, trade connections, legal thought and activities, the agendas of its political elites, and the city's world of learning.

For the purposes of this essay, however, the main focus will be on the activities and regulations governing Bologna's *fango* officials, whose efforts in promoting communal well-being were striking and often deliberate. Our survey spans the period commencing with the organ's first mention in the sources, around the mid-13th century, and up to the late 14th century, when its activities were routinized within the city's apparatus, having undergone no particular transformation in the aftermath of Black Death or plague's repeated visitations in the following decades. Bologna's government, much like numerous regimes

4 Pini, "Problemi di demografia." Also see the essay by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

5 The dated yet still prevalent consensus is articulated in Cosmacini, *Storia della medicina*, pp. 27-42. Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, pp. 26-56, remains a partial exception among non-specialists in terms of recognizing medieval society's capacity for promoting public health. A more typical survey will often ignore premodern interventions entirely, either assuming or falsely claiming that "modern public health began [in the late 18th century] with efforts by city governments to deal with environmental problems, such as ensuring fresh water supplies, air quality, the removal of waste, and even the location of burial grounds." Berridge, Gorsky, and Mold, *Public Health in History*, p. 26. Bradley with Stowe, *Rome, Pollution and Propriety*, skips the medieval period altogether. And see Cipolla, *Public Health*; Idem, *Miasmi ed umori*; Alexander, *Bubonic Plague*; Bowers, *Plague and Public Health*.

in and beyond the Italian peninsula, charged these men (elsewhere known as roads officials or *viarii*) with the overall upkeep of urban infrastructures related to safety and cleanliness. In other words, the *fango* officials, like roads and waters officials elsewhere, monitored both physical structures such as bridges, roads, and wells, and human and animal behaviors thought to impact these structures, from waste disposal, to building activities, to travel, play, and commerce.⁶ Prior to the advent of organized police forces and fire brigades, and both before and after the establishment of health boards in premodern Europe, these men were the regime's eyes, ears, and noses on the ground. They were decidedly not the only residents (or even officials) entrusted with Bolognese well-being, but they are currently the best-documented government organ to have pursued this goal, however partially and even inadvertently, and their records consequently reflect both formal definitions and responses to health threats as well as resistance or simply apathy towards them on the part of dwellers and visitors.

Bologna's *fango* series received a modest amount of attention, especially from modern local historians, who have variously underscored their value for tracing processes of state building, as an inroad to understanding communal and post-communal ideologies, and as a source for studying urban social marginality, not to mention the city's morphology.⁷ Some of these studies have been substantially based on the statutes prescribing the office's norms, while others have tapped its daily reports, fiscal accounts, and court records. It is especially the latter that allow us to see the official in action and above all in interaction with the urban environment, be it through onsite inspections and public announcements (*gride*), or by purchasing provisions, hiring workers, and prosecuting those who violated pertinent statutes. Despite this modicum of scholarly interest, the present essay is the first to explore – however provisionally – most of the series' nearly 300 surviving registers up to the year 1400.⁸

Indeed, Bologna's *fango* is probably the most richly documented office of its kind for late medieval Italy, and as such arguably of Europe as a whole. By comparison, its Lucchese parallel (the *Curia viarum*) has left behind 11 registers for

6 Geltner, "Public Health"; Idem, "Healthscaping a Medieval City."

7 Greci, "Il controllo della città"; Breveglieri, "Il notaio del fango"; Tosi Brandi, "Igiene e decoro"; Albertani, "Igiene e decoro"; Geltner, "Finding Matter."

8 ASB, Podestà, Ufficio delle acque, strade, ponti, calanchi, selciate e fango [henceforth Fango] 1-27, 30, 32; ASB, Capitano del Popolo, Giudici del Capitano 376, 379, 381, 400, 407, 410, 415-16, 423, 441, 446, 451, 487, 489, 491, 507, 511, 516, 532, 535, 538, 539, 542, 544, 548-54, 556, 562, 576, 581, 586, 587, 595, 599, 608, 612, 620, 626, 628, 631, 636, 639, 640, 642, 651-52, 659, 664, 673, 683, 687, 691, 695-96, 705, 710, 720, 726, 806, 809, 813-15, 820, 846, 848, 874, 875. This essay is mostly based on the former series.

the period 1336-77, although the activities of its successor government organ, the *fondaco*, are documented in thousands of registers for the following centuries.⁹ Certainly roads and waterways organs such as the Bolognese *fango* officials and the Lucchese *viarii* were common in late medieval Italy, to judge by the extant statute collections of cities large and small, from Lazio to Alto Adige.¹⁰ But in most cases their documents of practice have not come down to us. And even when they have, as in Bologna and Lucca, their neglect by historians of medicine and urban well-being meant that entrenched views on the Black Death's tremendous impact, the seminal value of health boards, and the correlation between democratization, modernization, and advanced science and public health interventions have often gone unchallenged.

Investigating the Bolognese series, therefore, illuminates public supervisory and prosecutorial activities, and through them, the city's history of defining and coping with major health threats. Far from a linear development, what these sources reveal is a complex process involving internal and external forces and different stakeholders, who in turn participated in and promoted different systems of power and knowledge and achieved varying degrees of success. First, however, let us trace the *fango* officials' early stages and mandate.

Origins and Scope

Preventative health interventions in the Middle Ages often stemmed directly from concerns about physical viability, on land and water.¹¹ Bologna was no exception. Since the late 12th century several *scarii* or *yscarii*, works supervisors whose regional presence can be traced back to the early 8th century, maintained the city's roads, bridges, and waterways, alongside monitoring other sensitive areas such as piazzas, markets, gates, and industrial sites.¹² In all likelihood under growing demographic pressure and economic development, their responsibilities were gradually redistributed. Book 1, rubric 23 of the 1250 statutes records a recent group of officials, namely the "quatuor qui

9 Geltner, "Healthscaping a Medieval City." To be sure, the *Fondaco* had a far larger portfolio.

10 In a survey I conducted of 111 discrete texts of Italian urban statutes between c.1250-1500, 57 towns or cities (51 per cent of the sample) designate roads and/or waters officials, including Perugia, Castiglione degli Ubertini, Piancastagnaio, Viterbo, and Monteagutolo.

11 Bocchi, "Regulation of the Urban Environment"; Eadem, *Attraverso le città*, pp. 107-27; Balestracci, "The Regulation"; Zupko and Laures, *Straws in the Wind*, pp. 59-72; Greci, "Il problema dello smaltimento"; Szabò, "La politica stradale."

12 On the term's possible etymologies and the office's early history see Fasoli, "Un fossile nel vocabolario." And see Maragi, "La santé publique."

sunt in loco yscariorum,”¹³ and the statutes’ redaction of 1256 (Book 11, Rubric 98) calls for the establishment of “soprastanti...ad fanghum per civitatem,”¹⁴ whose remit overlapped substantially with the previous organ’s, including (other than viability) the protection of artisanal standards, produce, weights, and measures. Numbering four, these men represented each of the city’s quarters and required no particular training or background.

Towards the end of the 13th century the group of *fango* officials was replaced by a single officer, one of seven notaries in the *podestà*’s entourage. Envisaged as an “experienced man who will know how to deal with the issues pertaining to his office,” this roads supervisor (whom the administrative sources continue to refer to as the *fango* official) was required to ensure viability and cleanliness in the city and its rural communes.¹⁵ Around 1376, the *officium fangi* moved under the aegis of the *capitano del popolo* without shedding any of these duties or the higher standards required from government officials.¹⁶ Throughout the 14th century, then, and along with tangible government efforts to keep the city clean and traffic flowing, the roads or *fango* official remained responsible for the collection and disposal of waste, overseeing public works, examining market stalls and produce, inventorying the presence of animals, curbing the accumulation of firewood, and investigating the presence of social undesirables such as false beggars, gamblers, vagabonds, and prostitutes.¹⁷ Beyond suggesting a perceived link between social marginality and disease, the persecution of social and religious deviants also reminds us that promoting health was rarely detached from avoiding sin, be it at the individual or population level.¹⁸

Both the city’s statutes and especially the *fango*’s mission statements, to say nothing of the notary’s records of practice, demonstrate that the office’s development was neither linear nor its focus permanent. Despite the replacement of representatives of each of the city’s quarters by one official, local residents’ involvement enabled the central body’s officials to deal with general violations

13 *Statuti di Bologna dall’anno 1245 all’anno 1267*, vol. 1, pp. 176–82.

14 *Statuti di Bologna dall’anno 1245 all’anno 1267*, vol. 3, p. 345.

15 *Statuti di Bologna dell’anno 1288*, Bk. 1, Rubric 4 “Quintus [notarius] supersit stratis et viis civitatis et burgorum aptandis et faciendis fieri et purgationi civitatis et aliis que in suo officio continentur. Et sit homo expertus qui questiones ad suum officium pertinentes noverit terminare,” vol. 1, p. 11. And see *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell’anno 1335*, Bk. 1, Rubric 3, vol. 1, p. 8.

16 Montorsi and Scaccabarozzi, *La giustizia*, pp. 446–510 and passim.

17 Zupko and Laures, *Straws in the Wind*, pp. 20–23 and passim.

18 Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor*; Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*; Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*.

and policing rather than directly maintain the streets or specific public works. And the development of urban infrastructures themselves (markets, sewers, walls) continued to refocus the notary's attention. But whatever the office's vicissitudes, the *fango* notary was relentless about extending his reach, especially by establishing a personal presence in the city. Between December 1329 and June 1330, for instance, he recorded 78 visits to commercial and production sites and 12 inspections of waterways – a total of 90 excursions (or incursions, depending on one's perspective). In the next semester the visits' number rose to 94, or more than one every other day.¹⁹ Registers covering seven semesters in the period 1334–37 chart a modest decline in site visits, but the notaries still average nearly 67 excursions, that is just over one every three days.²⁰

Significantly, all of these inspections are listed as uneventful, that is, the official found no violation (*nichil inveni*). When the opposite held true, the record usually contains a follow-up in the form of a summons, a fine, or an inquest. And while these cases fill many folios in the extant records (as we will see below), on average they are less numerous than uneventful site visits. This ratio lends itself to several interpretations: a relatively law-abiding society when it came to public hygiene, an incompetent or neglectful official, or a combination of the two. In terms of keeping eyes on the street, however, onsite visits tell only part of the story. On the one hand, and as we shall see in greater detail below, on many days the official adjudicated cases, which were often brought to his attention by other officials and private individuals; on the other, his main order of business, namely supervising public works, must have kept him constantly out and about, his presence simultaneously protecting and defining Bologna's vulnerable sites.

One pair of eyes, however focused and vigilant, was hardly enough for pursuing public health and the political goals of this office in every nook and cranny of Bologna's dense fabric. Accordingly, dirt officials seldom went on their inspection rounds unaccompanied by fellow officers from the *podestà's* (or *capitano del popolo's*) *famiglia*.²¹ Moreover, the *fango* notary sought to incentivize help from artisans and vendors and expand his network of

19 ASB, Podestà, Fango 18, Register 4, fols. 16r–21v (December 1329–June 1330); Register 5, fols. 17r–20v and 22r–25r (June–December 1330).

20 ASB, Podestà, Fango 19, Register 10, fols. 17r–20r (June–December 1334) (74 visits); 20, Register 1, fols. 17v–18v (December 1334–June 1335) (86); Register 2, fols. 16r–18r (June–December 1335) (70); Register 3, fols. 21r–23v (December 1335–June 1336) (65); Register 4, fols. 17r–19v (June–December 1336) (56); Register 5, fols. 19r–21v (December 1336–June 1337) (60); Register 6, fols. 25r–27v (June–December 1337) (57).

21 The *fango* notary's accompaniers are often listed for each site visit.

informants across social strata. For while public health interventions could be stimulated from the top down, implementing them required broad and willing participation. Accordingly, in 1288, numerous parish representatives had to swear an oath that they would vigilantly protect Bologna's infrastructure, specifically stating that they would observe regulations concerning domestic and industrial waste disposal, and report "those throwing dung or carcasses into public ditches or who keep buckets or any other vessel containing putrid or otherwise dangerous matter."²² Officials also deployed communal heralds to reiterate existing regulations and disseminate new ones, including the monetary rewards of successful accusers. Cleaning campaigns were similarly announced with *gride*, as on 9 October 1296, when the official ordered residents to clean the streets and public spaces from "dung, dirt...and any waste within three days under pain of 20 *soldi*."²³ The more eyes on the street, the cleaner and safer the city.²⁴

Health Discourses

Demanding oaths and sending criers around hardly guaranteed residents' cooperation. Indeed, much of the *fango's* extant records contain strong evidence to the contrary. Moreover, such prescriptions assume that rather than explain why fecal matter, grease, and industrial waste could be dangerous (*periculosum*). Wagon handlers allowing their oxen to roam free, laundresses toiling upstream, wine merchants fiddling with weights, and residents diverting or blocking ditches are routinely cited for the damage (*dampnum*) or the

22 "Quibus preceptum fuit...quod ab hodie in antea denuptient et accuse[n]t mihi...putredines et omnes puteos non rimondatos et non habentes catenas et situlas vel si haberent ruptas; et habentes adronas non muratas; et proiecentes finactiam vel letamen in viis publicis; et coquentes grassam vel sepum de die vel de nocte in dicta cappella vel vicinia; et sepelientes vel facientes sepelliri ossa in civitate vel burgis Bononie; et mittentes vel ponentes linum ad macerandum in fossato circle; et proiecentes moltictium vel eius aquam in viis publicis; et tenentes calcinariam in civitate vel burgis; et battentes pelles ante stationes eorum...et habentes andronas clausas; et proiecentes latamen vel rusum in andronis comunibus vel tenentes situlas vel aliud quod habeat in se putritudinem vel quod esset periculosum in aliquo casu." Transcribed in Breveglieri, "Il notaio del fango," pp. 110-11.

23 ASB, Podestà, Fango 7, Register 3, fol. 8r: "quelibet persona debeat aspicare de viis et spatii publicis letamen, fangum...et omnem inmoniditam hanc ad tres dies pena viginti soldorum."

24 See Jacobs, *The Death and Life*.

destructive potential (*ruinatio, devastatio*) of their actions; but the harm itself remains mostly unstated, or else is expressed in material and moral rather than physical or biological terms.

On occasion, however, we do come across descriptions that are more explicit from a health perspective. On 13 January 1295, for example, the notary instructed five men, who were in possession of open latrines near their domiciles, to seal and enclose them within eight days “so that they cannot be seen by passersby.”²⁵ To modern ears this may sound like an aesthetic intervention, and to an extent it is, albeit partly. For medieval optical theories of ocular emission and intromission held that the perceiving eye could absorb an object’s qualities, be they detrimental or favorable to one’s health.²⁶ Accordingly, dead organic matter such as dirt, blood, dung, and especially carcasses threatened those who saw it. Whenever our records invoke the sight of dirt or dead matter therefore they are likely also alluding to the latter’s dangerous properties and accuse pertinent violators of compromising public health. To acknowledge this is to reveal an important layer in the *fango*’s court documents, which has so far mostly been overlooked.

Foul odors were seen as another source of ill health, since medieval medical theorists, following Hippocrates (c.460-c.370 BC) and Galen (129-c.200/c.216), thought stench could trigger disease by compounding an already deteriorated atmosphere.²⁷ The odors’ origins could be diverse: sick people, rotting carcasses, stagnant ponds, filthy water, and exposed latrines are frequently named as dangerous for this reason. And all of them were to be avoided, either by sealing, covering or burying the foul vessel, or through encouraging residents to minimize contact, apply ointment to the nose and mouth, carefully dispose of dangerous substances, and do so downwind and downstream. With this in mind, the *fango*’s records capture numerous instances in which communal health was seen to be undermined by bad smells. On 1 April 1297, for example, a certain Visconte was charged with erecting two latrines over his gutter “so that filth (*putredo*) exits and stench (*fetor*) reaches the people who pass there and those who live nearby.”²⁸ During his rounds on 2 November 1300 the *fango* notary Pagano noticed that the gutter of Filippa, wife of ser Federigo di Tedaldi

25 ASB, Podestà, Fango 6, Register 3, fol. 12r: “debeant ea sidilia facere murari vel coperiri secundum formam statuti comunis bononie, ita quod per transeuntes videri non possint sub pena in statutum contenuta.”

26 Stearns, *Infectious Ideas*, pp. 91-105; Hawkins, “Sights for Sore Eyes.”

27 Siraisi, *Medieval and Renaissance Medicine*, pp. 128-30; Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State*, pp. 9-60; Jouanna, “Air, Miasma and Contagion.”

28 ASB, Podestà, Fango 7, Register 4, fol. 8r: “super quedam androna sunt duo sedilia ita quod putredo exit et fetor venit hominibus ibi transeuntibus et vicinis prope ibi habitantibus.”

of San Antolino, was “uncovered,” as a result of which “much filth (*maxima putredo*) poured out into a public road and stench (*fetor*) reached the neighbors, which inflicted major harms (*maxima iniuria*) on those passing by and commuting through the said street.”²⁹

The two main vectors of transmitting illness, namely sight and scent, could act in concert. For instance, when the *fango* notary accused a group of residents in mid-July 1320 of neglecting to maintain a latrine and its gutter, he ordered them to carry out an immediate repair “so that the stench and fetor would not emanate from them...and that those latrine and sewers are cleaned and cleared...so that other putridity will not be visible.”³⁰ In other words, beyond the mechanical repair, it was paramount that the facility cease to emit harmful sights and scents.

Perceived threats to health emerged well beyond negligent practices of domestic waste disposal. On 14 October 1314, for instance, Giovanna, wife of Piero the shoemaker, was fined 10 *soldi* for hanging animal hides to dry on a wall in her parish, from which, as the complaint states, the filth could trickle into a local well.³¹ On 14 January 1317 Restarino Bonifacci, a leather worker in Santa Maria Maggiore, narrowly avoided a fine after he confessed to cleaning hides within two feet of a local well, despite the production of filth involved and the prohibition by the city’s statutes.³² And on 13 July 1376 Mengolino Berti of San Sisimondo was caught carrying a dead horse into the *campo fori*, where he skinned and disposed of it, against the statutes.³³ Such violations were presented unequivocally in the sources as placing their surrounding environments at risk. And the same held true for market vendors, especially fishmongers and butchers, who were fined throughout the 14th century for keeping rotting merchandise in their stalls, or for operating in illicit locations or off-hours, to avoid being controlled.

Most offenders were evidently willing to compromise communal well-being, even within their own parishes, for private gain or comfort or out of

29 ASB, Podestà, Fango 8, Register 3, fol. 6v: “unam andronam sive clavigam, domine Felippe uxoris...domini Federighi di Tedaldis capelle Sancti Antolini, apertam ex qua exiebat in via publica maxima putredo et fetor veniebat vicinis et ex hoc maxima iniuria sequebatur viatoribus et transeuntibus per dictam stratam.”

30 ASB, Podestà, Fango 16, Register 6a, fols. 45r-47v (10-16 July 1320): “quod putredo vel fetor ex eis non exeat...ac etiam ipsas sedilium et clavichas purgari facere et disgombrare...ita quod alia putredo non apareat.”

31 ASB, Podestà, Fango 13, Register 2, fol. 52r: “sic quod putredo potevat cadere... in dicto puteo.”

32 ASB, Podestà, Fango 15, Register 1, fols. 10v-11r.

33 ASB, Capitano del Popolo, Giudici del Capitano 806 (1376), fol. 5v.

sheer laziness. But on rare occasions the records suggest outright sabotage. In mid-August 1314, for instance, a case was brought against a certain Imelda, a domestic servant in San Gervasio, for intentionally dumping “dangerous filth” (*periculas inmondicias*) at night into a local well near the hospital of San Pietro.³⁴ Even more explicitly, a year later a certain Pizolo Ghinacci, *spiritu diabolico* and under the cover of night, threw an enormous heap of filth (*putredinem in magnam quantitatem*) into a well in Santa Lucia, apparently to avenge his mistreatment by some local women.³⁵

Bologna’s records thus demonstrate that some contemporaries considered certain sights, scents, and matters to have a potentially adverse effect on health, and that magistrates considered it their duty to minimize harmful exposure. Even if none of those who produced the extant texts actually believed in or understood the underlying medical theories of disease transmission (which is unlikely), at the very least they considered it a useful tactic to evoke sight and scent pollution when lodging an official complaint or promulgating an order. Moreover, when Bolognese officials and residents translated such private concerns into social and legal action, it is possible to trace a link between medieval medical theory and public health policies. And when the records capture contemporary individuals who employ a similar discourse as part of an attempt to enforce such policies, we can reasonably talk about the influence of certain medical ideas, either directly disseminated or otherwise present, and their adaptation and even manipulation by urban dwellers.³⁶ Jointly, such actions amounted to what I have elsewhere termed urban healthscaping: a legal, physical, social, and political process by which urban regimes, organizations, and individuals sought to support and improve communal health.³⁷

Preventative Interventions

With this in mind, let us examine some of the *fango*’s extant records more systematically in order to achieve a better-grounded profile of Bologna’s public

34 ASB, Podestà, Fango 13, Register 2, fols. 5v-8v (13-22 August 1314).

35 ASB, Podestà, Fango 14, Register 2, fol. 38v (27 August 1315): “Pizolus Ghinacci capelle Sancte Lucie qui moratur ad stanctionem cum Guidocto Corbisi in androna tuschorum spiritu diabolico ductus noctis tempore proiecit et posuit putredinem in magnam quantitatem in quodam puteo ipsius domini Ugolini posito in quadam curia domus dicti domini Ugolini in androna tuscorum posita in capella Sancte Marie di caranis iuxta heredes quidam domini Tortuzi di Passiponeris et iuxta aposa.”

36 Coomans and Geltner, “On the Street.”

37 Geltner, “Healthscaping a Medieval City.”

health-related challenges, or at least establish how these were perceived and represented. The current section is based on a selection of seven registers traversing the period 1300-79, a timespan that illuminates healthscaping activities both before and after the Black Death.³⁸ Beyond their temporal distribution these registers were also chosen for completeness and clarity, which yielded ample information. In this sense, the selection cannot be properly labeled a sample, but the large amount of charges it contains does provide an entry point to studying contemporary concerns and behaviors. The selected data cover a total of 43 months in which 2107 charges were pressed against pertinent offenders by the *fango* official or (less frequently) by private individuals. Insofar as the records allowed, they were mined for data on the gender, provenance, and occupation of the offender, the type and location of the offense, and its outcome.

To recall, the *fango* official had multiple responsibilities beyond maintaining urban hygiene. Procuring materials and contracting workers took the lion's share of the office's budget. And yet, as the basic data show, the detection and prosecution of offenders falling under his jurisdiction was fairly intensive time-wise. Allegations brought before his tribunal came in one of three different ways. First, while the dirt official spent much of his day outdoors, it is likely that, whatever else he was focused on, wandering through local markets, accosting carters, and dropping in on artisanal workshops and private homes could all be done on a whim or following a tip. Any and all of these could have led to a charge. Secondly, other officials could have identified environmental offenders during their routines, and passed them on to the *fango* notary. Cases reaching the tribunal this way would likely lead to an official inquest (*inquisitio*). Last but not least, keeping eyes on the street were also Bolognese residents, who, also driven by the promise of a monetary reward, could complain against violators in their work or residential areas, precipitating an accusatorial procedure (*accusatio*).³⁹

Every month, the *fango* notary adjudicated anywhere up to 245 cases (Fig. 4.1). To contextualize this figure, Bologna's regular criminal court dealt with an average of around 120 cases per month in the late 13th century to as little as 20 cases a month in the early and middle of the 14th century (a decline preceding the onset of plague), before rising to about 40 cases a month in the late 14th

38 ASB, Podestà, Fango 8, Register 3 (1300-01); 15, Register 2 (1317); 20, Register 1 (1334-35); 20, Register 2 (1335); 22, Register 4 (1361); 24, Register 4 (1369); 27, Register 8 (1378-79).

39 I have yet to work out the exact ratio between inquisitorial and accusatorial procedures, which could help establish residents' active participation in enforcing environmental legislation. My impression so far is that most cases were formally brought forward by officials, but that does not necessarily mean the complaint originated with them.

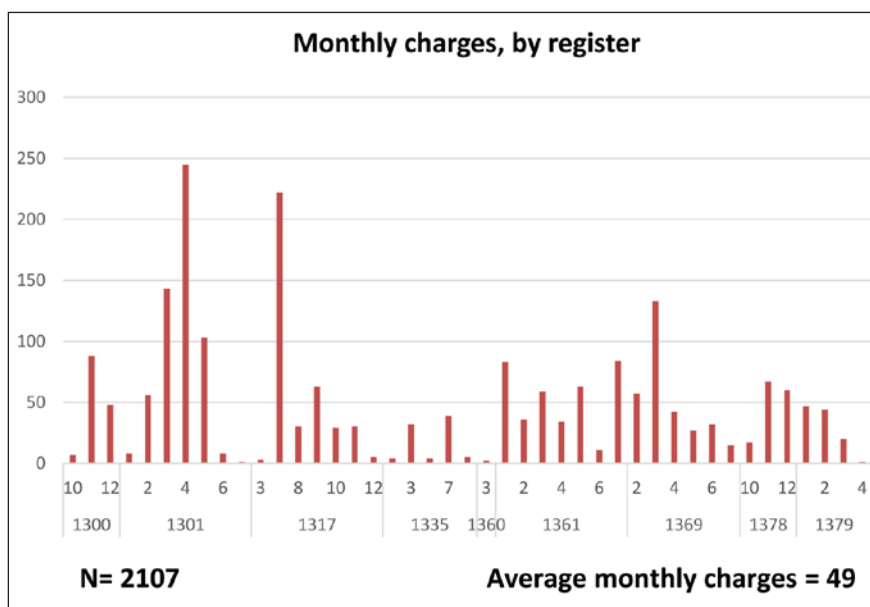


FIGURE 4.1 *Monthly charges brought before the fango notary in selected registers, 1300-79.*

SOURCE: AUTHOR'S DATA SET AS DESCRIBED IN FOOTNOTE 38.

century.⁴⁰ In other words, the *fango* notary's caseload was quite substantial in contemporary terms, especially when we consider that, unlike notaries presiding over regular civic and criminal tribunals, he could dedicate only part of his time to prosecuting offenders. However, and as the extant registers attest, given the nature of most offenses adjudicated by this tribunal, verdicts could easily be pronounced on the basis of confessions and eyewitness testimony (not infrequently the official's own) and sentences (mostly fines) meted out and presently collected.

Despite their summary character, the extant entries certainly illuminate detection and prosecution activities at a higher resolution, for instance in terms of charges made, persons involved, location, and outcome. To begin with deviance itself, one way to impose some order on the matter, is to divide the offenses described in the sources under the rubrics of commerce, neglect, filth, animals, blockage, and safety. (In 17 per cent of the cases I could not establish the charge) (Fig. 4.2).

40 Private correspondence with Sam Cohn, Trevor Dean, and Sarah Blanshei are the basis of the statistics on criminal prosecutions in Bologna. For broader contextualization see Bonfiglio Dosio, "Criminalità ed emarginazione"; Verga, "Le sentenze criminali dei podestà milanesi 1385-1429"; Dorini, *Il diritto penale*; Cohn, "Repression of Popular Revolt."

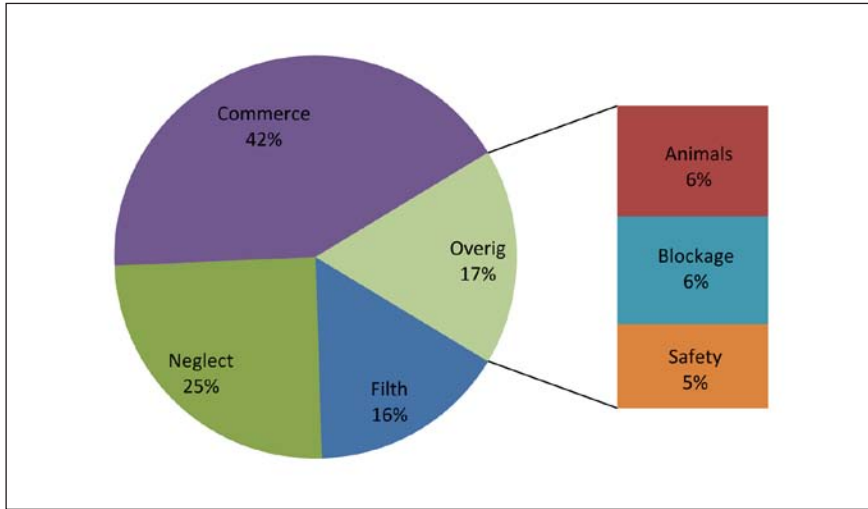


FIGURE 4.2 *General distribution of charges in selected registers, 1300-79.* SOURCE: AUTHOR'S DATA SET AS DESCRIBED IN FOOTNOTE 38.

A fair criticism of these categories is that they subsume diverse types of offenses under generic ones. To some extent that is true of most categorizations and taxonomies, of course, yet the intention here is to demonstrate the interconnection between Bolognese concepts of civic order and public health. For instance, it can be reasonably argued that most offenses under the heading of commerce are technical, namely selling outside licit opening hours and/or away from designated locations. But operating off-hours and off-site also meant avoiding the quality control officials provided in order to ensure that residents received healthy fish, meat, wine, and produce, and that the latter were not discarded in a way that endangered residents' health. Illegal weights and measures comprise another major subcategory within commerce, and here too the link with public health may appear to be tenuous, even though they could have had a moral domino-effect and there were certain applications of weights and measures that could have had an adverse effect on health, for instance regarding recipes and medicines. At any event, while promoting health may have been the impetus of prosecution in some cases, it is more likely that foremost on the magistrates' mind was a desire to encourage honesty and transparency, thereby protecting the unity of the civic body. Once again we observe how the spiritual and physical attributes of health were difficult to tell apart.⁴¹

41 This is a major point in Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies*; and Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*.

From a more familiar modern perspective other rubrics can be easily connected to public health, such as safety. Prominent among this category of charges are artisans using ovens or dangerous industrial materials recklessly and carters accused of neglecting the supervision of their wagons and beasts of burden. These differ from owners of animals whose presence in the public domain was forbidden in general or without strict supervision, which comprise the majority of cases falling under the rubric of animals (and we will accordingly see below how broad the spatial distribution of such allegations was). But even here the overlap between safety and health is substantial, as animals could endanger residents physically by attacking them or by scattering filth in various places.

Blockage and neglect are likewise potentially overlapping categories. The main distinction here is between intentional and seemingly unintentional offenses, for instance piling wood deep into a portico versus a leaking drain or gutter. Of course, depending on what the gutter was leaking, an offense could be easily placed under the final category, namely filth. However, only when complaints explicitly mentioned environmental deterioration or threats to public health, they were counted under the latter category. As the chart above shows, overall these comprise a minority of cases (16 per cent). But using this figure to gauge public health concerns in Bologna is somewhat misleading. As we have repeatedly seen, diverse health risks lay immediately beneath the surface of numerous other offenses suggesting that the category of filth unnecessarily constrains us to think about public health from the limiting perspective of modernity. Either way, it is helpful to see these diverse charges as reflecting a nexus of threats that, at least in officialdom's eyes, impacted health at the population level and hence defined one way of promoting it.

A closer look into the frequency and location of alleged violations reveals a rather dynamic and complex picture of both continuity and change across the 14th century (Fig. 4.3). Note, for instance, the reduction of filth- and blockage-related charges and the disappearance of animal-related prosecutions and neglect after the Black Death, as well as the modest and huge rise respectively in safety- and commerce-related charges. While explaining these trajectories remains a desideratum,⁴² the continuity of government efforts and residents' complaints is itself significant. That is, plague may have impacted the pattern

42 My current research project, "Healthscaping Medieval Europe," is an attempt to do just that. Without entering too deeply into the realm of speculation, however, it is plausible that certain changes had to do with the interconnected processes of urban migration, declining population, and political centralization, although economic and ecological conditions may well have played an important role as well.

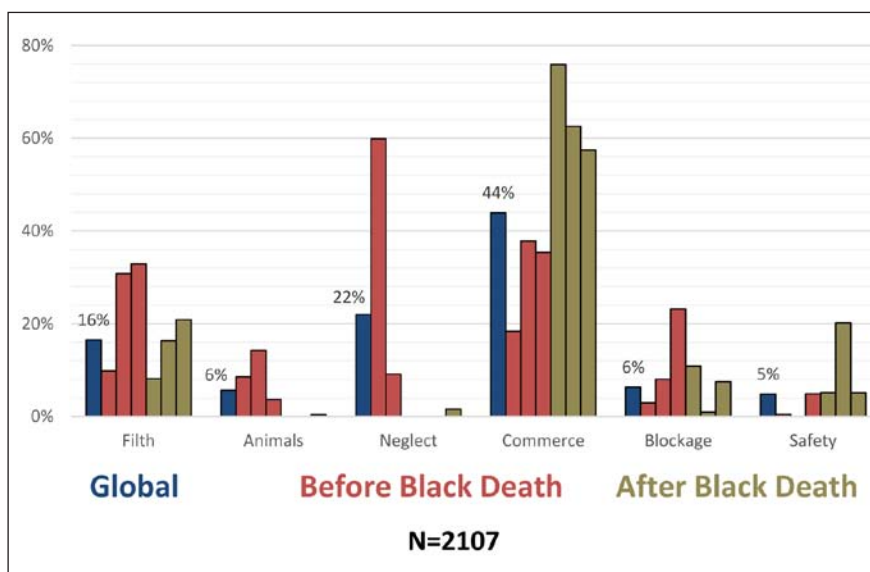


FIGURE 4.3 *Distribution of charges in selected registers, 1300-79.* SOURCE: AUTHOR'S DATA SET AS DESCRIBED IN FOOTNOTE 38.

of problems experienced and official responses, but it is unlikely to have sparked an interest in developing public health interventions in the first place, or conversely to have triggered a breakdown of mutual aid or government services.⁴³

The same data allow us to explore particular interests, such as the role of gender in promoting or undermining public health. Women, for example, comprise an average of 11 per cent of those charged with environmental offences. If we look at gender divisions by offense, however, some categories, such as gambling and safety, are entirely male domains, while women are somewhat more prominent (but still a minority) among deviant market vendors (16 per cent). And even here female offenders are mostly grocers and herbalists detected working off-hours or off-site, while their male counterparts, especially fishmongers and butchers, clearly instigated most of the *fango's* inquests during market operating hours. The discrepancy between women's strong presence in the public eye, particularly in the markets, and their marginalization in these records also remains to be explained, but it is

43 Here I am consciously siding with a "continuist" view of Bolognese society forged by Wray, *Communities and Crisis*.

likely tied with governments' tendency in this period to embrace a more restrictive definition of female deviancy.⁴⁴

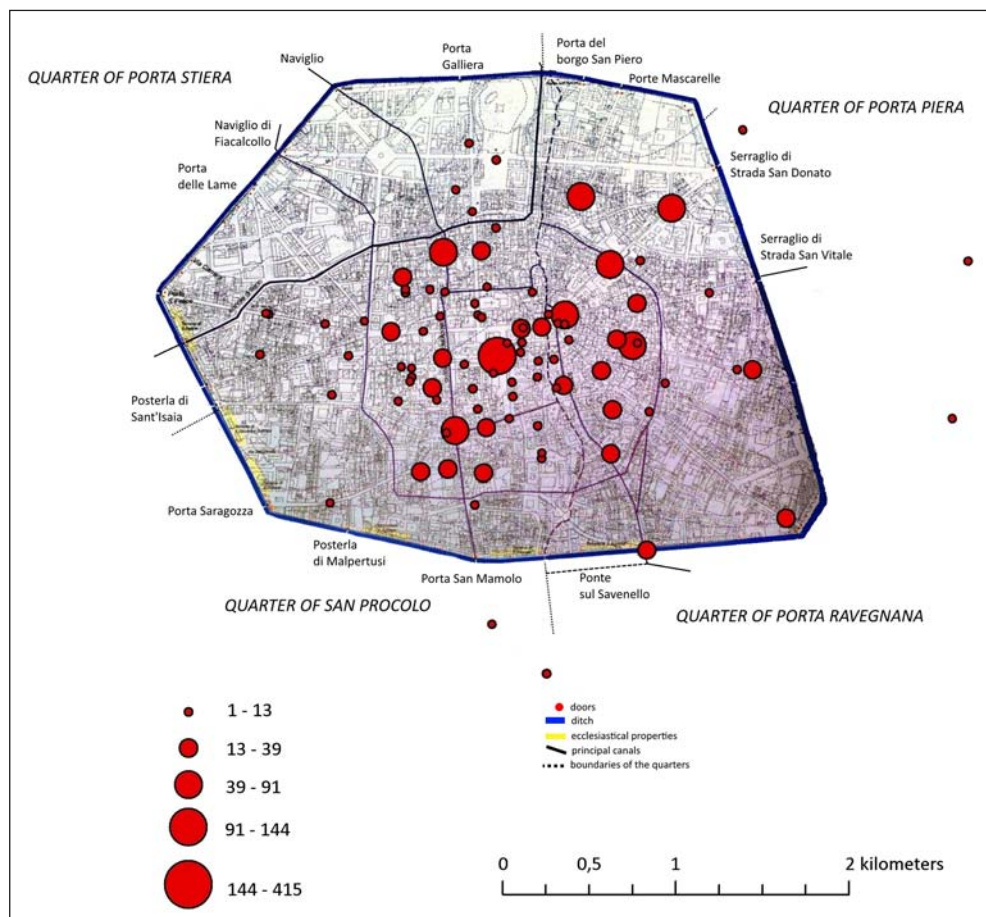
What the *fango* records can tell us about Bolognese women is not limited to their capacity as health threats. Leaving aside the occasional wealthy widow or wife of an artisan, most women charged by or before the officials were laundresses and domestic servants, most of whom were presumably unmarried, given that they are not described as such and that medieval courts tend to describe women in terms of their relations with men. Indeed, the normative picture being promoted through this office and its sources is conservative, perpetuating as it does a classist and patriarchal dichotomy between domestic and public spaces, with riverbanks and parish wells featuring as extra-domestic spaces where women could carry out their accepted tasks, but where they were also more open than elsewhere to scrutiny. Female entrepreneurship was treated with a modicum of suspicion, as the relatively higher number of women among charged market vendors seems to suggest.

While the women appearing in the *fango*'s medieval records are mostly alleged violators and agents of disequilibrium, they also emerge from them as defenders of health, at least as a byproduct of local loyalties. In this sense, official records also and perhaps inadvertently shed light on healthscaping activities at the neighborhood level. The parish women of Santa Lucia who denied a foreigner access to their well, the domestic servant acting as an eyewitness to a polluting act, the green grocer who stood her ground against an unauthorized competitor, were all promoting at least what government officials considered communal well-being.

Gender thus numbers among the various analytical categories that the *fango* records can help historicize from a unique perspective, adding to our picture of late medieval Bologna's society and politics. The same can be postulated for other key markers of identity and social status such as provenance, occupation, and education, as well as variables ranging from seasons to political circumstances. How these elements shaped individual, corporate, and government approaches to promoting health and fighting disease cannot be fully explored in the present survey, but the extant documents promise a fruitful line of research.

Last but not least, by working in a historical GIS (geographical information system) environment, it is now simpler than before to identify and compare the physical location of charges and their types over time, as well as the provenance of alleged offenders and its correlation with other identity markers

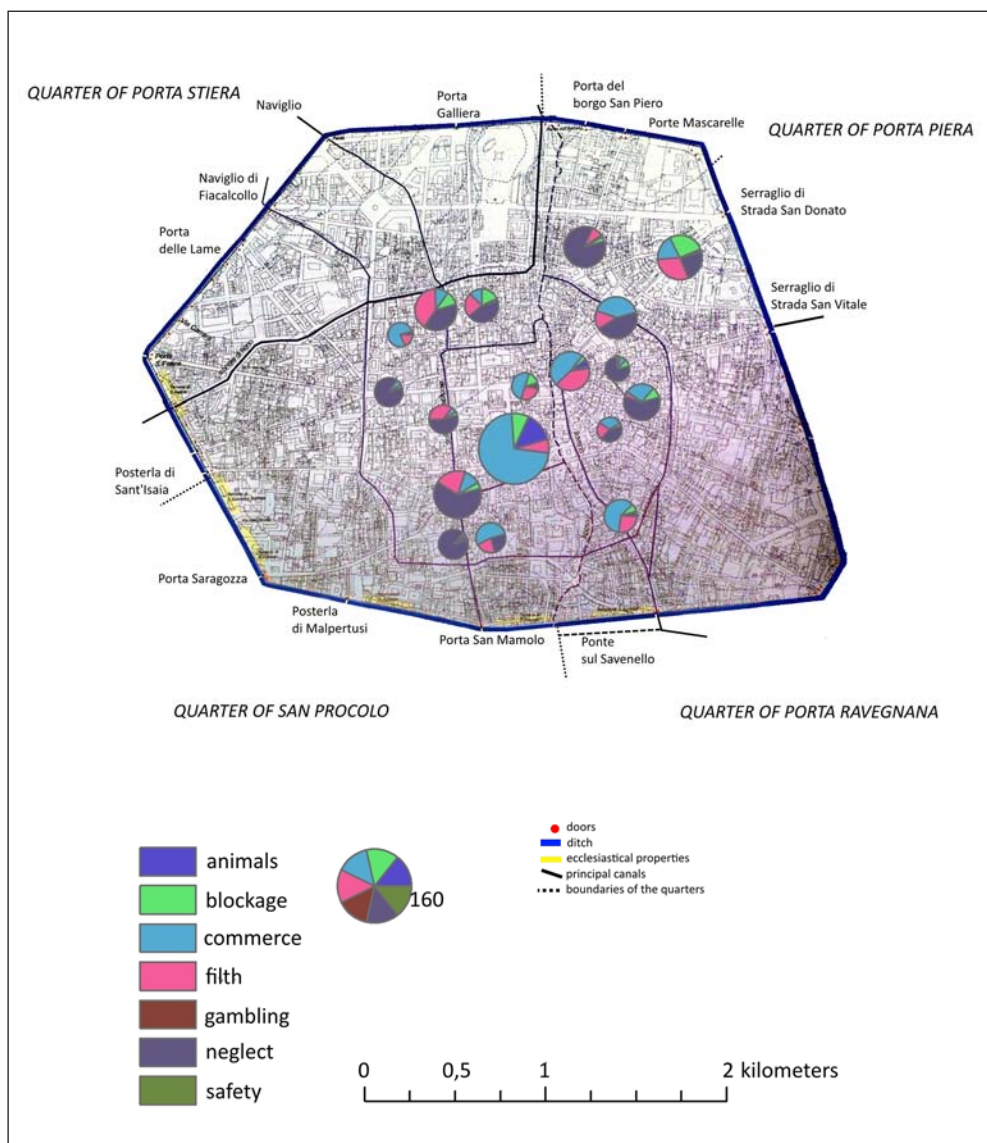
44 Geltner, "A Cell of their Own."



MAP 4.4 *Location of charges in selected registers, 1300-79. Source: Author's data set as described in footnote 38. MAP: FROM ROLANDO DONDARINI AND CARLO DE ANGELIS, "DA UNA CRISI ALL'ALTRA (SECOLI XIV-XVII," BOLOGNA, VOL. 2, ATLANTE STORICO DELLE CITTÀ ITALIANE (BOLOGNA, 1997), P. 22.*

across the Black Death divide.⁴⁵ Analysis of these data from these and other perspectives is still nebulous, so observations are necessarily tentative rather than conclusive at this stage. For instance, the rudimentary maps (Maps 4.4

45 The remainder of this section offers a very preliminary examination of the data assembled and presented in the accompanying images. I am grateful to Karin Pfeffer and Marcel Heemskerk at the University of Amsterdam's GIS center.



MAP 4.5 *Physical distribution of charges in selected registers, 1300-79. Source: Author's data set as described in footnote 38. MAP: FROM ROLANDO DONDARINI AND CARLO DE ANGELIS, "DA UNA CRISI ALL'ALTRA (SECOLI XIV-XIVV," BOLOGNA, VOL. 2, ATLANTE STORICO DELLE CITTÀ ITALIANE (BOLOGNA, 1997), P. 22.*

and 4.5) seem to confirm that commerce-related offenders were mostly concentrated in the city's three market areas, the Piazza Maggiore, Mercato di Mezzo, and Porta Ravegnana, and to a lesser extent near the erstwhile Aposa,

Castiglione, and San Donato gates. Animal-related offenses, by contrast, are far more evenly spread throughout the city, with two major agglomerations near the Porta Saragozza and, equally unsurprisingly, near the Campo del Mercato, a space designated for the sale of cattle away from the city center in the late 13th century. It also seems clear that while the majority of the commerce offenders were local residents, animal-related offenders could come from outside the city as well. Both groups, at any rate, seem to have shared a low socioeconomic status occupationally, dovetailing with earlier scholars' comments on the perceived conjunction of class and health.⁴⁶

Approaching Bologna's public health history on the basis of these insights is not without its problems. For, as the maps also illustrate, the vast majority of offenses were reported or detected within the city's first and second ring of walls, at a time when some of Bologna's population certainly lived and worked beyond them. It is unlikely that health risks were absent outside the city center, however dense and lively it remained throughout the 14th century. Instead, the physical distribution of charges may indicate the *fango* officials' beat, and accordingly where they thought they could best (or most easily) carry out their duties. Officials neglected neither the city's gates, waterways, or surrounding hinterland, nor the numerous wells and workshops scattered throughout Bologna's parishes. But the latter group was clearly lower on their priority list or otherwise less accessible (and thus less finable) from officialdom's perspective. Research on Bolognese officials' healthscaping activities, not to mention how they compare with parallel efforts in other cities, is embryonic. Yet even at this early stage the emerging picture is one of care and attention, not apathy and neglect.

Looking Farther Afield

Any survey, however brief, of medieval Bologna's history of healthscaping would be incomplete without at least mentioning the important role played by guilds, neighborhoods, hospitals, and confraternities, as well as the regular input on health-related matters from the university's scholars of medicine and astronomy. These bodies and entities are explored elsewhere in this volume, so suffice it to say here that ideas and practices concerning healing, labor safety, product quality, and diverse forms of charity and mutual aid received much attention in these contexts. Moreover, the prognostications, prophylactic measures, and cures debated by university scientists and medical practitioners

46 Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 135-57; Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor*.

were regularly communicated to – indeed eagerly sought by – governments and the general population. That it not to say that policies or recommendations were always enthusiastically or widely adhered to. As is customary in the history of public health, population-level interests tended to be defined and pursued vis-à-vis private and corporate agendas, and the welfare of the many rarely triumphed over that of the (powerful) few as a matter of course. In times of calm or during epidemics, healthcare and medical professionals backed by the government met with criticism, apathy, and outright resistance in carrying out their duties.⁴⁷ Unruly *bolognesi*, then as now, had to be routinely reminded of their actions' broader implications and encouraged to compromise.

Finally, looking beyond the chronological scope of this essay allows us to observe the emergence of local health boards. Here Bologna seems to have followed the trajectory of many Italian and European cities in founding – over time – permanent institutions of public health or *Sanità*. Unlike the *fango* office, these organs do not predate the Black Death and rarely served as direct responses to it, or even to the repeated visitations of the disease during the later 14th and 15th centuries. Milan and Venice being exceptional, most cities took a century or more, and numerous epidemics, to move beyond ad hoc responses to dedicated institutions, personnel, and budgets, whose stability was easily undermined. In Bologna, as elsewhere, health-related connectivity between the city, its hinterland, and other cities continued to develop throughout the 15th century, alongside traditional government prophylactic measures. Given the intermittent nature of disease outbreaks, however, it is hardly surprising that local responses, even when organized around a new initiative or health board, did not immediately transform into permanent organs of government.

Institutional ebb and flow seems to have ended with the onslaught of the plague epidemic of 1575-78, also known as the Plague of San Carlo. Within the havoc it created, numerous authors across the peninsula (not all of them medically trained) began urging urban governments and regional princes to act more systematically through civic institutions of disease control and prevention.⁴⁸ Bologna may have had something akin to a health board earlier that century, yet sometime between this event and the plague of 1630 a distinct organ gained a stable status as the *Assunteria di Sanità*.⁴⁹ While permanent

47 *Pastore, Crimine e giustizia.*

48 Cipolla, *Public Health*, pp. 11-66; Cohn, *Cultures of Plague*, pp. 202-07; Cosmacini, *Storia della medicina*, pp. 110-18; Pazzi, "L'organizzazione dei servizi."

49 Brighetti, *Bologna e la peste*; Rosa, *Medicina e salute pubblica*. The main archival series recording these activities are the *Assunteria di Sanità* (beginning in 1555) and the *Commissione provinciale di sanità della legazione di Bologna* (beginning in 1674).

and influential, it usually sprang into action only when epidemics were thought to have struck, at which point its officials became responsible for inspecting residences, industrial and agricultural production sites, commercial traffic, and even letters. It was these administrators who issued clean bills of health and authorized the entry and exit of people and products.

What historians, often writing with a modernist bias, might see as a “delay” in the rise of Bologna’s health board, can be explained through a combination of the city’s degree of administrative centralization, the political cachet and coherence of the medical profession, and the severity of plague. But whatever else may explain Bologna’s (and other cities’) path and chronology when it came to founding these bodies, it is also worth considering the role of pre-existing organs such as the *fango* (and its peninsular and continental parallels) in providing inhabitants with a robust if imperfect solution to dealing with ongoing health threats. Indeed, in times of peace and in the absence of epidemics, it was precisely these and other rather mundane city employees who helped keep the city clean and its residents safe.

Conclusions

Population-level healthcare is a rich yet so far mostly hidden aspect of medieval Bologna’s social, legal, and political history. Economically marginal occupations, foreigners, and women – groups that remain mostly voiceless in the city’s records – emerge for once as historical agents, as future work on the *fango* and *Assunteria di Sanità* is bound to demonstrate in greater detail. In the interim, it is safe to say that Bologna’s public health intellectual and administrative infrastructure far predates the onset of a plague epidemic in the mid-14th century, experimentation with civic actions in the 15th, or the rise of health boards in the 16th. Since the mid-13th century at the latest, Bolognese magistrates began carving out a greater space for themselves than before as defenders of communal health and well-being in times of peace, and not only in response to war and sudden crisis. In the Italian context in particular, this meant pushing against strong private and guild interests from the direction of a limited and often-contested public authority. Certainly government action could both complement and clash with residents’ genuine concern for their health and safety and that of their neighbors and communities. However greatly those societies’ definitions of health and disease differ from our own, the myriad individual, corporate, and government efforts preserved in the archives, and those coming down to us via narrative sources and architectural and biological remains, strongly attest premodern healthscaping.

From a still broader perspective, Bologna was hardly unique, its wealthy archives notwithstanding. For the government organ whose surviving records shed so much light on communal health and well-being in this period was a ubiquitous one in the peninsula, and could be found across late medieval western Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic world. This should come as no surprise since the office itself harks back to the ancient Greek *agronomos*, the Roman *aedil*, the Jewish *rav souk*, and the Sassanid *vazarbad*, and finds rich parallels with the Muslim *muhtasib* (also known in Iberia as the *mustaṣaf*), the Byzantine eparch, and the legal proceeding known in London as the assize of Nuisance.⁵⁰ Despite their diversity of backgrounds and jurisdictions, numerous officials across the premodern world shared a responsibility for the upkeep and smooth operation of key urban infrastructures, including roads, bridges, and markets, a jurisdiction that entailed implementing preventative health measures and prosecuting offenses thought to threaten population health.

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50 Discussion in Chalmers, *El zoco medieval*, pp. 245-96. On the Assize of Nuisance see Chew and Kellaway, *The London Assize of Nuisance*; Winter, "The Portsoken Presentments"; Skelton, "Beadles, Dunghills and Noisome Excrements."

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Regulating the Material Culture of Bologna *la Grassa*

Antonella Campanini

The topos of Bologna *la grassa* was born in France towards the beginning of the Duecento, but its inventor certainly could not have foreseen that over the course of centuries it would become the distinguishing epithet for the city's excellence. Its earliest uses had little to do with material culture, appearing in a few polemical texts that compared the Bolognese and Parisian *studia* to the detriment of the former.¹ But as Bologna grew and prospered, the topos rapidly shed its original connotation and came to represent the image of Bologna as a crossroads of cultural and material exchanges. By the time Père Jean-Baptiste Labat wrote in 1732 that "Bologna is called *la grassa* because it is situated in an extremely fertile and well-cultivated territory,"² the topos was associated with food and even today refers not only to wealth but also to *buona cucina*. A government proclamation (*bando*) of 1559 rewarding those who brought grain, wheat, and cereal products to the city from outside Bologna's *contado*, addresses in its preamble the wish to maintain Bologna as "more abundant and *grassa* as possible"³ in the quantity of food, and similar words are found in many other provisions from that period and later centuries.

The concept of Bologna *la grassa* in terms of an abundance of food and the supplying of the market was the object of constant attention on the part of authorities from the late Middle Ages through the Renaissance. Laws regulating food were utilized, when circumstances permitted, as an instrument of propaganda to show how those who governed the city did so from a concern for the city's general well-being. Similarly framed was the justification for sumptuary laws, which at least in part were intended to prevent individuals from ruining themselves economically by spending their wealth on ephemeral

1 "Bologna la grassa insegna a truffare le leggi e piega le liti in tante pieghe che del torto fa diritto" wrote the French monk Barthélemy, polemicizing against students who went to Bologna to study law in favor of those who came to Paris to study theology. Montanari, "Bologna grassa," pp. 177-79.

2 Pucci Donati, *Il mercato del pane*, pp. 17-20.

3 ASB, *Bando per il quale si concede l'essentioni da tutti li dati*.

goods, such as sumptuous banquets or clothes and ornaments deemed excessive.

To be sure, constant attention to alimentary abundance was a policy common to other cities, especially to those where the relationship between the number of inhabitants and the productivity of the land was unfavorable, but the distinctiveness of Bologna's situation stemmed from the numerous students who constituted an increasing surplus of mouths to be fed. Furthermore, Bologna's flourishing economy in the Duecento exercised a strong centripetal force on its territory and communal authorities responded by offering incentives (reduction of taxes is the most obvious) to those who would settle in rural communities.⁴ In addition, protectionist measures were enacted that encouraged, beginning with exemption from fiscal duties, the importing of foodstuffs, and discouraged their export (with the exception, for unclear reasons, of honey and spices). To implement these measures a new magistracy was created in 1259 – the *domini bladi*.⁵ Other officials were also appointed, to an increasing degree, to supervise the various phases of transportation and the wholesale and retail markets. The statutes of 1335 required that grain owned by the commune, together with other grain (whose provenance is not specified) had to be brought to the granary and supervised by an official from the moment it arrived in the city. That official, assisted by a notary, annotated the quantity and allocated a part of it to the bakers, another part to direct sale on the market, and set aside a third part in storage for difficult times. The same official was responsible for conservation of the grain in storage.⁶ According to its eventual destination, other officials were designated to manage its allotment.⁷ Grain could not leave storage without a *bolla* that precisely declared its weight.⁸ The purpose of these measures was to limit and if possible eliminate fraud from the entire network of officials, and in the Middle Ages an office, the *Abbondanza e grascia*, was dedicated to that purpose. Beginning in the 16th century, during the so-called *governo misto*, its duties passed to the *Assunteria d'abbondanza*,

4 Pucci Donati, *Il mercato del pane*, pp. 48-49. For the grain policy in the early modern period, see Guenzi, *Pane e fornai*.

5 Pucci Donati, *Il mercato del pane*, pp. 69-87.

6 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 4, Rubric 8 "De officio custodi garnarii bladi comunis Bononie," and Rubric 9 "De officio notarii prepositi ad granarium comunis Bononie," vol. 1, pp. 154-56.

7 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 4, Rubric 10 "De officio et iurisdictione dominorum officio fornariorum et panicogolorum," vol. 1, pp. 156-57.

8 ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 11, n. 44 (1352), Bk. 3, Rubric 38 "De victuralibus," fol. 40v. Norms such as these were repeated in later statutes.

which was only employed as needed.⁹ The need arose often: famines or dangerously low levels of available foodstuffs were the order of the day. Another magistracy, the *tribuni della plebe*, was charged with punishing contraveners.¹⁰

Regulation was not limited to cereals and bread; from the earliest Bolognese statutes (mid-13th century), butchers were required to supply fresh meat, without a break, every day of the week, including Sunday.¹¹ During Lent and other days of abstinence, fish substituted for meat, and the statutes of 1335 prohibited its export outside Bolognese territory during that period.¹² Sometimes generic, the laws often were specific, and concerned every type of meat. For example, the statutes of 1335 concerned the supply of wild game, both furred and feathered.¹³ They also permitted pigs imported from other regions to pass through the streets of Bologna on their way to the butchers or market, in contrast to the rule which forbade the free circulation of pigs within the city.¹⁴ The latter constitutes an isolated case: normally the regulations concerning hygiene and the prevention of risks to public health were the order of the day. All fresh foods, especially if “too” fresh, were considered harmful to health. Therefore it was necessary to intervene (this in 1580) against the producers of melons from the Bolognese territory, who sometimes, in order to hasten obtaining their profits, broke the law and harvested the melons while still unripe, then buried them in wooden or terracotta pots so that they would ripen more quickly, thus putting at risk the health of their customers.¹⁵ Melons were considered extremely dangerous in and of themselves according to dietary science of the time: already considered to be excessively cold and humid when matured, the practice of harvesting them unripe rendered them potentially almost lethal. Indeed, the papal doctors asserted that Paul II died prematurely in 1471 because of indigestion from this fruit, of which he was a glutton.¹⁶ Other decrees also

9 Verardi Ventura, “L’ordinamento bolognese dei secoli XVI-XVII.”

10 Verardi Ventura, “L’ordinamento bolognese dei secoli XVI-XVII,” pp. 319-21; De Benedictis, *Diritti in memoria*.

11 Fanti, *I macellai bolognesi*, p. 26.

12 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell’anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 223 “De pischatoribus seu venditoribus pisscium seu gambarorum,” vol. 2, p. 866.

13 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell’anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 160 “De pena capientium quaglas, perdices, faxanos vel cholumbos,” vol. 2, pp. 808-09.

14 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell’anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 204 “Quod porci non sinantur ire per civitatem,” vol. 2, p. 852.

15 ASB, *Bando contra quelli che spicano meloni acerbi*.

16 Laurieux, *Gastronomie, humanisme et société*, pp. 341-46.

paid attention to other types of fruit and ordered their full maturation while still on trees.¹⁷

The food most exposed to health risks was meat: butchers were therefore subject to precise regulations beginning with the earliest statutes. If c.1250 they were forbidden to have their stalls in front of or near the Palazzo Comunale, 30 years later the statutes of the butchers' guild already specified a single abattoir, which represented the only place in which animals could be slaughtered.¹⁸ It was forbidden to sell meat from animals who had died elsewhere or, even worse, not by the hand of a butcher. In addition to meat, legislators were also concerned with the way fish were caught and forbade, for example in 1576, its import from Ravenna or from other areas considered to be less than secure. The same proclamation also prohibited the sale of wine *guasto*, wine almost acidified, and new wine in the month of August.¹⁹

Legislators were also concerned to support the reputation of the *città grassa* by measures that we would describe today as "consumer protection," measures concerned with the honesty of merchants and the just price of sales. As in the case of measures for the protection of health, so in those against deception the group most heavily regulated was the butchers. It was feared they could falsify the weight or the sex of the animals sold (the meat of a masculine animal is usually more valuable than that of a female) or even its identity, passing off less costly varieties for those of greater value. It was also feared they might hide the better meat in order to sell it to customers willing to pay a higher price, or might apply high prices despite the system of fixed prices. To prevent fraud, the butcher was required to post the price-list in his shop. At that point it should have been sufficient to give officials the task of supervising its application.²⁰ In practice, things were more complex.

In the Bolognese market of the 16th century, certain individuals were selected by the commune, the so-called *apesatori* or *ripesatori*, who positioned themselves near the butcher shops and stopped clients as they exited, weighing again (hence their name) the meat just purchased. They checked the weight against the type of meat purchased and the price paid according to the customer and if the sums did not add up, denounced the butcher to the author-

17 ASB, *Provisione sopra il non condurre né mandar fuori del contà*.

18 Fanti, *I macellai bolognesi*, pp. 27, 46-47.

19 ASB, *Prohibitione d'alcune cose per conservatione della sanità*.

20 The price lists constitute an extraordinary source for the analysis of price history and especially for establishing a hierarchy among the products of the same category. For a brief overview of the Bolognese price lists, see Campanini, "Qualités sous contrôle," which also covers and gives more details on themes relative to the market that are described in this essay.

ities. The problem arose when the butchers contested this form of control: once the meat had left their shop, they contended, it was no longer under their control and it was possible for a customer to deceive a seller of good faith. The response of the authorities beginning in 1591 was to oblige the butchers to mount within the shop itself a *bilancione* which the *ripesatori* used to carry out their verifications directly, before any alteration could be made to the merchandise.²¹ The same problem – the possibility of changing the quantity when the merchandise was no longer under the control of the seller – had been earlier treated in the mid-14th century for innkeepers and the retail sellers of wine. In these cases, the officials called to verify quantities sold had to fulfill their task at a maximum distance of 1 *pertica* from the entrance of the tavern or store.²²

Another system of control against fraud reflects a kind of physical geography of the market. Some categories of sellers were required to place their goods in determined places, in a way that the customer could evaluate what kind of seller was involved. Although this obligation did not eliminate fraud, it was a system to make more cautious those in certain categories who were considered more exposed than others to the temptation to cheat on the price, especially those who resold the products of others and therefore, it was thought, were more likely to inflate the price in a sale. In 1552 such people were forbidden to place themselves among the other sellers in the Piazza del Mercato: a specific and circumscribed place was set aside for them and furthermore they had to display publicly “the customary sign” so that they could be recognized by anyone.²³ That customary sign, according to the *bando* of 1588 (cited above in connection with the sale of fruit) consisted of “T. P. R.” for “Trecoli, Pollaroli, Revenderoli” (sellers of vegetables, poultry dealers, resellers). The sign had to appear on both sides of a wooden tablet of c.12 cm in width, attached to a post at least 1.2 m, and placed so that it was clearly visible to potential customers.²⁴

In addition to the obvious prohibition against selling rotten fish and crayfish, beginning in 1357 a law made it possible for customers to know the level of freshness: sellers were required to cut off the tails of fish that were still unsold after 3:00 pm. Only chub and trout were exempt. In later statutes, the hour in which the cutting had to take place changed according to the season

21 ASB, *Bando del tenere le carni in mostra alle beccarie*.

22 ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti II, n. 44 (1352), Bk. 6, Rubric 205 “De pena vendentis vinum ad minutum aliter quam deberet vel ad aliam mensuram,” fol. 204v.

23 ASB, *Provisione sopra li polaroli et trecoli*.

24 ASB, *Provisione sopra il non condurre né mandar fuori del contà*.

(obviously, the fish remained fresh longer in winter than in summer) and fish smaller than a span were added to the exemptions.²⁵ From 1335 anyone could present a denunciation if he or she suspected that the saffron purchased was not authentic: three or four experts of at least 30 years of age would then be called upon to make a judgement and if the saffron was deemed to be false it was to be immediately burned.²⁶

Changes in taste and subsequently new opportunities for fraud did not escape the eyes of the legislators. From the 14th century onwards an elite taste for a beautiful and varied table was growing constantly in Italy and in western Europe in general. For the nobility it was not enough to serve costly products, spices *in primis*, but also to use foods that had traditionally been considered the prerogative of the less fortunate classes, such as vegetables that grew in closer contact with the soil (roots, bulbs, leafy vegetables). These products underwent a process of “nobilization” when, as reflected in the recipe books of the period, the upper classes decided to include them as they did expensive products such as fresh meats.²⁷ Variety in and of itself became a sought-after value and with it the importance of aesthetic appearance, so that dishes would be presented in a way that would astonish guests. Not only the palate, but also, perhaps above all, the eye needed to be impressed.

If the signorial table demanded the greatest variety possible, seeking even to overcome the limits imposed by seasonality by purchasing foodstuffs from distant sources, in its own small way Bologna *la grassa* did no less. The image projected by the sources is not only one of quantitative abundance, but also of a qualitative variety that emphasized the possibility of choice for foreign guests. This is reflected especially in the regulations intended for taverners. For example, a proclamation of 1566 requires that taverners always have on hand for their clients, at *pranzo* and at *cena*, on the days when meat could be eaten, pigeon, chicken, capon, kid, lamb, *castrato*, heifer or wild game (both roasted and boiled, beef also was always included) and also some *antipasto*, fruit, and cheese. Choice, not simply a plate of meat, had to be offered. During Lent and fast days, eggs, omelets, *minestre*, ravioli and other types of pasta and pies with butter, fresh or salted fish, fruit, and cheese had to be presented. Bread “good

25 ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 12, n. 45 (1357), Bk. 8, Rubric 62 “De piscatoribus seu vendictoribus piscium seu gambarorum,” fols. 185v-86r; 13, n. 46 (1376), Bk. 6, Rubric 60 “De piscatoribus seu venditoribus piscium seu gambarorum,” fols. 287rv.

26 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 76 “De pena portantis vel vendentis falsum grogum ad civitatem Bononie,” vol. 2, p. 700.

27 Capatti and Montanari, *La cucina italiana*, pp. 42-43; Montanari, *Gusti del Medioevo*, pp. 186-87. English translations of these works were published in 2003 and 2015 respectively: Capatti and Montanari, *Italian Cuisine*, and Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*.

and beautiful” and good wine, at least two different types, were to complement the meal.²⁸ Civic authorities were expressly seeking to assure quality and variety. The city was projecting an image of its prosperity to foreigners visiting the city, a prosperity that in turn they would refer to others, broadly diffusing that image. Thus the same statute was explicitly proclaimed to avoid having foreign visitors ill-treated by taverners and innkeepers.

Hospitality was put forward as a desirable trait characteristic of the city and concern for the food supply served as a tool of propaganda for the entire citizenry, as a means of preserving public order when there was a shortage of “daily bread.”²⁹ This policy is especially evident in the 16th century, when the invention of printing and the increased level of literacy made it possible to spread broadly knowledge of the law through the proclamations posted publicly. In 1548, for example, the papal legate opened his proclamation concerning the bringing of cereal products from the *contado* to the city by declaring that the principal duty of he who governed, as “a most loving father and *signore*,” was to assure that all the fruits of the earth given by “divine grace and mercy” should be brought to the city for the purpose of “facilitating the sustenance and nourishment of the *popolo*,” all phrases that transcend the simple information needed for execution of the law and which delineated a protective and paternal authority who acted for the well-being of his subjects/children in harmony with God himself. Transgressors of the *bando*, especially those who attempted to export grain or cereal products outside Bolognese territory, would incur not only the penalties threatened in the proclamation, but also the negative judgement of the *popolo* and authorities: he would be judged to have “little love for his *patria*, indeed to be its enemy.”³⁰

In preambles to the proclamations the butchers remain a category subject to special supervision. On 9 July 1560, for example, a *bando* was issued against the butchers who “with little concern for their neighbors and lacking respect for God” sold meat at a price higher or at a quantity less than had been paid for. A month later, towards the end of August, it was already deemed necessary to issue a supplement whose preamble presents the butchers as being particularly inclined to transgression. The vice-legate declared he was aware of the butchers’ transgressions, but also that it was very difficult to capture them *in flagrante* and that they were not deterred by pecuniary penalties since their gains from deception were so considerable.³¹ Such words must not have left

28 ASB, *Provisione sopra li postieri et hosti*.

29 This theme is developed in Campanini, “Nourrir le peuple.”

30 ASB, *Proclama sopra li frumenti et biade*.

31 ASB, *Provisione sopra le carni*; ASB, *Provisione in supplimento sopra la carne*.

those who read the *bando* indifferent, especially since the butchers were already considered a potentially dangerous group because of the knives they wielded in their work and their closeness to blood and death.

The concept of a civic authority that watched over its citizens and provided them with the necessities of life is almost always present in the preambles of the *bandi*. It even existed in a sphere in which the authorities intervened to prevent people from harming themselves – the so-called sumptuary laws. In the category of nourishment these laws sought to curb the excessive banquets (outside of those definable as part of “political and customary life”) that offended divine Majesty and ruined families through enormous and superfluous expenditures. Hence the necessity to regulate a matter, which if not done, provoked serious consequences for all of society, as thus specifically expressed in a *bando* of 7 March 1545.³² The idea of such legislation in general goes back to the earliest statutes and is amply attested in the 14th century. The purpose of the laws was not unequivocal. In addition to moral and economic motives there was a desire “to put order into the universe of appearances,”³³ an order that would enable one to distinguish the social class of individuals by their dress and ornaments, to deduce from the number of candles or crosses in funeral ceremonies whether the deceased were a knight or a doctor of law or medicine or a close relative to one of that class, or to identify, from the size of dowries or the expenditures for the clothes of brides, the *gentiluomini* who were citizens of Bologna of at least three generations and who had not practiced a manual craft for at least three generations.³⁴

The discourse on banquets is less sharp in its class distinctions than norms on appearances and has its own particular features. Sumptuary provisions concerned with “convivial regulation” co-existed (and in the 15th and 16th centuries in a more significant way) with a gradual increase in the ostentatious public banquet and with the new concept of a table “to be admired,”³⁵ which had been developing since the preceding century, and was in rapid ascent in the

32 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 182-89: ASB, Archivio Boschi, Busta 193 (7 March 1545). In this edition, Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli provides a complete collection of sumptuary norms issued in the cities of present-day Emilia-Romagna and some examples of sources that show their application specific to Bologna. The sumptuary ordinances of 1289, 1398, and 1474 were previously edited by Ludovico Frati in the appendix to his *La vita privata*, but that edition is now superseded by the one by Muzzarelli.

33 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. XI.

34 On sumptuary laws in medieval and Renaissance Italy in general, see Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*; Belfanti and Giusberti, “Clothing and social inequality.”

35 Montanari, *La fame e l'abbondanza*, pp. 115-18. An English translation of this work was published in 1994: Idem, *The Culture of Food*.

same period. What was happening to produce such a paradoxical situation? In the early Middle ages, above all because of the influence on alimentary culture of the Germanic populations, supremacy was demonstrated by eating, especially meat, in an unrestrained manner, in a tying of the physical image of the table to the success of the warrior in the hunt and in battle. This type of ostentation required an economic resource sufficient to set an extraordinary table, one far superior to the standard of the time. In other words, a powerful person in the early Middle Ages demonstrated his social position and wealth by using his own body as an integral part of his image of ostentation. Over time and for diverse reasons,³⁶ the powerful classes lost their voracious appetites. The noble who lived in the city was not interested in gluttonous eating, nor was it any longer necessary to demonstrate one's own prowess at the table but rather one's wealth and refinement. That purpose was achieved through having the most extravagant possible display of food: quantity and quality ran together, but not all food was destined for consumption by the diners. One had, however, to present both aspects equally: this made it possible to elicit admiration – first of all visual satisfaction and then enjoyment of the taste and variety of the repast. Thus, with the birth of sumptuary laws in the 13th century, the limitations on banquets “for many, but not for all” constituted another element of distinction, a wedge with which the noble and powerful could express their class identity.³⁷

At Bologna, the earliest regulation on banquets is found in the statutes of 1288: a maximum number of guests was set for wedding feasts and the number of dishes could not exceed the “tria genera ferculorum deductis fructibus.”³⁸ The norm is inserted in the most general chapter which prohibits gifts to the

36 Identified by Massimo Montanari as found in the crisis of small properties and the limited availability of uncultivated spaces which provoked, around the 9th century, great changes in the codices of alimentary behavior, both for the noble and well-off classes as well as for the lower classes. Montanari, “Immagine del contadino,” p. 203. The affirmation of urban, then communal reality, and the change in lifestyle on the part of the nobility, which removed itself from warlike activity and settled in the cities, was decisive for the evolution and establishment of a new system of elite alimentation.

37 For the sumptuary norms on banquets, see Redon, “La réglementation des banquets”; Grieco, “Classes sociales, nourriture”; Idem, “Le repas en Italie”; Idem, “Alimentazione e classi sociali” (an English translation of the latter work was published in 1999, see Idem, “Food and Social Classes”). With regard to the Bolognese ambience, see Campanini, “La table sous contrôle”; Eadem, “La tavola disciplinata,” and Muzzarelli, “Ponere una certa regola’.”

38 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 50: ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 9, n. 42 (1288), fol. 28r, Bk. 4, Rubric 90, “De pena eius qui portaverit donaria alicui sponse.”

bride and survives without significant variation up to and including the statutes of 1357. Monetary penalties were listed for transgressors and in October 1365 two fines of 25 *lire di bolognini* each were inflicted on two citizens – a *miles* (knight) of the Azzoguidi family and a *magister*, therefore probably an artisan – who had invited more than the permitted number of women to the wedding.³⁹ In the statutes of 1376 the limitations on banquets were inserted in the chapter on ornaments and other sumptuary aspects.⁴⁰ Again in this case the number of guests was limited and also the number of courses (“duabus impandionibus et non ultra”). In 1389 the norm was repeated without variation in the number of courses, while the number of permitted guests was increased.⁴¹ The sumptuary statute of 1401 marks a turning point: here also the number of wedding guests was restricted and the number of courses limited to two *impandiones*, but it is also specified that on each cutting board (one for every two guests) there could not be more than two partridges and one pheasant.⁴² In this case we have the first instance in which legislators occupied themselves with a specific type of meat to be authorized or forbidden; the number of guests was still regulated, but attention had begun gradually to shift from the quantitative to the qualitative aspect, even if the latter was not yet the only aspect considered.

After 1401, one has to wait almost one and one-half centuries before finding another norm on banquets, in a *bando* of 1545. Here, after the moralizing preamble described above, the focus is limited to meats: no more than three roasts and three boiled meats were permitted; the three roasts could include a single type of wild game, excluding, however, peacock. Forbidden were meat pies, blancmange, pasta, and candies. Cakes were limited to one, and the list ends with a prohibition against fish and oysters in banquets which were to consist

39 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 89: ASB, Podestà, Ufficio delle acque, strade, ponti, calanchi, selciate e fango [henceforth Fango], Busta 23, Register 334 (1364-66).

40 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 109: ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 13, n. 46 (1376), Bk. 5, Rubric 126 “De pena portantium ornamenta vetita et aliis penis variis.”

41 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 115: ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 14, n. 47 (1389), Bk. 5, Rubric 125 “De pena portantium ornamenta et aliis variis penis.” Some dispositions at the end of the same volume of statutes repeat the same norm without substantial variations. The number of guests and plates remains unchanged in a provision of 1398. *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 125: ASB, Comune-Governo, Provisiones (1398), fols. 13v-16r, July 18.

42 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 133: ASB, Comune-Governo, Anziani Consoli, Statuto Suntuario, n. 336 (1401). On the importance of birds in banquets in sumptuary legislation, see also Kovesi, “Curbing ‘Ambitions of the Throat,’” pp. 489-91.

only of meat.⁴³ The norm closes with fines and punishments for transgressors, cooks and *soprastanti agli ordini de li conviti*.

Successive variations are less significant for the “qualitative revolution.” Beginning in 1553, for example, to the prohibition on peacocks was added one on turkeys, those “hens from India” that had recently reached European tables, a law which was soon revised; in 1557 they were no longer forbidden in an absolute sense, but were numbered among the wild game, for which there continued to be forbidden more than a single type for each banquet.⁴⁴ Other categories of food disappear that were initially authorized, then limited to weddings, such as candied quince and sugarcoated almonds, while the number of meat courses vacillated, ending by reasserting the limitation to three roasts and three boiled meats.⁴⁵

In 1588, however, an important variation in concept was introduced: the entire set of norms, certainly, had to be respected “except, however, on the occasion of giving hospitality to princes and lords.”⁴⁶ At this point there was a shift from the idea of moderation through the law to what I define as “abundance by necessity”; we saw some of that same necessity at play in the earlier concern to assure variety in the food offered in the taverns of Bologna *la grassa*. If the exception concerns, as it seems to, the visits of prestigious persons, and if in their case the law does not apply, one can deduce that – with greater reason – princes and lords were considered for some time exempt from the law. These few words constitute further proof of that fact. This exemption from the law offered the opportunity to demonstrate the city’s power, authority, and importance through the staging of a banquet beyond ordinary custom and outside of the rules. And the stage outside the rules became, in turn, the rule.

The exemption made it possible to honor in a worthy manner princes and lords who represented that aspect of the sumptuary laws which has been defined as “positive regulation,” since the goal was not to induce a renunciation of luxury (“negative regulation”) but to propose and legitimate models of honor. The exceptions to the law concerned those groups which had obtained

43 In this case, the purpose was to avoid the mixing of two types of food of opposite symbolic significance. Fish was the food of Lent par excellence, therefore burdened with penitential values; meat obviously was the opposite. See Capatti and Montanari, *La cucina italiana*, pp. 82–87.

44 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 187: ASB, Archivio Boschi, Busta 193 (7 March 1545); p. 197: ASB, Legato, Bandi Speciali, 2, fols. 46–47 (25 June 1557).

45 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 207–08: ASB, Legato, Bandi Speciali 6, fols. 88–91 (4 March 1561); p. 218: ASB, *Archivio Boschi*, Busta 541, fols. 184–89 (12 April 1568).

46 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 253: ASB, Legato, Bandi Speciali 11, fols. 163–66 (24 and 30 December 1582).

a privileged rank that all of society deemed respectable – categories of prestige, not necessarily of signorial power (sometimes the phenomenon is verified even at the level of civic authority in *popolo* communes), even if in fact prestige and power often did coincide.⁴⁷

The wedding in 1487 of Annibale II Bentivoglio with Lucrezia d'Este, illegitimate daughter of Ercole I, duke of Ferrara, as narrated by the 16th-century chronicler Cherubino Ghirardacci and prominently recorded in contemporary chronicles, gives us one of the best-known examples of the “table to be admired.”⁴⁸ As if constituting the wedding procession itself, the extremely rich food served on gold and silver plates reached the tables of the guests only after being paraded around the piazza of the family *palazzo* so that the *popolo* might witness such great opulence. The two partridges and a pheasant to which the 1401 law had limited each place setting, although still in force, was totally disregarded. The roasted partridges were followed by a sugar castle full of rabbits who, when released, ran here and there to the laughter and delight of the guests. Another castle was filled with living birds who were also released into the hall. As for the pheasants, they were presented at the table with flames blazing from their beaks.

This display was organized according to precise rules.⁴⁹ The host, Giovanni II Bentivoglio, loved to utilize a “scenography of power” with the twofold purpose of re-enforcing popular consensus to his government and to show the representatives of Italian *signorie*, guests at the wedding, a luxury and magnificence, which for its time, was the equal of any other expression of prestige. For the Bentivoglio, and for other *signori* as well, ascent to power and its maintenance were thus closely tied to ostentation – the status symbol necessary for recognition of their position among their subjects within their cities and for bringing those who were not subject to them and with whom they had contact under their spell.⁵⁰

Banquets were not the only target of the sumptuary laws, which unquestionably remained largely focused on the luxury of clothes and ornaments that had been considered the prerogative of women. To be sure, men also dressed richly and wore necklaces, silver and gold buttons, and other precious

47 Ascheri, “Tra storia giuridica e storia ‘costituzionale,’” pp. 207-08. The same concept of “abundance by necessity” is proposed by Kovesi Killerby regarding clothing. Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*, pp. 80, 90-91.

48 Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 235-41; Campanini, “Narratori di banchetti.”

49 Braidì, “Vita di corte al Bentivoglio,” p. 84.

50 On the importance and architectural expression of signorial magnificence, especially in the case of Giovanni II, see Clarke, “Magnificence and the city.”

ornaments, but in this area the woman was supreme. It was she who demonstrated through her dress the prestige, power, and nobility of her father or husband. The visible exterior signs of status, evident immediately to the eye, had to correspond accurately and immediately to social rank, and the law was the instrument to ensure confidence in social interaction and authenticity between appearance and substance. Given the social mobility of the era, this was not an easy task and historians traditionally had assumed that sumptuary legislation was not enforced.⁵¹ However, Catherine Kovesi Killerby, following Diane Owen Hughes, has shown that the significance of sumptuary laws lies not in their actual impact on society but rather in the underlying ideology behind their issuance.⁵²

Bologna is particularly rich in extant sumptuary provisions and indeed has some types of documents difficult to find elsewhere. The earliest notice of restrictions on food, as noted above, was in the statutes of 1288, but that on clothes is even earlier, in statutes from c.1250,⁵³ as part of a law concerning prostitutes. Women in general were prohibited from wearing dresses or other clothing that touched the ground or ribbons more than one and one-half arm's length. Prostitutes, however, could dress as they pleased.⁵⁴ In theory, a woman who did not comply with this regulation, in addition to being fined, risked being identified as a prostitute by anyone who saw her circulating in the city dressed in this way. It was most likely too severe a law, and although it found a place in the mid-century statutes, disappeared thereafter. Between the statutes of 1288 and those following, however, there is a certain continuity. The norms follow one after another, forbidding or regulating costly clothes, often lined with fur; sleeves worked with gold, silver, pearls, and semi-precious stones. Luxury is at first forbidden in generic terms, but exceptions begin to appear in 1335. In the statutes of that year wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law of knights and doctors of law and medicine were exempted from the general prohibition and permitted to wear, for example, gold and silver ornaments on

51 According to Giulio Bistort, for one example of many, "sumptuary laws, in every time and place . . . led to nothing, they did nothing but they forbid in order to tolerate, to threaten in order then to pardon." Bistort, "Il magistrato alle pompe," p. 9, quoted by Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*, p. 5.

52 Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*, pp. 6-7; Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations."

53 Another law, a little earlier, was issued as a consequence of the preaching of fra' Giovanni da Vicenza, who reached Bologna in 1233; that provision, however, has not survived. Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*, p. 26.

54 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 47-48: ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 5, n. 38 (1250-61), Bk. 2, Rubric 106, "Ne meretrices et earum receptrices maneant infra civitate et circla, quod ministrales procurent."

their heads and bodies, embellished with pearls, coral, enamel, amber, crystal, and inlaid with jewels, and belts of costly metal whose value exceeded 10 *lire di bolognini*, etc.⁵⁵ The exempted categories were considered especially prestigious within Bolognese society and therefore appropriate that the women of these classes be distinguished in this way from all others.

Male clothing in turn was regulated by some provisions, especially in the 14th century, but the possibilities of transgression seem to have been less numerous: they were limited fundamentally to buttons or other closures for clothes, or the use of precious metal and some textiles of special value.⁵⁶ Otherwise, the legislation is a matter concerning women. The chronology of the documentation, in its evolution from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance, is inconsistent, shifting back and forth between a worsening or a weakening of the penalties, or a substantial change in the categories of goods to be regulated – a pattern complex and perhaps misleading. As seen above for the banquets, the trend was towards always greater detail in the provisions, even if an absolute rule was not established.⁵⁷ Of particular significance and detail, however, is the legislation issued by Cardinal legate Bessarion in 1453, which was incorporated into the civic statutes of the following year.

At the highest level in the Bessarion provisions were the women of knights, whose clothes of costly material, although in limited number, could have a train of two-thirds of a *bracchium* (arm's length). Although pearls were forbidden even to women of this group, they could wear a jewel on the forehead and one on the chest, six rings, six wedding rings (*verghette*), and a string of coral. In the second level, that of the women of the *doctores*, the number of clothes of costly material was reduced, the train was limited to half an arm, the rings and *verghette* to four. Women of the third level (the women of artisans), were subdivided into three categories by guild: first the four greatest guilds (notaries, bankers, haberdashers, silk merchants), next those in commerce (goldsmiths, spice merchants, etc.), then those in manual labor (shoemakers, furriers, tailors, dyers, etc.). In the descent from category to category, the possibility of displaying clothes and precious ornaments was reduced; nevertheless, some aspect was permitted for all within the urban environment, for example,

55 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 78-80: ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 10, n. 43 (1335), Bk. 8, Rubric 134 "De pena portancium ornamenta."

56 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 78-80. This provision from 1335 is repeated without significant change in the statutes of 1352 (p. 82) and those of 1357 (p. 83). The restrictions on masculine luxury then reappear only in 1545, directed at the same categories forbidden in the 14th century, see pp. 182-89: ASB, Archivio Boschi, Busta 193 (7 March 1545).

57 For a detailed analysis of the provisions relative to clothes and ornaments, see *La Legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 3-17.

two rings and two *verghette* even to the lowest of these categories. The sixth and lowest category consisted, however, of the women of *contadini*, to whom almost nothing was permitted.⁵⁸ This set of provisions was the first in Italy to subdivide society into such precise categories.⁵⁹ But its purpose was not only that of social distinction but also of civic pride – it was important to render the streets of the city rich in colors and sparkling with the gold and gems of the most illustrious women.⁶⁰ Once again we have the concept of “necessary abundance” that we saw in banquets: the city projected an image of beauty and prosperity thanks to the luxury of its *gentildonne*, who in turn evoked the contribution that their families made to Bologna’s pre-eminent position among neighboring cities.

The provisions of Cardinal Bessarion were less severe than many others issued at Bologna and elsewhere: they reduced luxury, but did not forbid it in a generalized way. Yet it was this act, and not others, that provoked one of the strongest reactions against the sumptuary laws, one furthermore made by a woman. Nicolosa Sanuti, born Castellani, was the much-admired and well-known consort of the first count of Porretta, Nicolò, and lover of Sante Bentivoglio, *signora* of Bologna. When Cardinal Bessarion issued his sumptuary *bando* in 1453, her reaction came quickly: an oration signed by her that called for its immediate withdrawal. Her petition never received a response, but the arguments she presented are of great interest.⁶¹ The oration was not the first reaction against sumptuary legislation: some Venetian noblewomen had protested a law issued in 1437 against female luxury.⁶² Nicolosa’s petition, however, presents some special features: first of all, she protested in the name of all Bolognese women although as the wife of a nobleman she was part of the highest social class and was only in the most minimal way affected negatively by the provisions. Her reaction is therefore attributed more to a matter of principle: sumptuous clothes and rich ornaments were one of the few possibilities

58 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 148–52: ASB, Comune-Governo, Liber novarum provisionum, n. 306 (24 March 1453).

59 *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 10.

60 Murphy, “In praise of the ladies of Bologna.” Murphy’s point on the public role of women in that later period also applies to some degree to Quattrocento Bologna.

61 The bibliography on this subject is ample. The Latin edition of the *Orazione inedita di Nicolosa Sanuti contro la legge suntuaria del cardinal Bessarione* is published in Frati, *La vita privata*, pp. 251–62 and there is an English translation in Kovesi Killerby, “Heralds of a well-instructed mind,” pp. 272–82. It is also discussed in Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*, pp. 124–32 and synthesized in Hughes, “Le mode femminili,” pp. 186–87. A fundamental treatment is given in Lombardi, “Traduzione, imitazione, plagio.”

62 Kovesi Killerby, “Heralds of a well-instructed mind,” pp. 257–58.

for women to play a role outside of the domestic sphere, and was a means of “obtaining admiration and social approval” in a historical period in which alternative means to do so were extremely few.⁶³ The oration is presented with numerous references to past authors and written in a very learned Latin. Given that Nicolosa did not know that language, and on the basis of some other evidence, it has been argued that she was not in fact the author of the petition. Giuseppe Lombardi, who has analyzed it in depth and compared it to contemporary works, has proposed some hypotheses about its authorship that are, however, not definitive. At the same time he has shown how the ideas expressed in the text circulated widely in the literature of the period.⁶⁴

A third aspect of sumptuary legislation, concerning funerals, will not be treated in this essay since it was a response different in its logic to that against clothes and banquets. Instead I will explore, although briefly, the application of sumptuary laws and its repercussions on the daily life of the city.⁶⁵ Earlier I noted how the difficulty of enforcing sumptuary legislation led historians to doubt the desire of authorities to do so. But contemporaries themselves, including those who instituted the laws, were aware of the difficulties. Indicative is a debate which unfolded in near-by Imola, in the *Consiglio comunale* on 11 April 1541.⁶⁶ The topics discussed might not have been commonplace, but at least were likely already spoken about outside of the *consiglio* itself.

The proposal for a new law in the sumptuary area stemmed from consideration of what was good (*bonum*) for the honor of the *consiglio* and provision of *indemnitas* (a kind of safeguard from material and moral danger and damage) to the *popolo* of Imola. It was proposed to limit (and therefore, in particular, to regulate) the clothes of citizens, of those belonging to the guilds and to *rustici*, by requiring each person to wear only those clothes suitable to his or her status (*habitus condecens iuxta eius conditionem*) because those who dressed otherwise created superfluous expenses (*sumptus*) in the city and territory, thereby impoverishing themselves and the community. It was also noted that it was the duty of those who governed to recognize the defects of their subjects and provide for their safety, so that the city would function on solid principles and easily be protected.

63 Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba medievale*, pp. 346-47.

64 Lombardi, “Traduzione, imitazione, plagio.”

65 For the enforcement of sumptuary laws at Bologna, see Campanini, “L’applicazione delle leggi suntuarie,” and for a more general discourse, Kovesi Killerby, “Practical Problems.”

66 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 281-82: Imola, Archivio Storico Comunale, Campioni 8, fols. 226v-27r (11 April 1541).

During the debate, however, one of the councillors put his finger on the true problem: a decree with sumptuary purpose had been in force for some time (two provisions, respectively on clothes and funerals, inscribed in the Imolese statutes of 1334),⁶⁷ and therefore it was necessary to enact a new one that would stretch to a universal good,⁶⁸ but it would be important and better if such a decree were not issued unless it was foreseen from the beginning that it would be respected⁶⁹ since it was preferable to avoid enacting laws rather than renouncing with shame (*turpiter*) those already in force. The debate continued with emphasis on the necessity of electing a commission to issue new ordinances, because, as another councillor noted, many citizens were gravely impoverishing themselves with superfluous expenditures on clothing. The commission and others after it were elected, but the problem was not resolved.

If the difficulties of implementation were evident, legislators did not for that reason surrender their efforts but instead continued to issue provision after provision (Italian laws in particular), as noted by Kovesi Killerby, which are rich in details concerning the penalties against transgressors.⁷⁰ These provisions usually called for fines with varied destinations (in part to the communal treasury, in part to pay informers, and in part to charitable works), but there were also instances of excommunication and even corporal punishment. Beating in the public piazza was threatened at Bologna in 1568 for cooks who carried out banquets outside the law but did not have sufficient resources to pay the fine of 5 *scudi d'oro*.⁷¹

Nevertheless, there is little evidence of the implementation of sumptuary legislation and Kovesi Killerby imputes this scarcity to the difficulty of archival research and the frequent dispersal of judicial records into registers of different typologies. She maintains that the fact that some documentation has been found proves that the idea of its potential effectiveness was part of the legislators' purpose.⁷² My own systematic examination of the Bolognese documentation leads me to agree with her conclusions but also to emphasize a further aspect of the problem, tied to the preservation and not to the production and organization of the records. If we indeed do not find an abundance of

67 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 275-78: Imola, Archivio Storico Comunale, Statuti della città (1334), Bk. 3, Rubric 93 "De pena portantium ornamenta"; Rubric 118 "De observantiis super funeribus defunctorum."

68 "Super huiusmodi negotio ad beneficium universalem tendentem."

69 "Nisi debite executioni mandetur."

70 Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*, pp. 134-42.

71 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 213-19: ASB, Archivio Boschi, Busta 541, fols. 184-89 (12 April 1568).

72 Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law*, pp. 152-53.

sources relative to the application of the sumptuary laws, at least in the Bolognese case, it is because the registers that recorded evidence of it were never intended to be preserved, but were destined for elimination at the end of the administrative process: it is not surprising therefore that this type of documentation does not survive in today's archives. This is valid especially for the registers of fines, which were probably considered to be of no value once the transgressors had made their payments. For Bologna only one such register has survived: for the period from July 1365 to June 1366, three notaries employed by the commune annotated some 90 fines imposed on transgressors of the sumptuary laws. The majority concern women whom the officials found in public with prohibited ornaments.⁷³ The husbands or fathers submitted to the denunciation and paid the fines called for by the law. Thus we have Margherita wife of the butcher Francesco Mattioli with her ribbons of gold, Alena wife of the fish vendor Melchione di Bernardino Beretta with buttons of silver embellished with gold and enamels, Giovanna wife of Giacomo Bonizzone and Agnese wife of Pietro, both from San Giovanni in Persiceto, with their chains of silver decorated with gold, Franceschina wife of Nicolò Ruggeri with the lapels of her clothes decorated with fur, etc., etc.⁷⁴

Even more colorful images than these were provided by the women who crowded in front of the communal notary between 25 and 26 January 1401 to pay for seals (*bolle*) for approval to wear their clothes.⁷⁵ The occasion was the result of a sumptuary provision that recognized the difficulty of asking those who already possessed one or more pieces of clothes forbidden by law to dispose immediately of such clothes that often represented a significant investment. It was considered logical that they wear them until worn out, at the same time forbidding them to acquire new ones of that type. It was necessary, however, to have a system for distinguishing the old from the new clothes, and hence the invention of the *bollatura*. The owners of already existing clothes, or their husbands or fathers for them, had to present themselves before a notary of the commune to obtain a seal as evidence that they were permitted to continue to wear those clothes. Of the registers of lists of clothes that had received seals, only one has survived, which records more than 211 seals issued within

73 There were some men, although to a much lesser degree, who were fined because they wore clothes with cords of silver or gold, enameled buttons, or precious and similar ornaments.

74 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 84-101, ASB, Fango, Busta 23, Register 334 (1364-66), fols. 2r-34v (July 1365-June 1366).

75 *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 137-47, ASB, Comune-Governo, Anziani Consoli, Registro della bollatura delle vesti, n. 336 (January 1401).

two days. Giacoma wife of Baldassare del Bove presented a dress or cloth of velvet with figures of red stripes set on a black background with a fringe at the neck, Isotta wife of Giacomo Cari de Caro, a silk merchant, presented a cloth with scales of wool and damask in blue and white, Lippa wife of Nicolò Azzoguidi of *cappella* (parish) San Nicolò degli Albari, presented a cloth of gold on silk surrounded by birds in cochineal color with sleeves lined with fur, Beatrice di Alberto Griffoni a cloth of gold brocade with a vermilion background, Donna Lucia wife of Sibaldino Sibaldini presented an overcoat of gold brocade with sleeves of black velvet embroidered with pearls (Fig. 5.1), finally arriving at she who struck at the heart of the strict notary: Donna Francesca wife of Giacomo Sanuti, notary to the *signori defensori delle arti e della libertà* of Bologna, who presented a dress *a torli* with billowing “waves” of carmine velvet and sheets of gold and scarlet embedded in those “waves.”⁷⁶ The notary granted her the seal, with the comment: “Permission to navigate in said dress and through said waves with a favorable wind”⁷⁷ (Fig. 5.2). Less fortunate a couple of centuries earlier was another Francesca, involved in a minor scandal, having to do with the application of sumptuary laws. It is August 1286 and a diligent notary, sent by the *podestà* to keep watch that the norms were adhered to, encounters Francesca, wife of the haberdasher Feudo di Bonaccorso. She wears a green gown of suspicious length: the train seems to be in excess of the permitted length, but how to establish that fact? It must be measured and the notary sets about fulfilling his duty, but is not able to do so because of interference from a rioting crowd.⁷⁸ A rebellion over the application of the norm or defense of a young girl from a notary who might not have legitimate intentions? Perhaps this Francesca can be considered emblematic of the varied difficulties associated with sumptuary laws.

However, also bristling with difficulties is the path of the historian who seeks to lay hands on material aspects of the past not only from three-dimensional evidence restored to us by the archeologist, or in the portrayals that interest the art historian, but also, and it is this approach that has concerned us in this essay, through the written or printed word. The objects of study, here food and clothes, cannot be seen, touched, or tasted – only thought and written about – but that process offers new perspectives. Beyond the single chronicle of Ghirardacci cited above there is a rich tradition of narrative

76 “una veste a torli a onde di velluto color grana con foglie dorate e scarlatto misto con velluto in dette onde.”

77 Campanini, “La bollatura,” p. 57.

78 “Propter tumultum gencium.” *La legislazione suntuaria*, p. 49: ASB, Comune-Governo, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 8, Register 16 (7-12 August 1286).



FIGURE 5.1 *Reconstruction of dress of Donna Lucia, wife of Sibaldino Sibaldini, 1401.*

DESIGN: LUISA ZURLA. COURTESY OF THE DIPARTIMENTO DI STORIA CULTURE CIVILTÀ, ALMA MATER STUDIORUM - UNIVERSITA' DI BOLOGNA.



FIGURE 5.2 *Reconstruction of dress of Donna Francesca, wife of Giacomo Sanudi, 1401.*
DESIGN: LUISA ZURLA. COURTESY OF THE DIPARTIMENTO DI STORIA CULTURE
CIVILTÀ, ALMA MATER STUDIORUM - UNIVERSITA' DI BOLOGNA.

sources to be studied. Moreover, the archival sources used for this brief synthesis constitute only a small part of the Bolognese documentary patrimony that awaits a more systematic examination.

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Economy and Demography

*Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco**

Growth, Innovation, Crisis and Catastrophe: 12th-14th Centuries

In the 12th and early 13th centuries Bologna became one of the five largest cities of Europe, ranking in fifth position after Paris, Venice, Milan, and Genoa. Its rapid growth was based primarily on the European-wide fame of its university, but was also indebted to its position as an important transit node in regional and international commerce. Its economic role as a network city is all the more remarkable given that Bologna was not a coastal city nor situated on a major waterway or a great international transit route. The Via Emilia, which ran from Rimini north to Piacenza, passed directly through the center of Bologna, but that route was of relatively lesser importance in the Middle Ages than, for example, the Via Francigena, the great north-south route. During the early Middle Ages large stretches of the Via Emilia fell into decay. But the Via Flaminia minor, an alternative to the Via Francigena, led from Bologna across the Apennines to Arezzo, with several roadways crossing the Apennine valleys from Bologna to Pistoia and Florence and with the Via San Vitale extending from Bologna to Ravenna. Bologna never was a great center of international commerce like Florence, but it was thus well-positioned to serve as a transit point, for example, between textile merchants from Tuscan cities who wanted to sell, and merchants from Romagna cities who wanted to buy. Bologna also served as the nexus for trade between merchants from Tuscan cities and cities of the Po Valley. These merchants were not permitted to deal with each other directly, but had to act through Bolognese intermediaries.¹

The leaders of medieval Bologna's political and social institutions had to pursue deliberate and expensive policies to create the city's strategic importance as a regional commercial crossroads. In so doing, the medieval commune also implemented significant innovations in technology and infrastructure that laid the foundations for Bologna's role in the 16th and 17th centuries as a

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¹ Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, p. 45.

major industrial city.² Like Milan, Bologna had no great river running through the city; the weak Aposa stream had been adequate for the Bologna of ancient Rome and the early Middle Ages, but could not support the burgeoning population of the 12th century. The stream entered the city from the south, the lowest part of the city, which rendered it unsuitable for use as an energy source since it lacked the topographical slope necessary for a sufficiently rapid water flow. Instead its function was limited to the disposal of waste water. Bologna's economic expansion therefore depended on developing and sustaining alternative innovative hydrological projects for internal purposes such as defense (water for the ditches that surrounded the city's walls), the food supply, cloth and leather production, and public hygiene, and for forging a link to a commercial network of cities.³ In the mid-12th century a canal was excavated that brought water from the Savena river on the eastern side of the city to the ditches outside the urban walls and by 1176 supplied energy for 70 grain mills built along the canal. Shortly thereafter a second canal was constructed which brought water from the Reno river on the western side of the city.

The construction of these canals resulted from a combination of private and public efforts, initially by private entrepreneurs and then by the commune assuming ownership and control (in 1176 for the Savena canal and 1208 for the Reno canal). Not coincidentally most members of the private consortium (the 43 men of the *Ramisani*) who had initiated building of the Reno canal also were among the elite ranks of consular government and society. The agreement made in 1208 between the *Ramisani* and the commune synergized public and private interests and valorized the demands of the emergent mercantile-banking elite, since the accord guaranteed a monopoly of milling activity and relief from the expense of maintaining the canal to the *Ramisani*, but it also strengthened the role of the commune as an institution capable of controlling its territory and meeting social needs. Between 1219 and 1221 the commune acquired and managed the leasing of the 35 mills located on the Navile canal, which yielded huge revenues to the government. Moreover, the impact of this hydraulic enterprise was vital for development of the transit trade that was at the heart of Bologna's commercial activity. The Reno canal was rebuilt with a lock at Casalecchio and a branch of the canal (the Navile) was made navigable,

2 Guenzi, "L'identità industriale," p. 449 and Dondarini, "Bologna nell'imprenditoria," p. 16 (p. 183 of English translation); Idem, *Bologna medievale*, p. 85; Pini, "Produzione artigianato e commercio," pp. 525-26; Dal Pane, *Vita economica*, pp. 149-86; Cuomo, "Sul commercio dei panni." For the largest cities in Europe in the 13th century, see Pini, "Problemi demografici," p. 216.

3 For Milan, see Boucheron "Water and Power."

giving Bologna a vital fluvial connection to the northern valleys, the Po river, Ferrara, and Venice, thereby providing low transaction costs for cheaper bulky goods which were too expensive to transport by overland routes.⁴

During this same period the government facilitated trade by creating a new, much larger space, the Campo del Mercato, in the northern sector of the city (today the Piazza Otto agosto), for the weekly cattle market and the two annual fairs held in May and August, which had been located in the Piazza Maggiore, incongruously in the same site as the commune's public buildings. In 1245 it also reorganized the daily market, which had comprised a grand *mélange* of functions from fishmongering and butcher shops to bankers and was located in the Trivio of Porta Ravegnana near the Two Towers. This permitted its expansion into a nearby section of the Via Emilia (today the Via Rizzoli), thereby joining the Trivio to the Piazza Maggiore (which continued to contain shops), and creating a new space that came to be called the street of the "Mercato di Mezzo."⁵ The government also promoted industry and public hygiene with statutes that protected the Reno canal from pollution; only after its waters had served the mills could it be used for waste water, and then only to a limited degree.⁶

The primary motor of Bologna's economy, however, was not commerce but the *studium* with its distinguished professors and thousands of students. Antonio Ivan Pini estimated there were between 2000 and 2200 in the late 13th century. Many were from wealthy families and came with their servants, with basic needs for lodging, food, and services (such as money-changing and loans), and with pedagogical and professional goals that stimulated the activities of copyists, miniaturists, booksellers, binders, and custodians.⁷ Bolognese merchant-bankers had attended international fairs in the late 12th century and participated in the transfer of papal tithes, but by the middle of the 13th century they focused their activities increasingly on the lucrative local market

4 Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, pp. 21-22 (pp. 118-19 of the English translation), Eadem, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico," pp. 224-26 and 238-40; Mazzaoui, "The Cotton Industry," p. 268; Pini, "Energia e industria."

5 Bocchi, *Il Duecento*, p. 25 (pp. 119-20 of the English translation); Eadem, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico," pp. 240-41; Greci, "Bologna nel Duecento," p. 511; Pucci Donati, *Il mercato del pane*, pp. 33-38.

6 Bocchi, "Lo sviluppo urbanistico," p. 266.

7 This key explanation of Bologna's early growth was emphasized by Dal Pane, "Lo 'Studio' e l'economia," then expanded by Pini, "La presenza dello Studio"; Idem, "Discere turba volens," pp. 62-69. For the stationers, who were forbidden to organize a guild and whose book production was carefully regulated by the commune, see Idem, "La presenza dello Studio," pp. 254-56.

engendered by the *studium*, a development which especially enhanced the prestige and size of the *Arte del Cambio*, the guild of the money changers and bankers. In contrast to most other major cities, the *campsores* had their own guild, separate from the merchants. Twelve families dominated the guild, comprising 40 per cent of the membership in 1294. They ranked among the wealthiest families in Bologna and dominated the ranks of political officeholders in that period.⁸

In addition to mercantile-banking activity, industries and crafts played an increasingly significant role in the Bolognese economy in the first half of the 13th century. The earliest listing of guilds *optimo iure*, that is, guilds that were fully recognized and admitted as political units into the *societas populi*, dates from 1259 and contains 21 guilds. But other guilds, while permitted to organize professionally, were not granted political recognition (e.g. judges, barbers, wool workers) and yet other economic groups were forbidden the right of association (e.g., hostel keepers, manuscript copyists).⁹ The number of politically recognized guilds increased during the 13th century (there were 26 by 1318), but that increase did not necessarily reflect economic growth. The barbers, spice merchants, and fine wool guilds gained political recognition because the fiscal desperation of the commune in the first two decades of the 14th century forced the government to sell that status to those guilds. The relative distribution of guild membership in the surviving *matricule* of 1294 (approximately 10,000 members), does reflect the relative importance of various economic sectors, but only to a degree since members could belong to more than one guild. The three most politically powerful guilds had large memberships (the notaries had 1308 and the combined guilds of the merchant-bankers 1138), but the largest guild was that of the cordwainers with 1700 members, and other crafts were also strong, such as the butchers (752), the tailors (754), the haberdashers or drapers (567), and the ironmongers and carpenters (550 and 508 respectively).¹⁰ Of course economic activities in those trades and crafts that were not permit-

8 Pini, "L'arte del cambio"; Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 51-56, 85-93; Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 120, 540, and the essay by Massimo Giansante in this volume.

9 Giansante, "L'età comunale," pp. 121, 159 for the list of 21 guilds. For lists of the surviving guild *matricule* of 1274 and 1294 and the total number of their members, see Pini, "Problemi demografici," pp. 197 and 211. In addition, R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*; Erioli "Società e lavoro." For the Duecento guild statutes, *Statuti delle società del popolo di Bologna*, vol. 2. For those published since, see Milani, *Bologna*, p. 117 and Pucci Donati, "Mercanti di sale"; Rinaldi, "Gli statuti dei merciai"; Checcoli, "L'arte della lana."

10 For the membership totals according to the 1294 *matricule* see Pini, "Problemi demografici," Table 2, p. 197; for the increase in the number of guilds, Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 15-17.

ted organization are not reflected in the guild *matricule*. Using the 1274 *matricule* of the arms societies, in which non-guild workers were required to enroll, Pini estimated that beyond the food suppliers who had guilds (the butchers, salters, and fishmongers with a total of 1300 members) there were approximately another 450 workers in the food sector (bakers, vegetable, fruit, poultry vendors and taverners), 200 workers in book production, and 400 in transport (carriage men, porters, wine-cask carriers, and boatmen).¹¹

Since women were not permitted the status of “master,” no women appear in the guild *matricule*, thereby masking their role in the economy. However communal and guild statutes of the Duecento and Trecento show women active, albeit to a limited degree, in the cloth industry as combers, spinners, and washers of wool and in areas of the local food market that were not permitted to organize as guilds and as taverners and hostellers. Statutory regulations also give prominence to prostitution as a “professional activity” of women. Prostitutes (many of whom were immigrants) comprised the largest economic group of women in the 1395 salt tax survey.¹² Moreover, by research into notarial documents, especially wills and dowry contracts, Rossella Rinaldi, although she does not cite them, has corroborated and expanded Roberto Greci’s and David Herlihy’s earlier findings that women were not completely excluded in the Duecento from the spheres of trade, finance, and industry. Not only did women work, beside their husbands or alone, in taverns and hostels and as bakers, but they interacted directly with the judicial authorities and officials who administrated those areas. Widows managed their deceased husbands’ properties and dealt with their creditors, sued in court (by means of a *promotor*) for their dowry and property rights, and tended to favor the transfer of their property rights to female heirs. Wives, widows, and single women of all classes shared in the widespread practice of extending credit privately to artisans and merchants, especially in textiles, leather, and haberdashery. They also arranged apprenticeships for their sons and grandsons.

However, all three scholars – Herlihy, Greci, and Rinaldi – maintain that the role of women in the economy eroded in the late Middle Ages and connect the change to the organization of trades and crafts into associations that served a

11 Pini, “Problemi demografici,” pp. 209-11.

12 *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, vol. 2, p. 208, for the wool workers, cited by Herlihy, “Women’s Work,” p. 78, fn. 23 and Greci, “Donne e corporazioni,” pp. 76-77 for references in the 1256 statutes of the wool guild to *laborator vel laboratrix*. For the victualers and taverners, *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, vol. 2, pp. 165 and 169, also cited in Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, p. 161, and p. 181, fn. 16. On prostitutes, Rinaldi, “Mulieres publicae”; for prostitutes in 1395, Herlihy, “Women’s Work,” pp. 88-89.

strong political function. Herlihy concluded that by the end of the 14th century women “participated minimally in the Bolognese work force, and then only in such specialized work as the spinning of linen.” But it should be noted that the salt tax survey on which he based his conclusion comprises only 17 parishes (called *cappelle* in Bologna) of the approximately 99 that existed, and some of the parishes in his sample were fragmentary. Greci attributes the decline not only to the dominant political role gained by the guilds in the middle of the 13th century, but also to the transition of artisans with full membership rights to the status of *obbedienti* who essentially were laborers and sees evidence of the change by the turn of the century, although he recognizes the continuity of references to women in the statutes of the rough wool guild (*lana bisella*) from 1288, 1304, and 1364. He also notes that an exception to the trend to *obbedienti* is found in the role of women in certain aspects of the silk industry in the 15th and 16th centuries, as discussed in the following section of this essay. Rinaldi shows that the organization of trades and crafts into organizations that served a strong political function had an increasingly negative impact also on women involved in agricultural or craft work in the countryside. She also looks to the impact of epidemics and notes that the seasonal work of women in agriculture was categorized, after the demographic losses of the mid-14th century, together with children, at the same fixed wage rate, a rate that was lower than that decreed for men. Women as well as men who worked crafts in the countryside were incorporated into the guilds as *obbedienti*, losing their professional autonomy to entrepreneurs.¹³

Some of the most significant economic developments of the 13th and 14th centuries are to be found in the new production standards and technological innovations in the textile industry. Here too, the intervention of the commune was crucial. The successful development of textile industries was the result of uniquely extensive and ambitious communal policies that matched the need and desire of foreign skilled workers to emigrate to Bologna. In 1230-31 the commune, under the leadership of the merchant-bankers who had come to political power in 1228, initiated legislation to attract the needed artisans to Bologna. The *procuratores* of the commune negotiated contracts with workers skilled in cotton, silk, and above all wool from Verona, Mantua, Milan, Lucca, Florence, Prato, and several other cities. These workers were each granted loans of 50 Bolognese pounds interest-free for a period of five years, a house rent-free for eight years, and provided with equipment such as tents and

13 Rinaldi, “Figure femminili”; Greci, “Donne e corporazioni,” pp. 84-85; Herlihy, “Women’s Work,” p. 88. The salt tax survey of 1395 is published and analyzed in *Documenti su la popolazione*.

looms. In addition they were exempted from all taxation for 15 years and granted immediate citizenship. In return the immigrants promised to repay the 50-pound loan after the five-year period and to remain and practice their craft in Bologna for the next 20 years. The commitment made by the commune was enormous (approximately 9000 pounds) and successful. The extant documentation is partial but shows that at least 150 artisans emigrated to Bologna and this figure does not include family members and dependent workers, for a total that probably was greater than 500-600 persons. The majority of these immigrant artisans were from Verona which had established the standards used in wool production in northern Italy and those standards were enforced in Bolognese production, ensuring a high-quality cloth.¹⁴

The results of these communal policies were dramatic; by 1256 a wool guild had been organized and by 1288 the *societas lane bixelle*, to be distinguished from the older *societas bixileriorum* which consisted of the sellers, not producers of rough cloths, and the *societas lane gentilis* (fine wool) were recognized as separate guilds.¹⁵ In addition, the workers in cotton (*societas banbucinis pignolatorum et paliotarium*) won recognition of their earliest statutes in 1272.¹⁶ The silk guild developed more slowly and its earliest statutes survive only from 1372, but it is in this industry that one of the most significant technological innovations took place, one that would make possible the dominance of silk in the economy of Renaissance Bologna. The Lucchese immigrant artisans of 1230-31 brought with them the hand-powered silk twisting machine, but it was at Bologna, not at Lucca, that silk twisting became an operation driven by hydraulic energy. The first reference to establishment of a *filatorium* by a

14 Mazzaoui, "The Emigration." This Bolognese example is often cited by historians, as Luca Molà notes "as a classic example of state-sponsored technological transfer but its ambitious scope marks it out as a highly notable exception." This method of transferring technical skills did not become a standardized system until the middle of the 15th century: Molà, "States and crafts," p. 134. For the distinction between the coarser *lana bisella* and the more elegant *lana gentile*, see Checcoli, "L'arte della lana"; Cioni and Montanari, "Lo sviluppo dell'Arte" and Idem, "Formazione, sviluppo e declino."

15 Giansante, "L'età comunale," p. 162; Checcoli, "L'arte della lana." The *lana bisella* guild gained political recognition in 1307 and the *lana gentile* guild in 1318.

16 Roversi, "Le arti per l'arte," p. 98 (p. 198 of the English translation). The industry produced fustian cloth (especially common for women's dresses) and the padding for quilted short jackets for both men and women and for coverlets and quilts. The earliest surviving statute of this guild dates from 1288. Mazzaoui, *The Italian cotton industry*, pp. 69, 191. As Mazzaoui points out, production preceded guild organization by decades in all these industries. For example, there already were fulling mills on the Reno canal at the end of the 12th century.

certain Lucchese immigrant, Borghesano, is controversial, but plausible since his son's use of water energy to power his silk mill is documented in 1341. At least by the early 14th century silk veils were being produced in Bologna and in 1314 more Lucchese immigrants arrived. By 1317 there were at least 12 silk mills in operation (16 by the 1390s) and in the last quarter of the 14th century the silk guild was one of the most prominent in the newly-organized *Foro dei Mercanti* and in the re-established guild republican government.¹⁷

But behind this picture of medieval economic growth and vitality looms the long-standing concurrence of traditional historiography that in the second half of the 13th century Bologna's economy showed signs of crisis and by 1300 entered a state of permanent decadence. The decline has been attributed to a confluence of political and economic events, external and internal – blockade of Bolognese merchants from internal markets during the war with Frederick II, withdrawal from international commerce in the face of Florentine competition with concomitant concentration on the lucrative local market of student loans, and weakening of the *studium* because of violent civil strife and competition from the foundation of other universities. Alfred Hessel established this conceptual framework in 1910, followed closely by Luigi Dal Pane in mid-century and recently by Roberto Greci, who emphasized the economic basis of Bologna's foreign policy ambitions (expansion of its role in transit trade to that of intermediary not only between the Tuscan and Po Valley merchants but to that of intermediary between the Tuscan and Venetian-Adriatic worlds). Dal Pane, followed especially by Pini, put more emphasis on the role of the *studium* as not only the source of Bologna's growth but also of its decline. Pini also saw a parallel between the "regionalization" of the city's economy and the increasingly constricted range in provenance of the university's students in the early 14th century. A contrasting and more positive reading of the post-Duecento university and the geographic scope of its student recruitment is found, however, in a more recent study by Paul Grendler.¹⁸

17 Livi, "I mercanti di seta," pp. 37-38, 51; Poni, "The Circular Silk Mill"; Frati, *La vita privata*, p. 31, for references to an *increspatore di veli* in 1316 and 1383; Dondarini "Il tramonto," p. 33 (p. 127 of the English translation). On the growth of the silk industry in the 15th and 16th centuries, see the following section of this essay. On the shifts in importance of the guilds in the second half of the 14th century, see Pini, "Le corporazioni bolognesi"; Gheza Fabbri, *L'organizzazione del lavoro*.

18 Greci, "La specificità," pp. 172-76; Grendler, "The University of Bologna," pp. 476-77. For the Dal Pane and Pini references, see fn. 7 above. Giuliano Milani questions the argument for economic and political decline in the second half of the 13th century: Milani, *Bologna*, pp. 41-47.

The pioneering scholarship in historical demography of Pini, Greci, and Rolando Dondarini in the last quarter of the 20th century strengthened the political and economic decline legacy of Hessel by tying it to a Malthusian framework of demographic crisis and depopulation, according to which Bologna reached its apex at the end of the 13th century at 50,000 urban inhabitants, with approximately the same population in the *contado*. Bologna then suffered a “veritable hemorrhage of human resources” with the final expulsion in 1306 of the Lambertazzi faction (estimated to be as many as 12,000–14,000 persons),¹⁹ with its population dropping to 45,000 urban inhabitants in that year, after which the urban population continued to decline, to 43,500 in 1324, to 35,000 in 1347, and to 23,000 after the Black Death of 1348.²⁰ The population of the *contado* in 1371, according to the survey of hearths carried out by order of the papal legate, Cardinal Anglic de Grimoard, had declined to 40,000 from its 13th century level of approximately 50,000.²¹

In her recent study on communal food policies and grain consumption, Francesca Pucci Donati portrays the severe famine of 1259 as heralding a period of economic recession and decades of crisis in the food supply from a *contado* too small to support its urban population and vulnerable to climatic phenomena. Conflict and war contributed external constraints that endangered the

19 The phrase is Greci's in “Bologna nel Duecento,” p. 507. The attribution of the Lambertazzi expulsion as a primary cause of population decline, especially for that of 1306, remains deeply embedded in Bolognese historiography (see Idem, “Bologna nel Duecento” and Monti, “Il ‘lungo’ Quattrocento”), despite the revisionism of Giuliano Milani who argues that 4000 Lambertazzi, not 12,000–14,000, were expelled in 1274 and 1279; that they quickly were granted re-entry and that the so-called “final expulsion” of 1306 consisted of the banning of only 200 recalcitrant Lambertazzi: Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, p. 287; Milani, *Bologna*, p. 124; Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 28–29.

20 Dondarini, *Bologna medievale*, pp. 163–77 and the table on p. 173. He derives the 1294 (1300) figure from Pini, “Problemi demografici”; the 1324 and 1347 estimates from Pini and Greci, “Una fonte per la demografia,” who analyzed the lists of those between the ages of 18 and 70 years eligible for military service. The 1306 estimate is based by Dondarini on the assumed expulsion of 4000 Lambertazzi in that year. In contrast to Pini's estimate of 50,000 urban inhabitants in 1294 as marking the ceiling of Bologna's medieval growth, Chandler and Fox, *Three Thousand Years*, p. 84 give a figure of 55,000, using the upper range of Hessel's estimate of urban population in 1249 which is based on the erroneous assumption that the decline of urban and *contado* populations was the same between the mid-13th and late 14th century: Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, p. 143, fn. 1. Dondarini projects an urban population of 55,000–60,000 in 1280, for which see below.

21 Dondarini, “La popolazione del territorio,” p. 204.

commune's dependence on imported grain.²² She is careful to distinguish between "*fames*" and "*carestia*," the former as famine indicating a food shortage and the latter as a shortage due to inflated prices from market speculation, against which the commune took action, regulating prices and establishing a new magistracy, the *officium bladi*, in 1259 to fight corruption and ensure an adequate food supply.²³ Moreover, as Valeria Braidì has shown, war with Venice in 1270-73 and especially the conflict with the Este at the turn of the century inflicted severe damage in the *contado*. The profound and repeated devastations created an agricultural crisis and provoked an enormous increase in grain prices, culminating in a "bread revolt" in 1311. The commune responded by expelling all *forenses* and *estrinseci* from both the city and *contado* and strictly regulating the sale, acquisition, and export of cereals and grain. The revolt of 1311 was the only one in a century of famines that was attributed directly to price increases in bread and grain and may mark a conjuncture of economic crisis (i.e., a food shortage) with a crisis of market fraud and speculation (i.e., an "entitlement crisis") rather than a strictly Malthusian crisis.²⁴

The long-standing tradition that the late 13th century marks the end of a "*secolo d'oro*" followed by a "dark century" of unmitigated crisis and catastrophe has been modified by Rolando Dondarini.²⁵ While remaining within a

22 Pucci Donati, *Il mercato del pane*, pp. 4, 24-25, 115-25. Pini attributes Bologna's construction of a fortress on the mouth of the Po di Primaro as an attempt to wrest control of the grain trade from Venice, an attempt that provoked a war with Venice in 1270-73, a war Bologna lost and which thwarted its commercial ambitions and cost Bologna political and economic control over the Romagna: Pini, "Venezia e Bologna." Rural communes were left deserted also because of the devastation of war, a process that is evidenced from as early as the 1230s. Rinaldi, "Le campagne," pp. 422-23. For the commune's fluctuating and fiscally based demographic policies towards the *contado*, see Pini, "La politica demografica," which includes a discussion of the fiscal dimension in the much-debated topic of the emancipation of the serfs in 1257. For the considerable literature on that subject and the rhetoric of the emancipation provisions, see Antonelli and Giansante, *Il Liber Paradisus*.

23 Pucci Donati, *Il mercato del pane*, pp. 2-4. For example, the grain crisis of 1257 stemmed not from a bad harvest but from illegal transactions that manipulated the grain market.

24 For the concept of "entitlement crisis" see Slavin, "Market Failure." For the revolt of 1311, Braidì, "La rivolta del pane," pp. 251, 261, 270-75.

25 Perhaps the most extreme version of Bologna's decadence is that of the economist Douglas Dowd, who attributes Bologna's "downfall" to its failure to subdue the feudal nobles of the area and establish a geographic hegemony. According to Dowd, Bologna would experience some economic recovery after the 14th century, but "there would be nothing of splendour about it." Dowd, "Power and Economic Development," p. 449. Dowd also sees economic depression as a phenomenon of the second half of the 14th century, a

Malthusian framework, he emphasizes continuity between the two centuries, maintaining that just as one can find signs of decline in the second half of the 13th century, so one can also find signs of renewed vitality in the 14th century. For example, on the one hand he hypothesizes that the 50,000 estimate of 1294 by Pini does not represent the apex of urban growth. Instead, given the ever bitter strife and violence within the city and its *contado* throughout the second half of the 13th century and its probable effect upon the university, he sees that figure as signifying a decline from an urban population that had already reached 55/60,000 by 1280. On the other hand, he points out that in the 1340s the *signore* Taddeo Pepoli was able to extract significant sums in taxes on trade, and describes this act as “an indirect but clear indication of the continuing productivity of the economy of the city.”²⁶ Dondarini’s more optimistic view of the 14th century is also supported by the partial but significant recovery of the urban population by 1371 to 30,000 inhabitants and the building activities of the guild republic re-established in 1376 and its policies of encouraging private enterprises, improving relations between city and *contado*, and restoration of the city’s infrastructure and hydraulic system.²⁷ Moreover, in sharp contrast to Wray and Dowd, Pini portrayed the economy during the last quarter of the 14th century as stimulated and revitalized by the shocks of the mid-century famines and plagues. Analyzing 281 business contracts dating from before and after the plague of 1348, he found a shift from a broad range of artisanal activities to the predominance of three entrepreneurial activities: commerce in used clothes and spices, and the production of silk veils, a conclusion supported by the increased socio-political role of the spices and silk guilds.²⁸

view embraced by Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, p. 59, fn. 7. Although Wray’s evidence, derived from wills and last testaments written during the plague, shows clearly that economic activity did not collapse during the plague itself, it does not provide a basis for evaluating the economy of Bologna in the second half of the 14th century.

26 Dondarini, *Bologna medievale*, p. 73; Idem, “Il tramonto,” p. 26 (p. 124 of the English translation).

27 Dondarini, *Bologna medievale*, pp. 163-77; Idem, “Il tramonto,” p. 34 (p. 128 of the English translation) and Idem, “La popolazione del territorio,” p. 204 for the urban population of 1371, again based on the survey of Cardinal Anglic. Pini derives a figure of 35,000 urban inhabitants in 1396 from the 16th century *erudito* Cherubino Ghirardacci’s history of Bologna. Pini, “Problemi demografici,” p. 163. Also see Dondarini, *Bologna medievale*, p. 171, on this figure. However, the demographic recovery of the late 14th century was interrupted by civic strife and wars at the turn of the century, and in the early Quattrocento the population declined again, to 20/25,000 inhabitants. Dondarini’s source for the last figure is again Ghirardacci.

28 Pini, “Società artigiane,” pp. 796-802. For Pini’s analysis of the impact of the plague on agriculture (the increased extent of *poderi* and the *mezzadria* system), see Pini, “Forme di conduzione,” and Monti, “Il ‘lungo’ Quattrocento,” pp. 1059-65.

Bologna faced further political lacerations and population losses at the turn of the century, reaching its late medieval demographic nadir in the early years of the Quattrocento. But the innovations and restructuring of the economic foundations that made possible its extraordinary economic and demographic growth during the 15th and 16th centuries, as discussed in the following section of this essay, took place during both the growth and political turmoil of the 13th century and the myriad of crises and catastrophes that marked the 14th century.

After the Late Medieval Crisis: 15th and 16th Centuries

After the crises and catastrophes of the 14th century, Bologna experienced new growth in its economy and population, but in a pattern that was distinctive among northern and central Italian cities. The trajectory of such cities usually followed one of two paths: some cities remained in a state of stagnation; others, in particular the capital cities of the new territorial states, such as Venice and Rome, experienced significant growth.²⁹ Bologna was not a capital city, yet its growth in population surpassed its late medieval maximum. This was not a spontaneous development but the result of deliberate restructuring and expansion of its industrial base. Moreover, unlike other cities that experienced a similar transformation to an emphasis on industrial activity (Genoa, Florence, Milan, Venice), Bologna did not decline after the severe crises of famine in the late 16th century and plague in 1630, but continued to enjoy economic prosperity throughout the 17th century. The significance of Renaissance Bologna's unique economic innovations long remained buried under the myth of its permanent decline after the "golden age" of the late 12th and 13th centuries, but recent scholarship, especially by Carlo Poni and Alberto Guenzi, has made clear the importance and impact of Bologna's role in the Renaissance economy.

In the early Quattrocento Bologna's future prosperity was not predictable. The population of the city had reached its lowest point since the second half of the 13th century, down to 20/25,000 in 1428, only half its size in the late 13th century. For most of the 15th century only conjectural estimates based on chroniclers are available, but they indicate that by mid-century Bologna had regained or was near its medieval maximum, and that it continued to grow in the following decades, despite military invasions in the *contado* during the 1460s and 1470s and harsh famines in 1478 and 1494. Growth in the 16th century

29 Bosker, Brankman, Garretsen, De Jong and Schramm, "The Development of Cities."

was even more intense, and by 1568-69 Bologna had surpassed its late 13th century high point, with a population of approximately 62,000, and by 1587 had increased further to 72,000 inhabitants.³⁰ Once again Bologna ranked in the top tier of Italian cities. In their demographic study, Maria Ginatempo and Lucia Sandri divide the Italian cities into six categories and three periods (Duecento to early Trecento, mid-Trecento to the end of the Quattrocento, and the Cinquecento). In the first period Bologna is ranked at the top of the second-highest category; in the second period it slips down one category, but in the third period regains its relative standing in the second-highest category, with only Venice, Milan, and Naples in the highest category with populations greater than 80,000. Florence, which had been more than twice the size of Bologna at the turn of the 13th century with a population of 110,000, although still larger than Bologna in the 16th century, with a population of 75,000, ranked in that period in the same category as Bologna along with seven other cities.³¹

Demographic growth in the premodern city, given its high death rate, usually depended to a very large extent on immigration.³² A government document, the *Denunce di coloro che vennero a domiciliare in città e contado*, provides an exceptional source of information from the beginning of the Quattrocento to the early years of the Cinquecento on the flow of immigrants from outside Bolognese territory to Bologna's city and *contado*. Immigrants from the *contado* of other cities tended to migrate to Bologna's *contado*, and those from other cities to the city of Bologna itself, with many more migrating to the *contado* than into the city, reflecting the greater selectivity of urban immigrants as they responded to specific employment opportunities in the city's expanding economy, particularly in textiles followed by the leather and hides sector. The flow of immigrants in Guenzi's sample (approximately 6000 families) peaked in the middle of the Quattrocento, another indicator of the city's having recovered its medieval maximum by that decade.³³

30 Bellettini, *La popolazione di Bologna*, pp. 21-26. Bellettini reviews and evaluates the earlier demographic studies of G.B. Salvioni, V. Santini, and K.J. Beloch. The 1568 and 1569 documents are the first quantitative sources (surveys of parish records; the former a listing of *anime di comunione*, the latter a partial but direct source). The documents utilized by Bellettini for later years are based on chronicles and administrative records of the *Gabella Grossa*, all as glossed in extant manuscripts by the early modern *eruditi* Nicolò Pasquale Alidosi, Conte Baldassare Carrati, and Canon Francesco Ghiselli. For another critique of the 20th century scholars and their use of these data, see Pini, "Problemi demografici," pp. 160-61.

31 Ginatempo and Sandri, *L'Italia delle città*; Malanima, "Italian Cities," p. 112.

32 Van der Woude, "Population Developments."

33 Guenzi, "L'immigrazione urbana." Also see Bocchi, "Trasferimenti di lavoratori," p. 258. Bocchi gives the total figures from the extant documents as 36,561 foreign immigrants, of

If the university was the engine of economic and demographic growth in the 12th and 13th centuries, it was the silk industry that fueled the recovery of the 15th century and then dominated the Bolognese economy for the next 200 years. According to the *Memoriale* of the silk guild of 1587, an astounding 25,000 persons were employed in the various stages of silk production, which if valid, would have comprised one-third of the city's total population.³⁴ The roots of the industry in Bologna go back to the 13th century, and just as its early growth was dependent on the city's hydraulic system, as discussed in the previous section of this essay, so its remarkable ascent in the 15th century was deeply indebted to further innovation in the use of water energy. Water-powered energy was essential to development of the industry because of certain special characteristics of the silk-making process. Silk thread is not created by spinning, as is wool and cotton. Instead it is extracted from the cocoon in a single continuous filament by immersion in hot water after which it is carefully unbound from the cocoon (reeling). At that point it is necessary to twist or "throw" the skein of raw silk to make it sufficiently strong for weaving or knitting and to produce a finer quality thread. Different methods of twisting yield different types of silk thread: organzine thread is used for the warp threads of materials, tram thread for the weft (woof) or filling, crepe thread for weaving crinkly fabrics and a single thread for sheer fabrics. The innovation of applying water-energy to the Lucchese-invented circular throwing machine (the *torcitoio circolare*), a complex cylindrical mechanism powered by hand, was in place in Bologna by 1341, if not earlier.³⁵ This technology, called "*alla bolognese*" by contemporaries throughout Italy and Europe, was used almost exclusively only in Bologna up to the beginning of the 16th century.³⁶ The yarn produced by the Bolognese method was thicker, stronger, and more homogeneous, therefore excellently suited for use as warp threads (the vertical threads that supported the fabric, called *orsogli* or *organzini* as distinct from the horizontal weft or woof threads). So superior was this thread that major silk producers in

which 5610 established themselves in the city and 30,951 in the *contado*.

- 34 Poni, "Per la storia del distretto," pp. 94-95. Poni notes that the number was probably inflated, but contends that it conveys the dimensions of the industry in the city. The figure is also challenged by Luca Molà, although he posits that 60 per cent of the total population in Genoa was engaged in the silk industry, 40 per cent in Bologna and Milan, almost 25 per cent in Florence, and somewhat below 20 per cent in Venice and Naples in the 16th century; Molà, *The Silk Industry*, pp. 16-17.
- 35 Livi, "I mercanti di seta," pp. 37-38; Tabarroni, "I filatoi idraulici," pp. 383-84 and see the previous section of this essay.
- 36 Battistini, *L'industria della seta*, pp. 123-24. For the number of mills, see Guenzi and Poni, "Sinergia di due innovazioni," p. 123.

other cities, for example the Venetians, depended upon Bolognese *orsoglio* for the warp threads in their products until the end of the 16th century.³⁷

The invention of the mechanized, multistoried silk throwing machine (*filatoio*), actually a construction of several superimposed machines (*valichi*), each with layers of wheels holding dozens of bobbins, marks stage one in the use of water energy in the silk industry (what Alberto Guenzi calls the “macro-stage” of hydraulic innovation). Its diffusion over time on the city’s canals was slow but considerable, from 12 mills in 1371 and 16 in 1393, to 60 mills by the beginning of the 17th century and 95 by the middle of that century.³⁸ Carlo Poni estimates that this mechanical throwing machine threw 96 threads in less time than it took a hand worker to throw a single thread, an enormous increase in productivity as well as in the quality of the product.³⁹ But why did this development take place in Bologna and not in Lucca, the medieval center of silk production, where there were no mechanized mills until the 16th century?⁴⁰ Michael Bratchel has hypothesized that the failure of the Lucchese to develop the mechanized silk mill and then their centuries-long slowness in adopting it was the result of the rigidity of that city’s social and political structures. The long-established silk industries remained in the hands of the great families in political power, a *congiuntura* which blocked the rise of the *setaiolo*, the specialist merchant entrepreneur willing to risk investment in the expensive equipment of water-powered mills.⁴¹ In Bologna, however, the guilds had lost their dominant political role with the coming of signorial and foreign regimes in the early 14th century, creating an environment that was open to the organization and rise of new men and new guilds, as happened with the silk guild itself in the revived guild republic of 1376.⁴² In short, the situation in Bologna was conducive to a period of Schumpeterian “creative destruction.” In using

37 Poni, “Per la storia del distretto,” p. 118.

38 Poni, *La seta in Italia*, p. 444; Battistini, *L'industria della seta*, p. 128. The Museo del Patrimonio Industriale in Bologna has a 1:2 scale model of a Bolognese silk mill which it displays as “the acme of European technology prior to the Industrial Revolution proper.” The canals of course supported other industries. Thus in 1393 in addition to the 16 silk mills there were 21 other mills serving the metallurgical, wool and paper industries and 20 grain mills: Guenzi, *Acqua e industria*, pp. 12–13.

39 Poni, “The Circular Silk Mill.”

40 Poni points out that the claim by Joel Mokyr that Lucca made “heavy use of water power” is unfounded: Poni, “The Circular Silk Mill,” p. 84, fn. 5.

41 Bratchel, “The silk industry.”

42 Whether late medieval guilds were a negative or positive force for technological innovation and technology transfer has been a controversial topic, for example, Epstein, “Craft guilds”; Ogilvie, “Rehabilitating the Guilds.” Recent historiography, however, seems

this concept Stephan R. Epstein emphasizes how “social, political and economic upheaval and increased artisan mobility accelerated cross-fertilisation between industrial sectors and economic regions” and one of his examples is the Bolognese silk industry.⁴³ In addition, although Lucca had the potential to create the necessary water supply, at Bologna the hydraulic system of canals was already in place. But there was a limit to how many mills the canals could support because of restrictions in space and the level of water flow from the Savena and Reno rivers, as well as the need to sustain grain mills and mills for other industries. Moreover, a distinctive policy at Bologna prohibited the establishment of silk mills in the countryside. The great investments in the industry made by key oligarchic families of Bologna were protected by legislation in 1461 which established an urban monopoly on silk production and restricted the countryside to the cultivation of mulberry trees and the raising of silkworms.⁴⁴ The rural protoindustrial development of silk production that took place when the *filatoio alla bolognese* was adopted in other regions, especially in the Veneto, in the 16th century, never happened in the urbancentric Bolognese silk industry.⁴⁵

Expansion of the industry in the city, despite the restrictions of space and water flow that limited an increase in grand canals (the macro-system), was accomplished in the late 14th century by a new technology that Guenzi labels as the second stage or “micro-system” of hydraulic innovation. This comprised an underground capillary network of small and very small conduits called *chiaviche* that brought water to the cellars of individual houses where the silk workers lived and then brought the used water back to a single collector for industrial (*acque bianche*) and hygienic waste (*acque nere*). As Guenzi emphasizes, this system is to be distinguished from the primitive underground system of sewers (also called *chiaviche* in the statutes) that carried *acque nere* from certain houses in the oldest and most aristocratic sections of the city center to black wells (*pozzi neri*). These sewers were physically remote from the pathways traversed by the canals. The new system, for the same reason, could not have been an outgrowth of the cellars (*cantine*) that had existed since the early 13th century in signorial homes for the storage of wine. The *cantina* and the

to be leaning towards a more positive interpretation. See Davids and De Munck, “Innovation and Creativity.”

43 Epstein, “The late medieval crisis.”

44 Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, p. 89.

45 Battistini, *L'industria della seta*, pp. 127–28. In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries other regions developed the production of organzine by more efficient means, for example, in the rural industrial districts at Bassano in the Veneto and at Racconigi in the Piedmont. Poni, “Per la storia del distretto,” pp. 98–99.

chiavica met to form the new system in a sparsely inhabited area of the north-western section of the city that was included within the newly completed circle of walls in the late 14th century; in short it was the product of deliberate civil engineering and the creation of a kind of “industrial district.”⁴⁶ It was this combination of macro and micro systems that made Bologna so unique. Other cities in the Po Valley built canals (Modena, Reggio Emilia, Parma, Padua, Treviso, Udine), but the construction of a micro-system of *cantina* and *chiavica* did not reach the level achieved in Bologna in any other Italian or European city.⁴⁷

An additional and largely undervalued innovation by the *bolognesi* in the 16th century, the introduction of the mechanized winder (*incannatoio*), increased productivity enormously and gave Bologna an even greater advantage over its competitors. This mechanism simultaneously transferred numerous skeins of raw silk onto the bobbins that were then placed on the throwing machine. Elsewhere it took dozens of women to perform the equivalent task *a domicilio*. Moreover, the threads produced with the mechanized winder were of a higher quality, thinner and smoother yet still strong.⁴⁸ As Luca Molà points out, the question to be asked, from the demand rather than just the productive perspective, is why a thinner thread was so desirable. According to Molà, the need arose in the 16th century because of customers’ changing tastes and their preference for more delicate fabrics with weaving patterns that emphasized the design created by warp threads. For the Venetians this meant increased import of *orsoglio* from the Terraferma and abroad, a market Bologna was well-prepared to meet.⁴⁹

By the end of the 15th century the productive topography of the city had changed radically. The grand canals took on the function of aqueducts from which water was drawn by the *chiaviche* and distributed by means of the natural slope of the urban surface, running just under the soil and crossing the ceilings of the *cantine*, thereby supplying water energy for the wheels (horizontal and smaller of course than those on the canals) that had been installed in the *cantine*, and transforming each building internally into a small hydraulic factory (*opificio idraulico*) while the exterior remained that of a dwelling, an invisibility that served to protect the innovative technology within.⁵⁰ Indeed, its success in keeping its technology secret and the unduplicability of

46 Guenzi, *Acqua e industria*, pp. 150-51.

47 Guenzi and Poni, “Sinergia di due innovazioni,” p. 115.

48 Poni, “All’origine del sistema,” pp. 449-52; Battistini, *L’industria della seta*, pp. 125-26.

49 Molà, *The Silk Industry*, p. 307.

50 Guenzi, *Acqua e industria*, pp. 17-18.

its urban-monopolized industry model were crucial to Bologna's anomalous continued prosperity during most of the 17th century. While other cities in the Po Valley endured a profound crisis, Bologna continued to expand economically.⁵¹ The hydraulic system remained vital to Bologna's economy, but the cost of its maintenance was not sustained by the government. Instead it was divided among the various consortia of users who, although they did not pay directly for use of the water, as happened in other Italian cities, did provide for the expense of repairing and renovating the canals, locks, and waterways. To the government belonged the authority to manage allocation of the resource.⁵²

The major silk-producing cities (Lucca, Genoa, Venice, Florence, and Bologna) tended to specialize in particular products for the international markets. Bologna especially succeeded in the production and export throughout Europe of organzine or *orsoglio* (the semi-finished product ready for the loom) and veils. Bolognese *orsoglio* was highly esteemed and used in centers throughout the continent to produce brocades, tapestries, damask, and velvets. Veils were not limited to the luxury trade, and were put to a variety of uses – as stockings, headgear for mourning, trimmings for garments, and even as mosquito nets. One of the reasons for Bologna's continued prosperity in the 17th century was the growth of the “populuxe” market and demand for goods such as light silk veils, Bologna's specialty.⁵³ The raw silk from Bologna's *contado* was considered, along with that from Tuscany, as the most desirable grown in Italy, but Bologna strove, not always successfully, to block its export and limit its use to producing its own cloths for the local market and veils for export (*opera tinta*), using foreign raw silk for producing *orsoglio* and for finishing the cloths sent to it and re-exporting them to the sender (*opera bianca*). Poni describes how the *opera bianca* system of forbidding the export of raw silk benefited both the great noble landed proprietors who sold the cocoons from the *contado* in the city at high prices and how the merchant entrepreneurs then sold the silk veils at high prices in the international markets. In 1589 Bologna reaffirmed the prohibition on the export of raw silk to other regions and even the import and re-export of material sent to Bologna for finishing with Bolognese raw silk, in the hope that such a policy would encourage the manufacture of cloths.⁵⁴ However, the provision did not have the desired effect. With the subsequent

51 Guenzi, *Acqua e industria*, pp. 22, 150.

52 Guenzi, “Politica ed economia,” p. 344; Gheza Fabbri, *L'organizzazione del lavoro*, pp. 42-43.

53 Guenzi and Poni, “Un ‘network’ plurisecolare,” p. 366; Giusberti, *Impresa e avventura*, pp. 116-20; Trivellato, “Guilds, Technology and Economic Change,” pp. 203-04.

54 Guenzi, “L'identità industriale,” pp. 466-70; Poni, “Per la storia del distretto,” pp. 110-19.

interruption in the arrival of raw silk to be twisted in Bolognese mills, many of those mills had to suspend work and skilled Bolognese workers began to emigrate to other cities, especially those in the Veneto and to Milan, taking with them the technical knowledge that Bologna had sought to keep secret for centuries.⁵⁵ There were silk mills *alla bolognese* in existence in Verona and Vicenza from 1454 and at Milan from the same period, but only with the migration of the Bolognese artisans did those sites become competitive with Bologna.⁵⁶ Thus the very foundation of Bologna's success was also the basis for its failure. When its innovative technology was transferred to other regions by emigrating Bolognese artisans and installed in silk mills built not in the city but in the countryside, mills that used the more powerful water resources available in the countryside, Bologna's dominant role in the silk industry declined and collapsed at the end the century.⁵⁷

The success of the silk industry at Bologna depended not only on technological innovation and skilled artisans but on the availability of cheap and seasonal labor, a resource supplied in large degree by women and children. The industry itself was controlled by a relatively small number of merchant entrepreneurs (between 50-60 towards the end of the 16th century), organized in the *Arte della Seta*, an "umbrella guild" encompassing all aspects of the industry. It had reached a prominent role economically and politically by the late 14th century.⁵⁸ The merchant entrepreneurs operated the industry on the "putting-out" system, managing production from the initial stage of separating the cocoons from the worms, bathing the cocoons to kill destructive larvae, loosening the filaments from the cocoons, reeling the filaments into skeins of thread, twisting or throwing the skeins on the water-powered machines, to finally thus producing a thread ready for weaving. The next stage was to provide weavers with thread for their looms and some of the cloth ultimately to the dyers. The two stages differed significantly in the skills required which shaped the subsequent status and gender of the workers, with skilled male

55 The government imposed severe measures on artisans who took technical secrets elsewhere. In 1538 two men were sentenced (contumaciously) to be hanged, each by one foot from the Palazzo del Podestà for having taken knowledge of the *arte del filatoglio* to other cities. Tabarroni, "I filatoi idraulici," p. 391; Poni, "All'origine del sistema," p. 455.

56 Poni, "Per la storia del distretto," p. 98; Poni, "All'origine del sistema,"; Battistini, *L'industria di seta*, pp. 127-28.

57 Guenzi and Poni, "Sinergia di due innovazioni," p. 119. Silk mills *alla bolognese* began to appear in other cities (Verona, Vicenza, Milan) from the 15th century. Battistini, *L'industria della seta*, p. 124; Guenzi and Poni, "Un 'network' plurisecolare," p. 366; Demo, "La produzione serica," pp. 309-10.

58 Poni, "Per la storia del distretto," p. 94.

weavers commanding much higher wages than the low-paid women and children, indispensable and available for brief and intensive periods of work who dominated the earlier stages of production, with women comprising the overwhelming majority of the industry's workers. In 1587 almost 25,000 workers were employed in the silk industry and over 21,000 of those workers were female.⁵⁹

But by the end of the 16th century a more complex gendered work structure had evolved in the textile industries that lasted for centuries. The production of silk cloths was carried out in *botteghe* by approximately 3000 male artisans who belonged to the silk guild and worked with their apprentices and sometimes with the help of family members. Women had worked at home as *maestre* winding the threads on reels, but with the coming of the mechanized winder that operation moved into the silk mills and the women were replaced by children.⁶⁰ The weaving of veils continued to be entrusted by the merchant entrepreneurs to *maestre* who worked "independently" at home, but this work consisted of a less skilled and lower-paid level of weaving. In 1591 there were approximately 12,000 such female weavers of veils. The third sector of the industry consisted of those who worked with the scraps produced during the process of reeling and twisting the threads, which were utilized to weave stockings and *grembiali*, or were mixed with wool, hemp, or cotton threads and in this sector another 2000 women were employed. The preponderance of the production of veils over the more expensive woven cloths in the Bolognese silk industry and the role of women weavers in veil production meant that the silk industry as a whole was based not only on the unskilled work of women but on that of relatively skilled but low-paid female workers as well. Women dominated the industry to a remarkable degree but labored in a system in which they were dominated to their disadvantage by the merchant entrepreneurs and by the male weavers who reserved to themselves the production of more costly and complex cloths. Nicholas Terpstra describes the "silk merchants' appetite for low-cost labour [as] ravenous as the silk worms' appetite for mulberry leaves" and it was women who satisfied that appetite.⁶¹ The demand for female labor also found a resource in charitable institutions. Beginning in 1506,

59 Poni, "Tecnologie, organizzazione produttiva e divisione"; Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*, p. 323.

60 Women were excluded from the guilds, including the "independent" *maestre*, but by the 18th century women were brought into the silk and hemp guilds in order to gain better control over them and their work, a development resisted by at least some women: Dumont, "Women and Guilds"; Poni, "Tecnologie, organizzazione produttiva e divisione," p. 279.

61 Guenzi, "La tessitura femminile"; Terpstra, "Working the Cocoon," p. 50.

the Bolognese established homes for abandoned and orphaned girls and textile work played a significant role in the work assigned to the girls. The Opera Pia dei Poveri Mendicanti, which became a model for workhouses in other Italian cities, was opened at mid-century and the workhouse of San Gregorio in 1563, and from the beginning the provision of cheap female labor for the silk industry was incorporated into the policies of those institutions.⁶²

As crucial as the silk industry was to Bologna's economy, it was not the only source of its Renaissance prosperity. The Bolognese recognized that they had four "gold mines" that brought "wealth, power, and magnificence" to their city: silk to be sure, but also the *studium* and the wool and hemp industries.⁶³ The "golden age" of the university with its prestigious law school is usually portrayed as over by the early 14th century, but by the second half of the 15th century the schools of humanities, mathematics and medicine were also gaining recognition and attracting more students, and a faculty in theology was added after 1570.⁶⁴ No matriculation records have survived, so it is impossible to know with any precision how many students the university had in the 15th and 16th centuries, but Paul Grendler, on the basis of the number of faculty, the number of degrees awarded, and the size of other universities, estimates that the number ranged from 1000 to 2000 during that period; Gian Paolo Brizzi estimates 2000 and Mario Fanti more than 1000 students; figures that are not implausible when compared to the estimate of approximately 2000 students at the end of the 13th century, and which indicate the institution's continued vitality and importance for the city's economy.⁶⁵

The wool industry depended on imported wool and served only the local market, with the production and sale of new cloths and clothing yielding from the 14th century to the prominence of the *strazzaroli* (later called *drappieri*) – sellers of used clothes, household linens, and upholstery, who also gained the

62 Terpstra, "Working the Cocoon," pp. 56-57; also Idem, *Cultures of Charity*, pp. 174-83 for the work of girls also at the Santa Maria del Baraccano and Santa Croce conservatories.

63 Macelli, "L'arte dei Gargiolari," p. 3. The quote is from the "Memoriale dei Salaroli al Senato," without date but from the first half of the 17th century.

64 Dondarini, "Il tramonto," p. 18 (p. 121 of the English translation) for "la crisi dello Studio" in the early 14th century, and p. 54 for a brief note on its recovery in the second half of the 15th century. On the earlier teaching of theology in Bologna, see the essay by David A. Lines in this volume. Shona Kelly Wray references several celebrated jurists and argues that the 1330s marked a "golden age" for jurisprudence at Bologna: Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, p. 60.

65 Grendler, "The University of Bologna," pp. 476-77, fn. 3; Idem, *The Universities*, p. 19. Grendler posits that the maximum of 2000 students was reached in the mid-16th century and then declined to 1500 by the end of the century.

right to rework used clothes into new clothing and deal with all kinds of materials. The guild's increased prestige is reflected in the new residence it built (still standing today) in the 15th century near the Two Towers. According to a papal survey at the end of the Cinquecento, the wool industry employed almost 15,000 workers.⁶⁶ The hemp industry, however, had a particular advantage because its fundamental resource, the hemp plant, was virtually a monopoly of Bolognese agriculture, growing as high as 13 feet. The plant when cultivated elsewhere was of such inferior quality that Bolognese hemp dominated international markets. It was in great demand, for example, for rope, cordage, and sail canvas in Venetian shipyards. The hemp fiber was also used in local Bolognese industries in a varied array of products such as clothing (mixed with flax, cotton, and silk), fishnets, sacks, and household linens. Moreover, once again the Bolognese were innovative, developing a technique (*all'uso di Bologna*) for turning the plant into a fiber (*gargiolo*) that was longer, thicker, and more resistant than methods used in the Piedmont and Lombard industries. Beginning with its "golden age" in the 16th century, approximately 5 million pounds of hemp were produced in the Bolognese territory each year. The great majority, 2.5 million pounds, was turned into fiber in the city, another 1.5 million pounds in the *contado*, and 1 million pounds were exported raw (*grezza*). In 1587 more than 12,000 urban workers (including their families) were employed in the industry and in the 17th and 18th centuries hemp replaced silk as the city's leading industry.⁶⁷

In both of its leading industries, silk and hemp, Bologna's economic growth and prosperity thus depended not only on technological innovation, but on the advantage of having the necessary agricultural resources available in its own territory. The relationship between city and *contado* was crucial but also particular to Bologna. As noted above, to a great extent in both industries the division between resource and product was divided and carefully controlled between the urban and rural sectors. The mercantile elite dominated both sectors, which was a significant element in structuring the success of the revitalized economy. A major change took place within the agrarian economy during the demographic crisis of the 14th century which initiated the evolution from an agricultural system of small landholdings dedicated to cereal monoculture, vine-growing, or fodder for local use, to a mixed agriculture with larger-sized property holdings (*poderi*) based on the *mezzadria* system in which proprietors and peasants who worked the land shared the profits. In

66 Roversi, "Le arti per l'arte," pp. 157-60 (pp. 213-15 of the English translation); Gheza Fabbri, *L'organizzazione del lavoro*, p. 41.

67 Macelli, "L'arte dei Gargiolari," pp. 4-5, 8-19.

1454, taking account of the agricultural transition, the city's statutes specified the functioning of the *mezzadria* contract in Bolognese territory, creating a contractual profile that remained in place for centuries.⁶⁸ Furthermore, by the early 16th century there is evidence of a great concentration of landed wealth in the hands of the urban elite. Historians have increasingly become aware of how precarious a source tax records are for extrapolating data on the distribution of wealth and in the case of Bologna the situation is rendered more difficult because *estimi* for city-dwellers were not compiled after the 14th century.⁶⁹ But Rolando Dondarini emphasizes "the great fortunes" recorded in the 1386-87 urban fiscal assessments and "the increasing gap between the various social classes" in the late 14th century. Bernardino Farolfi's analysis of a singular albeit incomplete document, the *Descriptio bonorum comitatus 1502*, is indicative of a significant change in property ownership – a concentration of *contado* landed possessions in the hands of the urban patriciate and a merging of the political and economic elites. The greatest proprietors at the top of the pyramid were from families who had entered the patriciate during the communal and signorial regimes of the 14th and 15th centuries. The 82 greatest families (9 per cent of the units) possessed the majority of *contado* lands (66 per cent). As Farolfi notes, their land ownership gave the urban patriciate not only economic, but also political and social control of the countryside.⁷⁰ Moreover, the redistribution of wealth seems to have meant a significant expansion of poverty and a harsher standard of living among the lower classes. From the 16th century a new discourse arose among the elite classes – a change from feelings of piety towards the poor to deepening perceptions of the danger they represented, a gripping fear that prompted the elite to seek institutional

68 Poni, "Alcuni problemi"; Ginatempo, "La mezzadria dalle origini." For changes in agriculture and recent revisions that view the *mezzadria* system as positive and functional, see the discussion in Monti, "Il 'lungo' Quattrocento," pp. 1065-73, largely based on Iradiel, *Progreso agrario*. For a general model of town-country relations, see Epstein, "Town and country."

69 See the essay by Rosa Smurra in this volume.

70 Dondarini, "Il tramonto," p. 33 (p. 127 of the English translation); Farolfi, *Strutture agrarie*, pp. 14-18, 47-48. Using Farolfi's data, Terpstra calculates that 63 per cent of the units held no land, 19 per cent were small holders and the remaining 18 per cent controlled the countryside. Terpstra, "Confraternal Prison Charity," p. 230, fn. 33. On the urban oligarchy's "appropriation of the *contado*" in the second half of the 15th century, see Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 98-111. On the 15th-century economy supplying the *congiuntura* for the formation of "huge fortunes, especially in textiles," see Gheza Fabbri, *L'organizzazione del lavoro*, p. 15.

solutions to the problem of increased poverty.⁷¹ The work of historians in recent decades has given us a new portrayal of Renaissance Bologna as a prosperous industrial city, but also has shown us how its prosperity rested on the backs of low-paid women and children and the peasants of the *mezzadria* system.

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71 Giusberti, "Dalla pietà alla paura"; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*.

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Bankers, Financial Institutions, and Politics

Massimo Giansante

The history of credit in medieval and Renaissance Bologna is characterized by the absolute political centrality of financial professionals during the entire era of the commune of the *popolo*, from the 1220s to the establishment of the pontifical legate Bertrand du Pouget as *signore* in 1327.¹ Although not a feature unique to Bologna, such a strong and enduring degree of overlap between the communal ruling class and the mercantile-banking societies can only also be found in the commune of Asti.² In this essay I present an overview of the Bolognese case extending from the 13th to the beginning of the 16th century, exploring not only the course of this political centrality and its reflections in the business world, but also its decline and the new scenarios that emerged with the waning of the communal system of government and the assertion of signorial power.³

A rich collection of sources survives for research on this subject, although it is not of a continuous or homogeneous nature. Virtually non-existent before the mid-13th century, the number of documents on credit then explodes with an abundance at times overwhelming. In part this stems from the general nature of Bolognese archival sources: only a few dozen parchments survive before 1000 and only 479 from the 11th century, but none of these are pertinent for this subject.⁴ From the 12th century more than 1500 notarial documents are extant, but only four or five relate to credit relations. Dramatically different is the documentary panorama of the 13th century, for which communal statutes (1250), statutes of the bankers' guild (from 1245 on), guild *matricole* (1274 and 1294), family archives, and above all urban *estimi* (1296) have survived, as well as a unique Bolognese source – the notarial contracts copied into the

1 For the political history of Bologna in this period see Greci, "Bologna nel Duecento," and Vasina, "Dal comune verso la signoria."

2 Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 30–33. On Asti, see Castellani, *Gli uomini d'affari*.

3 On the signorial age in Bologna, in addition to the essays cited above, see Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334–1376," and De Benedictis, "Lo 'stato popolare di libertà." For a broad political-institutional picture of the period, see Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno* and his essay in this volume.

4 *Le carte bolognesi*.

Memoriali del Comune (beginning in 1265).⁵ This rich variety of sources makes it possible to approach our theme not just institutionally but through the experiences and professional pathways of certain bankers selected from among the many dozens who have left significant evidence of their activities, and to investigate not only their credit techniques and investment policies, but also their mentality and economic ethics and the much-debated subject of the legitimacy of usury.

The Tuscan Banking Companies and the Beginning of Bolognese Banking

The earliest significant evidence of credit operations at Bologna comes not from a Bolognese document but from the famous (although very incomplete) *Libro di conti* of a Florentine mercantile company, dated 1211. However, we know that before that date Bolognese bankers were already organized in a guild and even (in collaboration with the merchants) managed the civic mint, beginning with the first coining of the *bolognino* in 1191.⁶ Close collaboration with the merchants would be a long-standing characteristic of the bankers at Bologna, but each profession had its own autonomous society, as for example, in Florence, Perugia, and Prato, a characteristic distinguishing these cities from the many others in which merchants and bankers were members of the same guild.

At Bologna, as almost everywhere else, the advance of monetary exchange activities and banking itself was the direct consequence of the development and fortunes of periodic fairs. In great centers such as Florence, Genoa, Venice, and Bologna, however, the cities became permanent markets and the activities of the bankers acquired a greater professional level and organizational stability. Moreover, at Bologna there was an additional strong propellant: the presence of a numerous student population, drawn to the city from the beginning of the 11th century by the prestige of its university.⁷ The approximately 2000 students from different countries required a market of various monies, and hence an increase in money-changing and the development of all the operations connected to the transmission of money and the granting of loans at interest. To maintain a youth at his studies at Bologna required, between

5 For a description of these sources, see the essays by Diana Tura and Rosa Smurra in this volume.

6 Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 51-56.

7 Pini, "La presenza dello Studio."

food and lodging, books and fees, a considerable annual output, perhaps no less than 150 pounds, and this for each of five years, or even the six or more necessary to obtain a degree.⁸ Given the difficulty and danger of travel over long distances, especially in the transport of money and valuable goods, it was natural that the greatest part of this flow of money was managed by bankers active in the Bolognese market, through their agents from beyond the Alps and by a simple but effective system of clearing transactions. Moreover, as documented in a rich rhetorical tradition, the students often quickly exhausted their resources and were accustomed to turn to interest-bearing loans, from bankers or their professors, or from a crowded constellation of non-professional usurers.⁹ This financial market generally did not handle huge amounts of money, and usually received manuscripts as surety for loans of brief duration, from one to six months. Nevertheless, the expanding student market became the object of sharp competition between local bankers and the many from Florence, Pistoia, and other Tuscan cities who opened branches in Bologna.

The communal government played a not-disinterested role in this competition between local and foreign bankers. Like other guilds the bankers sought a monopoly in their sector, but this goal, which was successful in some sectors of the Bolognese economy, clashed in the credit field with other, greater interests: with the student population and its impact on the urban economy and communal political power, with its continuous need for financial support.¹⁰ The importance of the Bolognese market, and its student market in particular, quickly drew the attention of numerous Tuscan companies that were expanding and were not at all deterred by the protectionist attempts of the Bolognese bankers' guild, such as forbidding foreign bankers from dealing directly with each other and from granting loans in the vicinity of the stalls of exchange in the neighborhood of Porta Ravegnana. In the course of the Duecento, the Tuscan companies steadily strengthened their position in the Bolognese market, often offering students loans that were more advantageous than those of local bankers and obtaining important privileges from communal authorities who could not ignore the advantages that the urban market and especially public finance were deriving from the competition between local and foreign creditors.

8 Dal Pane, *La vita economica*, pp. 103-04.

9 Letters of students asking their families for money became, by the beginning of the 13th century, a true and proper epistolary genre, as demonstrated in the collection of Boncompagno da Signa, *Testi riguardanti la vita*.

10 Pini, "L'Arte del cambio."

Among the foreign bankers with branches at Bologna were the Bardi, Alberti del Giudice, and the Cerchi from Florence; and the Chiarenti, Ammannati, and others from Pistoia.¹¹ The first Tuscan company to enter the Bolognese market, was and remains anonymous. The source is well-known and often edited, although it has received more attention from historians of language than of the economy.¹² It consists of only two folios torn from an account book of 1211, attributable with relative certainty to a Florentine banking company. Despite its extremely fragmentary nature, this very precious document records some 500 transactions, relative to contracts of a varying nature, but the great majority consist of monetary exchanges and loans, carried out at Florence, Pisa, Bologna, and elsewhere. As Federigo Melis observed, all these contracts depict a credit company that acts to open a line of credit in which are registered the acts of the debtors, one after the other chronologically.¹³ The company is represented by its own agents, cited in the contracts only by their baptismal names (Arnolfino, Albizo, Iacopi, Giannozzo); more rarely with a patronymic and family name (Aldobrandino di Rineri Foresi); while more often we know the clients, in most cases Florentine artisans and merchants, from Santa Trinita, Oltrarno, etc.¹⁴ The contracts involve shoemakers (*galigai*), goldsmiths, makers of leather bags, Calimala merchants: sometimes exponents of prestigious families, for example, the Cavalcanti, Garbo, Tornaquinci.¹⁵ The company's profits are determined by relatively high interest rates fixed in the contracts: in the exchanges and in the loans a *prode* (interest) or *guiderdone* (reward) is anticipated, of 18 *denari* for every pound of capital, corresponding to 7.5 per cent for contracts of short duration, usually for one month. The penalty for a delay in repayment is 4 *denari* per month for every pound, corresponding to an annual rate of 20 per cent.¹⁶ We thus have a case of hidden usury, following a very frequently used casuistical ploy, one explicitly condemned by preachers, but perfectly in line with commercial uses and statutory norms: the annual

11 Saporì, *Studi di storia economica*, vol. 2, pp. 717, 731-51. On the Pistoiese companies in particular, see Zaccagnini, *I banchieri pistoiesi*.

12 "Libro di conti," pp. 99-119. The text has been partially republished in *Documenti per la storia*, pp. 378-79, and commented on in *Nuovi testi fiorentini*, vol. 1, pp. 5-12. For an update on this theme, see Tognetti, "Mercanti e libri." I warmly thank Silvia Diacciati and Sergio Tognetti for the valuable information they have given me regarding this source.

13 *Documenti per la storia*, p. 378.

14 "Libro di conti," pp. 110-11.

15 "Libro di conti," pp. 112-14.

16 "Libro di conti," pp. 116-17.

rate of 20 per cent is precisely what was considered to be the maximum legitimate rate of interest in the Bolognese statutes of the mid-13th century.¹⁷

Approximately half of the contracts documented in this Florentine source of 1211 had been drawn up in Bologna during the annual fair of San Procolo (at the beginning of May of that year), or at Florence, but with artisans or merchants who were about to go to Bologna to conclude business at that fair. They are thus particularly important as evidence of the numerous business relations between Florentine and Bolognese artisans, as in the case of a certain Orlandino, a *galigaio* of Santa Trinita, who received from the unnamed company 26 *lire di bolognini* and had to repay the loan, with the usual monthly interest, at the end of the fair. Standing as guarantor for him in the contract was his *galigaio* colleague, the Bolognese Angiolino Bolognini. Shortly thereafter, however, their roles were reversed and in a later contract Orlandino, under the same conditions, guaranteed for his colleague Angiolino restitution of a loan of 40 pounds.¹⁸ This unique and rare documentary evidence thus projects a brief ray of light on the lively and quite animated economic life of the early Duecento: we see a considerable number of operators converging on Bologna for the annual fair, coming above all from Tuscan cities, and we see money of various coinage (*veronesi, imperiali, tornei, provisini, sterline*) flowing into the Bolognese market, being exchanged by agents of this unnamed Florentine company with *bolognini* and *fiorini*, to facilitate negotiations concerning primarily textiles and tannery products. Without doubt credit was the principal source of the company's earnings; the great majority of the contracts consist of loans to various entities; rare, however, are any higher than 100 *lire di bolognini*.

The documentation grows richer as the 13th century unfolds, and shows that for decades the economic protagonists continued to be Tuscans. The ongoing growth of the *studium* in the first half of the century offset for the credit sector some recessive effects felt in other parts of the economy at mid-century. Indeed, an evolved and well-organized system tied the companies active in the Bolognese market to their branches in London, Paris, Montpellier, and Geneva, but throughout the century the banking groups able to implement such efficient structures were Tuscan, on whom, as we shall see, even the Bolognese bankers had to depend when they wished to conclude advantageous business affairs with foreign students.

Relatively well documented are the activities of the Pistoiese bankers, who expanded beyond the sphere of the *studium*, spreading into all the most vital sectors of the urban economy. These companies and others, as evidenced in

¹⁷ Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, p. 15.

¹⁸ *Documenti per la storia*, pp. 378-79.

the *Libri Memoriali*, such as the Ammannati, the *Società della Scala* and those of the Visconti, the Reali, and the Cremonesi, set up headquarters in Bologna and from here their activities radiated towards Paris, Montpellier, Orleans, and London by a system of couriers which tied together the various branches and permitted the accumulation of vast wealth within a few decades. They then reinvested their profits at home, sometimes in grandiose architectural works, both public and private, civil and religious.¹⁹ First to dominate the scene, and already numerous in the 1261 *matricula* of the Bolognese society of the Toschi, were the Ammannati, led until 1277 by Bartolomeo, a man of great energy and versatility.²⁰ In addition to coordinating the loan operations, the transfer of money, and the transport of books between Bologna and Paris and Montpellier, branches in which his own brothers Bandino and Giovanni worked, Bartolomeo Ammannati also obtained from the *studium* the post of *stationarius*, custodian of the official copies of university texts, which were borrowed by the students in order to have their personal copies made. The university was thus the privileged sphere of the Ammannati in those decades and students and professors their most persistent clients. Many contracts, registered in the *Memoriali*, record how Bartolomeo, and in his absence Michele Ammannati, directed complex clearing transactions (*partite di giro*), transferring huge sums from London, Orleans, Montpellier, and maintained profitable business relations with warehouses at Milan, Vercelli, Genoa, and even Nîmes, Barcelona, etc. Not only student clientele were involved: the Ammannati also financed transit merchants in the Bolognese market, ecclesiastical and political personages of the highest level, such as Cardinal Ottaviano Ubaldini, and their own local colleagues, who turned frequently to the Pistoiese company for loans. After having reached the apex of their fortunes with Bartolomeo, and having also maintained good levels of business under his sons, Bandino, Iacopo, and Gualterotto, the Ammannati failed in 1302 because of the grave insolvency of the English crown. The local repercussions of the failure were immediate and the Ammannati of Bologna, called into court by their creditors, fled the city precipitously.

The failure of the Ammannati contributed to opening up the local financial market to the dominance of the greatest local companies, who for decades had operated side by side with their Tuscan colleagues. We have some evidence of the early activities of the *bolognesi* (prior to establishment in 1265 of the *Libri Memoriali*) in the family archive of the Pepoli which shows Zerra di Ugolino

19 On all these companies, see Zaccagnini, *I banchieri pistoiesi*, pp. 53-75.

20 Zaccagnini, *I banchieri pistoiesi*, pp. 14-32.

also engaged with student clientele.²¹ In 1263, for example, Zerra granted a considerable loan to a group of French students. Indeed, French and Spanish students comprised the most consistent clients of the Pepoli bank in those years. Not having branches in foreign localities meant that Zerra and his colleagues were forced to rely on the support of competitor companies, such as the Raccorgitti and Pizzigotti, who supplied the Pepoli with valuable collaboration through their agents in France. The process was a simple one: at the *statio Pepulorum* in Porta Ravegnana, the young students easily obtained loans from Zerra's agents, even large amounts, often higher than 300 pounds; the French or English branches of the Raccorgitti or Pizzigotti then received from the students' families deposits of the corresponding amounts and transmitted notice of the payments to Bologna by courier. The contractual terms were usually relatively brief, with completion foreseen within one or two months; in every case, the delayed payment was also contractually anticipated and was the source of further profits for the company. The contractual casuistry was significantly enriched after 1265, thanks to establishment of the *Memoriali*, but it is equally possible to identify, in the Pepoli bank's activities of those decades, some on-going practices: the clients, for example, remained prevailingly French and Spanish and the amounts disbursed always high, reaching 1500 *lire di bolognini* in contracts which involved more than one person *in solido*. After 1267 traces of Zerra are lost. He probably died that year or shortly thereafter, while still relatively young, since after that year the group's activities were coordinated by the brothers Ugolino and Zoene Pepoli, father and uncle respectively of Zerra. They did not change the bank's policies and retained the same associates for their longer-range activities. In 1265-70, Ugolino and Zoene drew up some 40 loans, mainly with French students.²² Among the numerous students, from Provence, Burgundy, Gironde, Limousin, and Normandy, there is an especially large group of youths from Montpellier, who apparently turned to the Pepoli for the favorable arrangements available to their families through the Pizzigotti branch in that city. Other profitable activities associated with students that were sustained by Ugolino and Zoene included the sale of books: copies of juridical texts were acquired by the bank when debtors failed to repay their loans, then were put on the market at high prices, from 28 pounds for an *Digestum Vetus* with apparatus by Accursius, to 58 pounds for a *Decretum* with commentary by Uguccone.

During 1270, however, the Pepoli bank underwent an abrupt change in strategy: the level of credit to students diminished and then disappeared and in

21 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*, pp. 28-30.

22 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*, pp. 31-33.

September, with a loan of 1000 pounds to the commune of Imola, the bank instituted financial activity with public institutions. It was a policy that in the next half century, dominated by the powerful figure of Romeo di Zerra Pepoli, would become one of the principal activities of this banking group and more generally, one of the themes that characterize the economic and political history of those decades.²³

La Società del Cambio, or "L'usuraio onorato"

In the decades spanning the period from the establishment of the *capitano del popolo* in 1256 to the submission of the city to Cardinal legate Bertrand du Pouget in 1327, the bankers' guild (*Società del Cambio*) together with the merchants' and notaries' guilds, held hegemonic authority over the governmental structure of the commune, a power which, in the case of the bankers, was connected to their enormous economic weight and to their ability to influence decisively the financial and political decisions of communal institutions. Analysis of the distribution of wealth in communal Bolognese society enables us to demonstrate that configuration in concrete terms.

From the *estimo* of 1296-97, the earliest Bolognese patrimonial-fiscal assessment that has survived almost intact, we learn that in those years an extremely small percentage of Bolognese citizens, 420 of 9912 assessed (4 per cent), possessed more than 53 per cent of the total wealth (1,195,386 of the 2,239,236 declared pounds).²⁴ Furthermore, more than one-third of these 420 very well-off citizens, who comprised the economic elite of communal Bologna, belonged to the bankers' guild and owed their enormous wealth to credit activities and to profitable investments in landed property made from the earnings derived from that activity. The topographical distribution of these data is also illuminating: capital of credit origin ranges from a minimum of 10 per cent in the northwestern quarter of Porta Stiera to 54 per cent in the southeastern quarter of Porta Ravegnana, the urban zone in which the stalls and residences of the bankers were concentrated, near the *Trivio* at the foot of the Two Towers. Further analysis of the *estimo* accentuates the impression of the absolute pre-eminence of capital of credit origin. With very few exceptions, in fact, all of the wealthiest Bolognese contributors to the *estimo* (those who declared capital

23 ASB, Famiglia Pepoli, series 1/A, Istrumenti, Sommari 141, pp. 81-82.

24 For an overview of the distribution of wealth among Bolognese citizens, as derived from the *estimo* of 1297-97, see Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 144-74. On the *estimo* also see the essay by Rosa Smurra in this volume.

higher than 20,000 pounds) were exponents of banker families: the Pepoli, Tettalasini, Beccadelli, Artenisi, and then with numbers somewhat lower, but still of the highest level, the Baciacomari, Clarissimi, and Zovenzoni, and also the Rodaldi, Gozzadini, Sabadini, Soldaderi, etc. With the sole exception of the Guastavillani and the Villanova, all the most prestigious and powerful family groups, and all the holders of the largest patrimonies, belonged to the bankers' guild. How did the Bolognese bankers gain such great wealth and what were the principal sectors of their activities?

The Pepoli are one of the best documented of the banking families, and especially rich are the sources for Romeo, son of Zerra di Ugolino, whom we have already seen active in the 1260s and 1270s.²⁵ An unknown 18th-century archivist wrote, in a very valuable inventory of the family archive, that Romeo Pepoli was "the richest knight of Italy, who many times put forth his riches for the Holy Roman Empire."²⁶ Aside from its encomiastic purpose and obvious institutional anachronisms, his observation has a solid historical foundation and the merit of synthesizing two constituent elements: Romeo's extraordinary wealth and the constant involvement of his enormous patrimony for pre-vaillingly political purposes. The Florentine chronicler, Giovanni Villani, who was a very attentive contemporary witness of objective tendency, in as much as he was outside the Bolognese ambience, confirms the image, adding however an element suggestive of the origin of Romeo's fortunes. Recounting the flight of Romeo from the city in July 1321, Villani writes that he was "a great and powerful citizen and almost lord of the land" and also notes that it was said that he was "the richest citizen of Italy, having acquired almost all [his wealth] from usury, that he had 20,000 florins and more in annual income not counting his personal possessions."²⁷ We cannot know, of course, if he were truly "the richest citizen in Italy," but we can confirm that he was certainly the highest declarant in the Bolognese *estimo* and that his patrimony was predominantly of credit origin, "acquired almost all by usury" in the direct and technically precise, but morally neutral, language of the Florentine chronicler.

A treasure trove of documents has survived concerning Romeo Pepoli's professional and economic life – almost 700 notarial acts from 1269-1321 and two

25 For the professional and political trajectory of Romeo Pepoli, see Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*; Idem, "Romeo Pepoli"; Idem, *L'usurario onorato*, pp. 193-219.

26 ASB, Famiglia Pepoli, series 1/A, Istrumenti, Sommari 141, p. 140; Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 194-95.

27 For a discussion of this passage from Villani and its interpretation, see Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 195-96.

tax declarations presented by him in 1296 and 1315.²⁸ From the period of the earliest contracts, 1269-70, when he was employed as a 20-year old in the family company, Romeo seems to have injected new strategies into the traditions of the family business. The most evident novelty is the almost total disappearance of students as clients, as noted above. Romeo preferred to offer loans to a varied clientele, displaying for the first time his insightful and timely capacity to interpret social change, a characteristic he frequently demonstrated. A few years after he shifted his bank's policy, the student credit market in fact fell heavily into a grave crisis as a consequence of the turbulence in urban life and the competition from new university centers of study. These same social disturbances, however, and the internal and external conflicts in which the city was involved from the early years of the Duecento, accentuated economic difficulties and incited a generalized recourse to credit by all social strata of the urban and rural population, thus opening up a very fertile field to speculation by great bankers and small usurers. Romeo Pepoli, who certainly belonged to the first of these categories, did not disdain, especially in the early years of his professional activity, from entering into competition with pawn brokers in the practice of "consumer credit."

The *estimo* of 1296 therefore presents the patrimony of Pepoli at the height of his professional banking career, which had begun 30 years earlier.²⁹ The sum of his assessed wealth was 71,809 pounds, which made him by far the highest tax payer of the city. Eighty-three per cent of his enormous patrimony was in credits and 17 per cent in landed properties. The greatest part of his credit activities comprised loans made to inhabitants of the *contado*, with less to an urban clientele or to financing small commercial initiatives, at levels that almost never rose above 100 pounds and were for a clientele of salaried workers and artisan owners of small shops. In the region of San Giovanni in Persiceto, to the north, and Castel San Pietro to the east, Romeo made many hundreds of loans, and especially numbered among his debtors were the rural communes themselves, represented by their *massari*, forced like private individuals to accept the onerous financial terms of the banker in order to face an ever more unsustainable fiscal pressure from the dominant commune. Among the landed properties possessed by Romeo at this date were some that combined a significant economic value with a striking politico-social valence, as, for example, his investment in the great building facing the communal piazza, in which the

28 The sources on Romeo Pepoli are described and analyzed in Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*, pp. 9-16.

29 ASB, Comune, Ufficio dei Riformatori degli estimi (henceforth Estimi), series 2, Denunce dei cittadini, Busta 12, Porta Procula, Sant'Agata.

public slaughterhouse had its site, thereby establishing an important link between the Pepoli and the powerful guild of the butchers; and also his investments in mills, which Romeo possessed in great number throughout the Bolognese plain, from Castelfranco to Castel San Pietro. These structures, which the banker had acquired from those rural communes that were unable to repay their debts, were hence a consequence of his financial speculations. Beyond representing significant sources of income, they also constituted for him important instruments of politico-economic control over rural populations, since by ancient tradition of feudal origin those mills held a monopoly over grinding.

Comparison of the *estimi* of Romeo between 1296 and 1315 shows changes in his investment policies. The most significant lies in the distribution of loans: by 1315 the center of his credit interests shifted decisively from the *contado* to the city.³⁰ To be more precise, on the one hand the majority of contracts in the *contado* by then had been resolved with the declared insolvency of the debtors (both individual *contadini* and rural communes) and the acquisition by Romeo of the properties that had been given in surety (lands and mills). On the other hand, in the city the numbers invested in credits had more than doubled over the 20-year period, from 9 to 18 per cent of his total wealth, and constituted by far the most active aspect of his patrimony. In sum, while he expropriated *contadini* and rural communes, converting into landed properties a great part of his credits in the *contado*, he dedicated his best professional resources to the urban sphere. Moreover, he was also changing the social physiognomy of his urban clientele. In 1315 this group no longer consisted of small merchants, artisans, and salaried workers in search of minimal financing of a subsistence nature, as it had in 1296, but rather of more vibrant economic forces: great families, for example, the Guastavillani, who were active agricultural entrepreneurs, breeders and merchants of livestock; religious bodies such as the monastery of San Procolo and the abbey of Nonantola, which were engaged in complex landed operations; or powerful artisan guilds, such as the *lana bisella* (dealers in used and less valuable textiles), which as a corporation was among the best clients of the Pepoli bank. Romeo emerges in the second *estimo* less as a usurer and more as a banker.

Although the extant documentation for other bankers of this period is not as rich as that for the Pepoli, the records of two families, the Artenisi and the Beccadelli, are of particular interest. As descendants of the ancient consular aristocracy they represent bankers of noble extraction and offer the opportunity to compare bankers from that older social derivation with the Pepoli,

30 ASB, *Estimi*, series 2, *Denunce dei cittadini*, Busta 161.

who emerged on the scene later, during the commune of the *podestà* and *popolo*.³¹ In the second half of the 12th century the Artenisi and Beccadelli already performed political and diplomatic roles at the highest level of communal institutions and in the bankers' guild. They were, in those decades, among the families most involved in the dynamics typical of the aristocratic classes. The Artenisi were among the earliest and most ambitious builders of towers: in 1141 they rivaled the Asinelli in the height and artfulness of their buildings. They engaged actively, together with the Beccadelli, in the factional struggles that devastated Bologna throughout the 13th century, demonstrating a marked penchant for violent social disputes, but both families were also often members in the chivalric religious order of the *frati gaudenti*, an organization that worked for peaceful resolution of factional and familial conflicts. Did their economic strategies also reflect an aristocratic connotation?

Alberto and Beccadino Artenisi appear, according to their *estimo* of 1296, to have been more active in the market for landed property than in credit. They were great landed proprietors, owners of vast and complex patrimonies, but they did not distance themselves from making credit investments and had clients from both the city and *contado*. The professional choices of the brothers Terzolino Artenisi and Pietro Beccadelli were different from each other and in the way they presented themselves in their contracts: the former used the original form of the family name (Artenisi), the latter, the name of the more recent branch (Beccadelli). The two brothers collaborated actively in the family bank, dedicating their greatest attention to clientele from the *contado*, but also had clients who were artisans and small shopkeepers in the urban center. Among Terzolino's debtors were leading members of the feudal nobility, such as Count Bertolino di Ripa d'Isola, and clients from the Bolognese notarial class. However, according to the *estimo* of Benno Beccadelli, his capital (more than 8000 pounds) was almost totally invested in credits given to a numerous and diversified clientele. His loans are the most varied, ranging from modest numbers (2-3 pounds) loaned to *contadini* and small artisans, notaries, ecclesiastics, and Bolognese nobles, ancient and recent. But the most interesting contracts are those that tied other credit-granting groups to the Beccadelli, such as the Zovenzoni and Pizzigotti, and even Tuscan groups, not only because they were operations involving noteworthy entities, but also because they testify to the complex nature of the business affairs in which Benno was involved. Large sums of money, obtained, for example, from Pistoiese companies, were subsequently invested in loans granted at rather elevated interest rates to rural communes and to families of the urban nobility, such as the Maccagnani.

31 Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 228-46.

The *estimi* of Benno Beccadelli and his brother Zanochio are also important because they yield information on the rate of interest practiced at Bologna in loan contracts. Some of Benno's contracts are registered in the *estimo* by declaring the difference between the figure loaned and that in the notarial act, which was significantly higher since it included the stipulated interest fee. It was, as we have seen, a common expedient, which sought to guarantee to the loaner an adequate rate and to avoid rendering the usurious level of profit explicitly in the contract. This at least is the explanation usually proposed by scholars of medieval economic ethics.³² The issue is complex and cannot be dealt with in detail in this essay, but we can show that the traditional interpretation does not seem at all suited to the Bolognese context in these decades. Declaring in the *estimi*, and therefore in the public documentation of the commune, the disparity between the figure loaned and that stipulated for restitution is the equivalent of not having any doubt about the legitimacy of the interest rate in the loan contract, a point reinforced by recalling that in the statutes one finds the maximum legitimate rate fixed at 20 per cent annually. The loans made by Benno Beccadelli and their registration for fiscal purposes in the *estimi* fall within one of the most frequent forms of contractual legitimization of credit interest rates: a practice in open contradiction to canonistic norms, and one evidenced by numerous sources and interpreted decades ago by Antonio Ivan Pini as the expression of an agreement between the parties (loaner and borrower) which foresaw and monetized the later recovery of capital.³³ It is difficult, indeed often impossible, to quantify the percentage of annual interest in the declarations of the *estimo*, since the duration of the contract is almost never given, only the amount of the total figure. However, from the *estimo* of Benno's brother, Zenochio Beccadelli, we can glean some information that sheds light on this issue. In the great majority of Zenochio's contracts the difference between the figure loaned and the figure repaid in the notarial act is 10 per cent, with the same figure used for both small and medium-sized loans (up to 40 pounds), as well as those much larger (loans of 300, 500, and even 800 pounds). For a loan of 1200 pounds given to Benvenuto da Marano the interest rate, however, is 8 per cent, since the debtor is required to repay 1300 pounds. Interest rates higher than 10 per cent are quite rare, no more than one-tenth of the more than 90 documented. It is possible to hypothesize, therefore, that for the most part these loans were more recent and the 10 per

32 See, for example, Baldwin, *Masters, princes and merchants*, and Nardi, *Studi sul banchiere*. For bibliography on the theological and canonistic treatment of usury, see Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 9-29.

33 Pini, "L'Arte del cambio," pp. 70-71.

cent figure was exactly the stipulated annual rate, corresponding, moreover, to that which from other sources we know to have been the more common rate practiced in the Bolognese market, while those higher than 10 per cent would refer to older contracts, renewed at their expiration and hence covering higher rates.

The later *estimo* of 1315 reveals, both for the Artenisi and the Beccadelli, economic situations that have been totally inverted. Most evident is a notable depreciation of landed properties, the effect of general tendencies in the Bolognese and Italian economies of those years, which emphasized the absolute preeminence of credits in family patrimonies. Both Giacomo and Francesco, sons of Alberto Artenisi, whom we met in 1296, as well as the sons of Benno and Zanochio Beccadelli, and also the sons of Terzolino Artenisi, and in general all the leaders of the two family groups, while in a situation of considerable fragmentation of their patrimonies, continued and indeed intensified, in comparison to the preceding generation, their employment in the credit sector. In essence, the Artenisi and the Beccadelli, bankers of aristocratic origin, did not demonstrate in the years at the turn of the 13th century the attitude of disengagement from the credit sphere that was expressed in those years by other family groups, such as the Gozzadini, and do not seem to have been particularly drawn to landed investments, towards which capital resources in general were moving to a great extent.³⁴ The noble origins of the house seem in this case to have been perfectly in harmony, especially for the Beccadelli branch, with a striking and strongly positive attitude toward credit speculation, which aligns these families with the more organized urban banking groups.

A full picture of credit at Bologna in the golden age of the bankers' guild requires reference to the business relations between the Bolognese bankers and the Tuscan companies, a situation often evoked for its centrality, but which has remained somewhat vague because of the lack of sources. Fortunately, also in this case the *estimi* offer significant clarification, especially by analysis of the patrimonial declarations of a Florentine-Bolognese banking group almost unknown until now, the Bianchi di Cosa.³⁵ Descendants of a Florentine exile, Cosa di Aldrovandino, who took refuge at Bologna in 1223, the Bianchi di Cosa (later called the Bianchi del Cossa) are for that reason registered not only in the bankers' guild but also in the society of the Toschi, which was organized for mutual defense and assistance to immigrant Tuscans, largely merchants and

34 Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 220-28.

35 For the history of this family we do not have recent works; bibliography from the 17th-19th centuries is cited and discussed in Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 246-56.

bankers, who were permanently resident in Bologna. The son of Cosa, Bianco, *anziano* for the society of the Toschi, and an active leader in the *parte guelfa* during the 1270s and 1280s, was the principal creator of the family's outstanding economic fortunes. He transformed political marginalization and the uprooting caused by his father's exile into excellent opportunities for professional success, transferring a legacy of ancient ties between Tuscany and Bologna from the political sphere to the business world. From the marriage of Bianco with Sirra Gozzadini, from one of the most prestigious of families in the political and economic life of Bologna, were born at least seven sons, all active in government organizations, university teaching, and above all in business and credit: Brunino and Filippo were *anziani* many times between 1290-95 (they were then exiled, the latter to Milan in 1303); Benvenuto was a doctor of law and ambassador in 1297, Bartolomeo was the organizer in the same years, with his brothers Francesco, Cosa, and Bonifacio, of a business organization with the Acciaiuoli of Florence, and had other important commercial contacts in Tuscany and the Veneto.

Six of the seven Bianchi di Cosa brothers, except for Benvenuto, presented a joint fiscal declaration in 1296.³⁶ This extremely valuable source describes one of the most prominent familial patrimonies in Bologna in the late Duecento, inferior only to that of the Pepoli, Guastavillani, and very few others. It was a particularly complex and well-constructed patrimony, containing lands of various size and productive type, urban and rural buildings, mills and, among the liquid goods, numerous loans drawn up directly by one or the other of the brothers and other titles of credit, which belonged to them as representatives of the Acciaiuoli society or as contractors of indirect taxes (*dazi*). Managed collectively by the six brothers with remarkable solidarity, it was an enterprise that projected its interests into diverse economic sectors and demonstrated a versatility greater than that of its Bolognese competitors.

Nevertheless, the greatest attention and the largest sums of capital of the six brothers were drawn in those years, as also was the case for their father Bianco, to the world of commerce and credit. But in contrast to their Bolognese colleagues, the Bianchi di Cosa did not make loans their primary activity. It is possible that their greater participation in this specific sector was discouraged by the unfortunate results of some investments undertaken years earlier by their father in association with the local banks of the Pavanesi, Clarissimi, Beccadelli, and Zovenzoni. Those contracts, totaling 2300 pounds were made in favor of exponents of the most ancient and prestigious consular aristocrats,

36 ASB, Comune, Estimi, series 2, Denunce dei cittadini, Busta 29, Cappella di Santo Stefano, n. 56.

such as the Lambertini and Galluzzi, who turned out to be insolvent debtors. In their *estimo*, the disconsolate sons of Bianco declared “the money never returned” (“in eorum bursas non redeunt”), indicating a fraught connection between the magnate extraction of the debtors and their shameless and provocative obstinacy in not honoring their obligations.³⁷

The greatest amounts of energy and capital of the Bianchi di Cosa brothers were channeled into the society they had formed with the great Florentine merchant and banker Leone Acciaiuoli, for a total of 10,340 pounds invested in contracts of a credit or commercial nature, for example, the credits granted by the Acciaiuoli to Bolognese artisans in the textile and tanning industries. Apart from loans, many sellers of coarse cloths (*bisilieri*) and their guild had received on credit various quantities of Florentine wool, destined for the thriving Bolognese market. The same type of transaction occurred in other commercial sectors in which they were active: numerous are the advances for textiles (cloths of hemp, for example), leather, and fur destined for Bolognese artisans. The versatility of the company’s merchandise, moreover, seems to have been practically unlimited, so much so as to include rather rare products such as the *polvere di zucchero* that a Bolognese furrier had acquired on credit at Verona from an associate of the Acciaiuoli. In the credit sector proper, in which as noted their direct participation was circumspect and therefore directed toward more modest investments, the Bianchi di Cosa showed themselves to be rather more open-minded when they acted as representatives of the Acciaiuoli bank: in that role they drew up two loans of substantial character, for a total of 3000 pounds, with Enrico Mezzovillani. Finally, under cover of the huge capital resources of their Florentine associates, they were not afraid to incur heavy credit burdens, such as contracts for *dazi*: in fact, they managed two of the most important contracts in the panorama of Bolognese public finance, those of the fulling and grain mills, for which they invested 1650 pounds.

Even the company of the Bianchi di Cosa, which was in some ways at the forefront of their profession, paid a very heavy price during the grave crisis that gripped Bolognese economic life between the end of the 13th and early years of the 14th century. The military emergency in which the city had been involved for decades and other more general negative contingencies ended by corroding the main propelling elements of the urban economy, initiating a swift recessive process. As noted, the declarations in the *estimo* of the bankers’ families offer direct and immediate evidence of that development and this also

37 Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 249–50.

holds true for the heirs of Bianco.³⁸ Of the six brothers who had presented a joint declaration in 1296, only the oldest, Bartolomeo, was dead in 1315; of Cosa we know nothing, while the other four were still living and each presented his own fiscal declaration. In the *estimo* of 1308, the original compact patrimony had already been completely dissolved, with each of the brothers consequently presenting a separate fiscal declaration, but their sums in total were still close to their 1296 level of capital. In 1315, however, the figures in the *estimi* of the Bianchi di Cosa had yielded to a head-spinning reduction: the total sum of the patrimonies of the five heirs of Bartolomeo and of the other four surviving brothers reached a total less than 3000 *lire di bolognini*. Even though the *estimo* of Cosa, the sixth brother, may have been lost, and even considering that in the 1315 *estimo* buildings of residence, in contrast to the practice in 1296, were no longer subject to assessment, nevertheless the figure of 3000 pounds in comparison to the joint declaration presented by the sons of Bianco in 1296 speaks eloquently of the vast negative changes suffered by the family.

Jewish Banks and the *Monte di Pietà*

The central decades of the 14th century were characterized at Bologna by socio-political changes of great significance: among these were the collapse of the system of communal government and the affirmation of authoritarian powers – first Cardinal legate Bertrand du Pouget (1327–34) as representative of the sovereign pontiff, then the *signorie* of the Pepoli (1337–50) and the Visconti-Oleggio (1350–60) and finally the other pontifical legates who governed the city until the restoration of the commune in 1376.³⁹ The new governments favored the evolution in a functionary sense of a ruling group that in the preceding communal age had been the direct expression of social classes of a strong professional nature, with the dominating presence of leaders from the world of artisanal, commercial, and credit activities. From these changes a very complex panorama emerges, one that has been illuminated by numerous and updated studies.⁴⁰ In this essay we will limit ourselves to describing only the

38 ASB, Comune, Estimi, series 2, Denunce dei cittadini, Busta 183; Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 252–54.

39 In addition to the references in footnotes 1 and 4, see Lorenzoni, *Conquistare e governare la città*, and the essay by Giorgio Tamba in this volume.

40 For a summary and bibliographical references, see Monti, “Il ‘lungo’ Quattrocento,” and the essays in this volume by Andrea Gardi Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco.

credit side of this development. The process has been described by Antonio Ivan Pini and other scholars as a “flight from credit” and a massive recourse to investments in landed property that was underway at the beginning of the 14th century, but perhaps even earlier, involving the richest and most prestigious Bolognese families. It was not a homogenous or generalized phenomenon (at least for a certain period, as we have seen, the Pepoli, Beccadelli, and others were immune to it), but one certainly perceptible in the rich documentation of the period. Multiple reasons have been given for this cautious backward movement (if not truly a flight), of the great families away from the world of credit, and certainly one of the most pressing was the crushing irreconcilability between the social prestige of these families and the profits of the principal credit activities (loans, deposits, exchanges) that by now were universally stamped as usurious. One of the effects of this notable withdrawal from the credit scene of these powerful families was to open the field to new economic actors.

It was not by chance, therefore, that the first Jewish bankers made their appearance in Bologna during the *signoria* of Taddeo Pepoli (1337-47).⁴¹ Son of Romeo Pepoli, Taddeo fulfilled the signorial ambitions of his father which had been frustrated by revolt and exile in 1321. Moreover, building on the family's immense patrimony, Taddeo constructed the myth of his own splendid liberality which, together with his reputation as a humanist and wise administrator, contributed to the success of his political ventures.⁴² Nevertheless, the obviously usurious origins of the Pepoli fortune were no longer compatible with the public image of a *signore* or the prestige of his house. In contrast to his ancestors, therefore, Taddeo and his sons prudently kept themselves far removed from the field of credit and dedicated their entrepreneurial energies to landed investments.⁴³ At the same time, families close to the *signore* and in general those of the political and economic elite of Bologna were making the same choice. Jewish bankers soon flowed into this persistent and increasing gap in the credit market.

The first Jewish banker began practicing his profession at Bologna during the regime of Taddeo Pepoli, and worked in the *cappella* (parish) of Sant'Agata, where the signorial family resided.⁴⁴ The appearance of Jewish creditors at Bologna thus occurred later than it did in other north-central Italian cities. By

41 For the history of the Jewish bankers of Bologna, see Muzzarelli, *Banchi ebraici a Bologna*; Eadem, *Verso l'epilogo*; Eadem, “I banchi ebraici, il Monte Pio”; Eadem, “Ebrei a Bologna.”

42 Antonioli, *Conservator pacis et iustitiae*.

43 ASB, Famiglia Pepoli, series 1/A, Istrumenti, Sommari 142.

44 Muzzarelli, “I banchi ebraici, il Monte Pio” p. 989.

the end of the Trecento, however, there were at least 200 Jewish lenders, the Jewish community as a whole was larger, located for the most part in the area of the exchange, that is, in the neighborhoods of Porta Ravegnana and in the Piazza Maggiore, where for some time Jewish and Christian dealers worked side by side.⁴⁵ During the Quattrocento, however, the credit sector was progressively dominated by Jewish bankers, who operated as a monopoly for approximately a century and served as valuable collaborators to public institutions, not only for the substantial fiscal contributions that they regularly guaranteed, but also for the extraordinary financing they repeatedly supplied to governmental bodies. The Jewish bank “de Porta,” for example, alone stipulated a contract with the commune in 1431-32 for a loan of 4000 pounds. On their part public institutions drew up more than 20 guarantees (*condotte*) with Jewish banks, attracting them to Bologna with favorable ten-year contracts, precisely for the purpose of then easily obtaining financing from them. The Jewish credit panorama was thus relatively crowded in late medieval Bologna, although a dozen banks, controlled for generations by the same families, dominated the sector from the end of the Trecento until the early decades of the Cinquecento. Among the most clearly illuminated by recent research is the bank of the Sforzo family, Jews of Spanish provenance who were active at Bologna from 1435, and by the end of the century were preeminent in the Bolognese banking world.⁴⁶ Present in Bologna for more than 150 years through six generations of bankers, the Sforzo left the city in 1569, shortly before the expulsion decreed by Pope Pius v.

Beginning in the early decades of the 16th century, the credit sector at Bologna was already feeling the strong social impact of a new presence, the *Monte di Pietà*, which, like the Jewish banks, developed later at Bologna than it did elsewhere in cities that were not very different in size or economic life from Bologna, cities in which the *Monti* made their appearance in the second half of the Quattrocento.⁴⁷ There was a false start at Bologna in 1473, under the impetus of Franciscan Observant preaching. The activity begun that year was

45 Muzzarelli, “I banchi ebraici, il Monte Pio” pp. 991-92.

46 Muzzarelli, “Ebrei, famiglie e città.” The buildings of the Sforzo Palazzo and bank, located in the prestigious Piazza di Santo Stefano, still exist today.

47 On the history of the *Monte di Bologna*, in addition to Muzzarelli, “I banchi ebraici, il Monte Pio,” see Fornasari, *Il ‘thesoro’ della città*; Muzzarelli, *Uomini, denaro, istituzioni*; Eadem, *Il denaro e la salvezza*; and the essays of Fornasari, “Storiografia, archivi, istituzioni,” and Carboni, “Razionalità economica.” For a broad treatment of the subject and an intercity perspective, see Carboni and Fornasari, “Learning from others’ failure”; Carboni and Muzzarelli, *I conti dei Monti*; Idem, *In pegno*, and the essays therein by Bordone, “I pegni,” and Rinaldi, “Amministrazione e traffico.”

sustained by donations from nobles, merchants and pious women and involved a varied clientele, but consisted above all of artisans and small shopkeepers. Small and medium-sized loans (the majority between 1 and 10 pounds) were granted at interest rates between 5 and 10 per cent, much lower therefore than the rates of 20-30 per cent charged by the Jews. A restrained interest rate, a spirit of solidarity, and a declared purpose of supporting subsistence and small artisanal enterprises thus characterized the institute's activity from the beginning. For reasons that are still not clear and may be more complex than merely a lack of funds, the activity of the *Monte* was interrupted at the end of 1474, not to be resumed until 1504. Again the impetus came from Franciscan preaching which sought to draw citizens and artisans away from the risk of usury, aggravated by an economic and social situation made more dramatic by calamitous events which had deepened the ranks of the poor. The *Monte* and its solidarity-based credit proved itself to be, for a broad section of the citizenry, the only alternative to begging, thus occupying an area of economic intervention that acted in support of subsistence and small enterprises but stood apart from charitable assistance: it was not actually a body of social assistance for the unfortunate, but an institution of credit to support the poor and help them escape indigency. And yet, within a few decades the *Monte* became a true institute of public credit – depository of the *Camera Apostolica*, contractor of the *dazi*, and bank of the Legation. Without completely shedding its fundamental ethical-economic vocation, and continuing therefore to sustain and improve the conditions of the economically weakest classes, the *Monte di Bologna* by the middle of the Cinquecento had become a veritable center of economic and political power – the city's "*thesoro*."

Issues of Economic Ethics

In drawing together particular aspects of the credit panorama of late medieval Bologna, for example, how changes were phased differently in contrast to other cities, we can also gain some insight into the economic ethics of the era. In the 50 years after the revolution of 1228, which brought the productive and mercantile classes to prominent positions in the structure of government, to the upheavals of 1278-79 and the subsequent anti-magnate legislation, the ruling group of the Bolognese commune coincided substantially with the economic elite of the bankers' and merchants' guilds. This produced significant consequences both in the field of statutory legislation of a commercial and credit nature, as well as in the collective mentality on issues of economic ethics. In limiting our discussion to the very subtle theme of credit interest, we

have noted how the communal statutes of 1250 embraced the Roman law principle of "legitimate" usury (provided that the contractual agreement between the parties was within the designated maximum limit). That limit, fixed in various passages of the *Corpus iuris civilis* generally as a rate of 1 per cent monthly (*usura centesima*), corresponding to 12 per cent annually, was established in the Bolognese statute instead as 4 *denari* a month, that is, at 20 per cent annually.⁴⁸ This juridically-based concept of legitimate usury, filtered from political and administrative ambiances to urban society, was received as common sense by the commercial and credit classes, which generally issued rates between 10 and 20 per cent annually. This happened elsewhere as well, of course, but at Bologna within a framework of theoretical knowledge of the part of credit professionals, as evidenced in public and private sources during the Duecento, and in inquisitorial sources at the end of the century.⁴⁹ The fiscal documentation from the *estimi* constitutes the best proof of how the interest rate was perceived by bankers and money changers as fully legitimate. Charging these rates did not inflict any harm on the public image of these professionals and the role which they fully exercised as the ruling group of the commune. Moreover, this view and practice prevailed despite long-standing Christian doctrine and the preaching in more recent times of the Franciscans and Dominicans, who strongly and unequivocally proclaimed the illegitimacy of any credit interest and especially of any profit derived from loan contracts.

That credit professionals of the period nevertheless lived with the tension of a double standard in economic ethics, a reality well illuminated by a rich and updated bibliography which has examined that phenomenon in the most important urban centers.⁵⁰ In particular, study of the testamentary bequests of great bankers and small usurers shows how those professionals, having reached the end of their lives, under the guidance of their confessors and spiritual counselors eagerly designated *pro remedio anime* the earnings from their illegitimate profits to pious institutions of charity and devotion. The Bolognese version of this broadly diffused practice shows some traces of a suggestive specificity. It is not rare to find, in both public and private documents, some of the greatest exponents of this class (who were intent on resolutely maintaining in public debates the legitimacy of credit interest), having to give an accounting to the Dominican inquisitor for their incautiously expressed

48 For a broad commentary on the civil canon, and theological sources on the theme of "legitimate" usury, see Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 14-29.

49 Giansante, "Eretici e usurai."

50 Todeschini, *Il prezzo della salvezza*; Idem, *I mercanti e il tempio*; Idem, "La riflessione etica."

opinions.⁵¹ When the efficacy of mendicant preaching succeeded in tarnishing their certainties, inducing the hardened businessman to repent *in extremis* the usurious profits of his lifetime, the necessary restitution took place in accordance with an established set of juridical and economic values. Study of the testamentary bequests of Bolognese bankers shows how, in contrast to other urban realities in which the restitution of usurious acts occurred in a generic way since it was almost impossible to identify with precision, at a distance of years or decades, the victims of the extortions, at Bologna the specificity of the contracts almost always permitted identifying the individual receivers and amounts of the restitutions.⁵²

The bookkeeping of salvation thus benefited at Bologna from those very documentary resources (loan contracts declaring the credit profit and *Libri di conti* memorializing it, cited in the testaments themselves) which mendicant preaching condemned as instruments for the damnation of the usurer; resources that the special economic and juridical sensitivity of the *bolognesi* elevated to the level of a magisterial pathway to the restitution of illegitimate earnings and the efficacious redemption of the sinner. Treatises of pastoral theology and those of the notariate concerning the wills of usurers in fact listed the various form of restitution for usury, a condition indispensable for the salvation of the sinner.⁵³ According to doctrinal tradition, the perfect form of restitution – the most effective in the general economy of the penitent – was to indemnify the victims of extortion or their heirs. In the majority of cases this was a very difficult objective to achieve and was often substituted by various forms, seen as palliative and of a generic nature, of financing works of devotion and charity. In the Bolognese wills I have examined, however, the existence of a precise record of usurious acts, testimony of their full legitimacy in the eyes of the professional lenders issuing those documents, permitted the usurer *in limine mortis* to make perfect restitution, through specific bequests to his ancient victims or its secure distribution to their heirs, thereby cleansing himself of the originally incurred stain. In these testaments we thus see businessmen, having enriched themselves beyond measure thanks to the profits of credit, serenely dispose of their usurious extortions without eroding their immense wealth. In this way a life spent in public institutions and in the business world, enjoying public esteem in both contexts, was concluded with coherence and the paradox of one's economic ethics resolved. Usurious

51 Giansante, "Eretici e usurai."

52 This conclusion is based on my examination of a sample of 30 testaments of Bolognese usurers from the years 1251-1349, for which see Giansante, "*Male ablata*," pp. 205-16.

53 Giansante, "*Male ablata*," pp. 191-201.

profits, of which everyone was aware, constituted a corollary of one's success and despite mendicant preaching did not mar one's prestige in public opinion. As Renato Bordone observed years ago concerning the Lombard lenders, it was the quality of the person and his social status that rendered his activities honorable and not vice-versa. In other words, usurious credit was legitimate and honorable if it was undertaken within the statutory limits established by bankers, merchants, and lenders, but those same activities were the object of unanimous censure when practiced by socially and culturally marginal figures.⁵⁴ This entire edifice of balanced values was extinguished, as we have seen, as part of the decline of the communal culture of Bologna, of which the bankers had been the perfect expression.

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Civic Institutions (12th-early 15th Centuries)

Giorgio Tamba

Traditionally the birth of the commune of Bologna is dated to 16 May 1116, when Henry V issued a privilege that granted imperial protection to the citizens of Bologna and their right to pursue their own customs. Those *consuetudines* were of a commercial character and did not comprise public rights, nor did the privilege use the term “*comune*,” but the grantees were described as “*concives*,” (fellow countrymen of a particular place) thereby recognizing an organized totality of citizens; holder, as the privilege attested, to a treasury and a common patrimony.¹ A later document (10 June 1223) describes an obligation of the “*comune*” of Bologna – thus defined – towards the inhabitants of three *castelli* (fortified rural communes) in the Upper Valley of the Reno river. The primary institutions of the early phase of urban autonomy are present: an *assemblea generale*, with legislative authority and a collegial body with executive functions, the *consoli* (consuls), who acted on behalf of the commune. In this phase, in accordance with a broadly diffused pattern, the bishop covered the initiatives of the commune with his ecclesiastical authority. In later documents we find the assembly meeting in the *curia Sancti Ambrosii* – a further tie with episcopal authority and exercising criminal jurisdiction in certain cases, for crimes against the security of the commune.² Normal judicial functions were carried out by the *consoli*, for the most part in the form of arbitration.³ Not given in the documentation are the number of the *consoli*, the procedure for their election, and the duration of their office. The few names of these officials that appear show them to be jurists or exponents of the urban tradition.⁴

By 1151 a single magistrate, Guido da Sasso, *rector et potestas*, replaced the *consoli* as leader of the commune. He was an exponent of *milites* (knights) from the *contado* who had recently moved to the city and had ties to urban families. The innovation was perhaps the fruit of divisions within the oligarchy, as evidenced in a proclamation from the *assemblea* in 1149; but it maintained

1 Rabotti, “Note sull’ordinamento,” p. 57; Vasina, “La città e il contado.”

2 Rabotti, “Note sull’ordinamento,” pp. 61, 66; Milani, *L’esclusione dal comune*, pp. 27–35.

3 Vasina, “La città e il contado,” p. 455.

4 Lazzari, ‘Comitato’ senza città, p. 181.

considerable vitality, continuing until 1155. Da Sasso was head of the urban military organization he exercised governmental authority with the support of a small *curia* with jurisdictional functions, for which it turned to professors from the *studium* for counsel. Even after 1155 and up to 1167 there was a single magistrate (*podestà*).⁵ From the adhesion of Bologna to the Lombard League in 1167 to the end of the century various figures followed each other at the summit of civic institutions: *podestà* – for the most part citizens, but also, in 1177, of external provenance – and colleges of *consoli*, who at times were flanked by a *podestà*. In the latter case they shared the powers of government, especially those judicial.⁶ As in other cities, Bologna seemed to seek through successive attempts a formula that would assure efficacy of governmental action within a framework of substantial continuity of power in the urban oligarchy. But the socioeconomic context was too different from the one in which the emerging classes of the small city had shaped these very simple institutions for managing their own supremacy. Bologna had benefitted greatly from the general recovery of commercial and productive activities that the Peace of Constance had triggered, thanks not only to its position as a nodal point on important roads between Tuscany and the Po Valley, but also from the increasing influx of students into the city.⁷ The social importance of those involved in commercial and artisanal work increased and the distance decreased between them and those who handled significant sums of money – the bankers and merchants – who for some time had been close to the urban nobility.

In the last years of the century a conflict within the oligarchy brought to light serious breaches in the management of civic finances, giving rise to the suspicion that a faction, which had at its head the bishop Gerardo Gisla, was attempting to alter the institutional order. In 1192–93 Gerardo had assumed the office of *podestà* and shown sensitivity to the petitions of the popular classes, who were deprived of any representation in the civic bodies. The response of his adversaries was very decisive and, for the moment, victorious. The office-holders accused of irregularities were driven out or even eliminated and a reform of the financial offices blocked the possibility of their self-interested management in the future.⁸ The winning faction, while conscious of the

5 In two brief periods a college of *consoli* governed with a council composed first (1157) of judges and *treguani* (*consoli* serving as judges) and then (1164) by 50 members, some of whom were of *popolano* extraction. Rabotti, “Note sull’ordinamento,” pp. 77–86; Milani, *L’esclusione dal comune*, p. 52.

6 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, pp. 57–58.

7 See the essay by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

8 Orlandelli, *Gli uffici economici*, pp. VII–XI.

social changes that had taken place, nevertheless at that moment sought an alliance with the merchants and bankers – the highest stratum among the *popolani*. The heads of their guilds (*societates*) had been involved in the initiatives to make accords with other communes and in the management of the treasury.⁹

The effects of this internal conflict in the oligarchy probably also determined the choice of the magistracy at the summit of the commune. From 1195 there was a single magistrate (*podestà*), a foreigner (non-Bolognese), accompanied by collaborators, judges, *milites*, and notaries. A more articulated development, carried to the first decade of the 13th century, brought to definition the entire institutional structure. At the end of this process civil and criminal justice was administered, in the name of the *podestà*, in part by judges, who in part were citizens and in part, like the *podestà*, foreigners. The number of council members increased to a hundred, but there were no *popolani* among them. The council assumed the name *Consiglio di credenza* and emphasized its normative power and election of all communal officials. It augmented the number and better defined the competencies of those officials, especially in the financial area. The totality of these officials formed the *curia* (assembly or court), which acted beside the *podestà* and shared with him the direction of government. The ancient assembly (*Contio*) had lost its importance and was convoked only to acknowledge the more important acts of other institutions.¹⁰

In the institutional structure thus consolidated at the beginning of the 13th century, the weight of popular forces, apart from the limited intervention conceded to the banking and mercantile societies, was almost non-existent: a situation inadequate to the important socioeconomic strengths of the city. One part of the oligarchy was aware of the risks. Driven also by military demands, it sought to involve the popular classes in management of the city by including diverse popular spokesmen into a *Consiglio generale*, which from 1217 flanked the *Consiglio di credenza*. The new council issued some innovative provisions: definition of the topographical quarters for fiscal, administrative and military purposes; acquisition of an area for the urban market and expropriation of privately-owned mills operating in the city.¹¹ These perhaps too strong innovations spurred a reaction: in 1220 there no longer were *popolani* in the *Consiglio generale*. At that point only strong pressure could change the situation, and the popular forces gained the strength necessary for such an effort after progressively organizing themselves on the basis of their work

9 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, p. 172.

10 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, pp. 167-71.

11 Trombetti Budriesi, "Postfazione," pp. XCI-XCIV.

activities. The guilds, at least 20 at that time, brought together from the entire city the artisanal, mercantile, and professional classes, such as the notaries and judges.

In November 1228, after the unfavorable outcome of a war against the neighboring city of Modena, the popular forces, with the merchants and bankers at their head, took possession of the Palazzo Comunale and forced the creation of a new *Consiglio generale* which had a strong presence of members from the popular societies. The *Consiglio di credenza*, an oligarchical component, assumed the name of *Consiglio speciale* and was convoked together with the *Consiglio generale*. The two united councils exercised normative power and the election of communal officials, legitimating the access of *popolani* to such offices. The *curia* continued to act alongside the *podestà* in the execution of governmental functions, but lost its character as a representative body of the oligarchy, since it now included *popolani* among its officials.¹²

The clash had rendered evident the strength of the popular classes, but it had also revealed that in order to maintain the conquered political space and possibly broaden it would require a more rapid and efficacious instrument of pressure than the professional corporations. The needed response was found in the arms societies, approximately 20 of them, in 1231. Three of these societies brought together *popolani* of non-Bolognese provenance (Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, and others); the remaining societies were organized by place of habitation, in the individual quarter and contiguous parishes. Into these societies also flowed those *popolani* (porters, bakers, scribes) whose work was denied organization into their own guilds.

In the course of the 1240s the popular forces strengthened their organization. They were supported by Ottaviano Ubaldini, bishop of Bologna, then cardinal and pontifical legate, who had made the city the center of his political and military actions. These were the years of the struggle of Bologna and other allied cities against the efforts of Frederick II to restore imperial power. The process advanced step-by-step and ended with the birth of a unitary structure of all the guilds and arms societies – the *popolo*. At its summit was the *capitano del popolo*, a foreigner, with an entourage of judges and notaries, who functioned as the leader and defender of the popular movement and the jurisdiction of the societies. Authority to deliberate on matters that touched the popular movement belonged to the *Consiglio del popolo e della massa*. Convoked and presided over by the *capitano del popolo*, it was composed of the members of the *collegio degli anziani e consoli* (council of the elders), and included from each guild its leading officials (usually called *ministrali*), some councillors, and

¹² Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, p. 175.

four *sapienti di massa*. It fashioned a structure parallel to that of the commune, which also was defined with greater precision in this period. At its head was the *podestà*, assisted by judges and notaries for the administration of civil and penal justice, and in the *Consiglio del comune* (formed by the union of the *Consiglio generale e speciale*), had the body which exercised the deliberative and electoral functions of the commune.

The two structures were not perfect mirror-images. On the one hand, the officials under the *podestà* managed tribunals and administrative offices which affected all citizens; on the other hand, while the members of the *Consiglio del popolo* were limited only to men from the popular societies, in the *Consiglio del comune*, next to nobles and other citizens who were forbidden access to the popular societies, were members from those societies. The popular component was therefore able to influence the activities of the *Consiglio del comune*; a position of strength which found confirmation in the authority of the leading body of the *popolo's* organization, the *collegio degli anziani e consoli*. It was composed of 12 *anziani*, selected from as many societies (six guilds and six arms societies) and eight *consoli* (four each named by the bankers' and merchants' guilds). Their office, which excluded *milites*, magnates, and their vassals, lasted three months and was renewable only after three years. From the 1240s this *collegio* had taken the place of the ancient *curia* and together with the *podestà* managed the policies of the commune.¹³ Now it also stood side by side with the *capitano del popolo* and could make proposals in both councils; it was in fact the connective body between the two structures, able to unify their initiatives.

At the middle of the 13th century Bologna, riding a wave of significant military successes culminating in the capture of Enzo, King of Sardinia and son of Frederick II, seemed to be on the way to establishing itself as the dominant power in the Romagna, in opposition to its rival Modena, but this did not happen. The causes for this "failure" comprise a key and complex issue in the history of late medieval Bologna. We can only note here the attention given historiographically to two elements. First is the extent of Bologna's *contado*, too limited in its scant resources to meet the demands of the city whose population had at least quintupled in the preceding 50 years, reaching approximately 50,000 inhabitants. Those demands – exceptional in comparison to other cities – were in large part tied to the presence of the *studium*.¹⁴

The limited resources of surrounding territories was a problem for all cities, and Bologna like others had not only extended and deepened its control over

13 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, p. 176.

14 See the essay in this volume by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco.

its territory by the creation of fortified rural communes and *borghi franchi* (new settlements with special fiscal exemptions) but also had sought to augment the productivity of its lands and artisanal enterprises. For example, in 1231 it initiated two projects. In one it settled 155 families from the territory of Mantua into the depopulated *borgo* of Altedo and brought into cultivation the surrounding lands, in great part consisting of swamps and woods.¹⁵ The second initiative that year brought 153 wool and silk workers and their families from the Veneto, Lombardy, and Tuscany to Bologna.¹⁶ But these efforts only in part fulfilled the hopes of its promoters. Even more controversial historiographically is a third initiative, the liberation in 1256–57 of 6000 serfs, recorded in the *Liber Paradisus*.¹⁷ Historians have linked these initiatives to the rise of the public institutions of the popular movement on the basis of their chronology but also on other facts; for example, the large outlay of funds in the artisanal effort by Giuseppe Toschi, a merchant who led the popular revolt of 1228. But the emphasis on 1231 obscures earlier projects that call into question this connection between political change and economic policies. Thus, the first acquisitions of lands in the area of Altedo took place much earlier, in 1176 and 1186.¹⁸ Other initiatives, such as the liberation of the serfs, were approved with the adherence of the families of the urban oligarchy.¹⁹ One can argue, however, that in the major political choices that were taken around the middle of the 13th century, including the decisive opposition to Frederick II, there was a clash of interests and actions between the popular movement and the oligarchy, a confrontation favored by a momentary placating of the competition between the factions – the Geremei and the Lambertazzi – in which the oligarchy was divided. Having eliminated the threat of Frederick II, the divisions resurfaced and were inflamed by alliances with the factions of other cities; the Geremei with the Guelfs, the Lambertazzi with the Ghibellines.

In an effort to seek a remedy to these conflicts, the power to issue exceptional ordinances was granted first to two successive *podestà*, then in 1265 to two leaders of a religious military organization, created to oppose the civil clashes – Loderingo degli Andalò, a Ghibelline, and Catalano di Guido di donna Ostia, a Guelf, both known as *frati gaudenti*. The Ordinances promulgated by them were directed to forestall the more frequent occasions of clashes,

15 Trombetti Budriesi, "I patti di Altedo."

16 Pini, "La politica demografica," pp. 117–18, and see the essay by Fabio Giusberti and Francesca Roversi Monaco in this volume.

17 Giansante, "Ricordando il passato."

18 Trombetti Budriesi, "I patti di Altedo," pp. 24–25.

19 Wandruszka, "I proprietari dei servi."

but the situation was slipping beyond the possibility of controlling it by normative means.²⁰ Some historians also attribute the worsening situation in part to economic recession.

In this situation of incipient crisis, the government sought to relieve internal tensions by going to war. The enemy was Venice which controlled the navigation routes from the sea to internal canals, through which supplies reached Bologna. The result was disastrous and the defeat emphasized the internal crisis and the differences between the factions. Influenced by their ties with the Guelf and Ghibelline factions of neighboring cities, the Geremei and Lambertazzi enclosed themselves within opposing and irreconcilable political positions. In June 1274 the tension exploded into a true civil war. The popular organizations, which had always avoided involvement in the factional struggles, entered the field and intervened decisively in support of the Geremei. The objectives of the Geremei – defense of regional interests – responded to the broader demands of those employed in productive and commercial activities and to those tied to the *studium*, which by now found its own point of reference in papal authority.²¹

The decision to support the Geremei was also the outcome of a specific political design, which had in Rolandino, master of the notarial art, the inspirational mind and leader of its execution. In 1245, when writing the prologue of the statutes of the bankers' guild, Rolandino had already foreseen that the representatives of entrepreneurial and professional activities were the ones to hold power and in particular, the bankers and notaries because of the confidence and trust citizens placed in them.²² Now he saw in the internal strife within the oligarchy the opportunity to overcome the state of continuous crisis and to give control of the government to the popular organizations.²³ Popular intervention was decisive. At the end of June thousands of the defeated Lambertazzi abandoned the city. To the victors, Geremei and *popolani*, was left a city depopulated of many citizens, marked by destroyed buildings, and from which students had fled *en masse*.

In this situation the political design of Rolandino took shape. Having named a *podestà* and a *capitano del popolo* of firm Guelf loyalty, having created a

20 The Ordinances are published in *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, vol. 3, pp. 581-651: "Statuta per dominos fratres Loderengum de Andalo et Catalanum domini Guidonis domine Hostie. Ordinis Militie Beate Marie Virginis" (1265).

21 Koenig, *Il 'popolo'*, who views the alliance between the *popolo* and the Geremei as a principal cause of the former's decline.

22 Giansante, "Rolandino e l'ideologia."

23 Pini, "Manovre di regime."

military organization of 2000 men serving at his orders, and having instituted measures for recalling the students to the city, he imposed provisions to impede the return of the exiles and to give stability to a new regime based on the popular societies as the instruments of unity. These measures gave Rolandino effective power in the city, but the results were quite different externally. The expelled Lambertazzi, allied with the Ghibellines of Romagna, were gaining control of vast swathes of territory formerly dependent on Bologna. The protracted conflictuality weakened the prospects for recovery of the urban economy and at the same time the strong popular characterization of the new regime chilled the adherence of the Guelf urban oligarchy.²⁴ To such difficulties, perhaps confrontable, was added unexpectedly a profound modification in the legal status within which the city had operated up to this point. In May 1278 the Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg renounced imperial rights to the entire Romagna, including the city of Bologna, in favor of the Holy See. The consequences of this renunciation were not long in coming. Representatives of Pope Nicholas III set out to solicit oaths of fidelity from the various communes of the Romagna. It was the first step in a program of pacification aimed to achieve effective dominion by the Holy See.²⁵

Bologna sought to oppose this intervention which annulled its own supremacy in the region, but had to yield. In May 1279 the pope forced Rolandino to renounce all political obligations, dissolved the military organization that served at his orders, negotiated a pacification between the factions and the re-entry of the exiled Lambertazzi. The forced pacification, however, lasted merely three months and at the end of December 1279 new violent clashes broke out and the Lambertazzi again were forced to abandon the city. Thus was opened the prospect of a regime with a strong Guelf and oligarchical character, but the death of Nicholas III in August 1289 and the crisis of the *parte guelfa* tied to Charles of Anjou, set off by the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers in March 1282, made it possible for the popular forces to again assume power. The *Ordinamenti sacrali* – a series of norms, promulgated in August 1282 by an extraordinary commission (*balia*) and ratified by the oaths of the popular societies – decreed the exclusion from the centers of power of all the magnates and a privileged position, even from a legal and procedural point of view, of the members of the popular societies and their governing bodies. In 1284 new *Ordinamenti (sacratissimi)*, correcting and integrating the preceding provi-

24 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, pp. 271-72.

25 Hessel, *Storia della città di Bologna*, pp. 272-73.

sions, defined the characteristics of the regime of the *popolo* now imposed on the city.²⁶

In December 1285 another extraordinary *balìa* promulgated a series of norms, recognized as equal to the preceding Ordinances in order to adapt the institutions at the summit of the city to the spirit and purposes of the *popolo* regime.²⁷ The parallel organization of commune and *popolo* continued to co-exist: one had at its summit the *podestà*, a foreigner, in office for six months, with an entourage of judges, *milites*, and notaries, responsible in particular for the administration of justice; the other, the *capitano del popolo*, also a foreigner, appointed for six months, with his coterie of colleagues – judges, *milites*, and notaries – to whom were attributed protection of the members of the popular societies and defense of the regime as based in the *Ordinamenti sacratì* and *sacratissimi*. The new norms defined the relations between the two organizations and their entities with the new regime of the *popolo*. Choosing the holders of the offices of *podestà* and *capitano*, formerly in the competencies of the councils of the commune and *popolo*, was now entrusted to the *anziani e consoli*, who acted in consultation with a group of 60 citizens.

The norms of 1285 kept a month-long term of office for the *anziani e consoli*, retained their number (19 or 20 *anziani*, at alternating months, and four *consoli*), and their provenance (the *anziani* from the popular societies, the *consoli* from the bankers' and merchants' guilds). However, they modified the procedure for their selection, which earlier took place with successive surveys on the part of individual societies and the *Consiglio del popolo*. The choice of the members of the *collegio* was entrusted to a commission of eight citizens specified by the prior of the Dominicans or by the guardian of the Franciscans. The *collegio* of the *anziani e consoli* (responsible for appointing the *podestà* and *capitano del popolo*), was thus selected in part by the intervention of external and impartial authorities – the heads of the most influential religious congregations – even if its members were still from the popular societies. The *collegio* now was presented as being representative of the entire citizenry and holder by full right (*a pieno diritto*) of all powers of government.

Significant modifications were brought to the composition and competency of the *Consiglio del comune*, heir to the *Consiglio generale e speciale*, which from the number of its members had taken the name *Consiglio dei seicento*.

26 For the anti-magnate legislation, enforcement of its provisions, definitions of the magnate and *popolo* classes, and the historiography of this topic, see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*. The provisions themselves are published in *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 5, vol. 1, pp. 272-598.

27 Tamba, "Consigli elettorali," pp. 54-62.

The Sacred Ordinances of 1282 had expanded that council by 200 members selected by the *anziani e consoli* and had established that their deliberations could not annul those of the *Consiglio del popolo*. The norms of 1285 decreed for the new *Consiglio degli ottocento* a massive immersion of members of the law profession (*doctores*) and *milites* of secure Geremea allegiance. Moreover, they established that the proposals to be examined had to have prior consent of the *capitano del popolo* and the *anziani e consoli*, and above all, those entrusted with the power to elect the officials of the commune. That power was attributed to the *Consiglio dei duemila*, which already elected the *podestà del sacco* (minor officials sent to the rural communes). Entrusted to this council was the election of the officials formerly selected by the *Consiglio del popolo*: a premise for the administrative unifications of the organizations of the commune and *popolo*.

The limitations imposed on the *Consiglio degli ottocento* reduced it to activities of minor significance, such as the concessions of properties, payments of stipends, and similar tasks which were almost always undertaken by meeting and deliberating together with the *Consiglio del popolo*. With the Ordinances of 1282-85 this council, composed of approximately 650 members selected from the popular societies, had become the holder of normative power with binding efficacy on all citizens, not just on the members of the popular societies, and their deliberations (*riformagioni*) did not require further endorsements.²⁸

The popular societies became the only instruments for accessing and exercising power, at all levels. Nevertheless, the importance of the individual societies was modified. The societies that guided the popular movement were no longer the bankers and merchants, but the guild of the butchers, for the decisive armed support they offered at the time of the popular initiative and above all, the notaries' guild. Restructured in 1283 by Rolandino, who had become its leader, strong in its more than 1000 members – all of a prestigious cultural level and of strong Geremea allegiance, their presence prominent in every administrative and political office – the notaries's guild enjoyed undisputed prestige and influence. The official in charge of the guild for a six-month term, the *preconsul*, was one of those who made decisions for the commune, attentive to the protection of the associates' interests and the popular and Guelf policies that had accompanied its access to power.²⁹

With this institutional structure in place the city prepared to confront, in the final years of the 13th century, defense of its own autonomy and the

28 Tamba, "Il Consiglio del popolo," pp. 66-73.

29 See the Appendix to this essay on the notaries and the notarial profession.

problems of a difficult economic recovery, and the need to do so within a complex external context of shifting alliances and conflicts, marked by adherence to the Guelf faction and to other factions born within its ranks. In 1295 a war began with Azzo d'Este, lord of Ferrara and Modena, who was allied with the Romagnol Ghibellines and the Lambertazzi exiles, a war which deeply committed the city's resources. Recourse to *balie* became frequent, with the commissions narrowly composed and of prolonged duration. They were delegated military and financial decisions, thus beginning a process that weakened the competencies of the fundamental governmental organs of the *popolo* regime, the *collegio degli anziani e consoli* and the *Consiglio del popolo*. The former, because of its rapid replacement of members, the latter, because of its broad composition, were not able to make decisions that required technical experience and swift execution. It was a development typical during this period in cities that were governed in a communal mode, but which at Bologna, in fact, was manifested later and faced resistance by civic institutions.³⁰

In 1299 mediation by Pope Boniface IX ended the conflict with the Este and permitted the re-entry of the Lambertazzi. Many *popolani* welcomed the cooling of internal tensions, facilitating an accord between the Lambertazzi and the moderate Guelfs which in turn was reflected in Bologna's network of alliances, emphasizing ties with the White Party (*parte bianca*) of Florence. On the "international" level the turn to moderation resulted in the birth of a new magistracy at the government's summit, the *difensore delle venti società (d'arti)*. His task was to ensure that political initiatives were congruous with the needs of the mercantile and artisanal classes.³¹ He was assisted by a council of 40 members, whose deliberations, when approved by the *Consiglio del popolo*, acquired executive force. To support the new political direction, 200 politically trustworthy members were added to the *Consiglio del popolo*.

The military failures that stemmed from the alliance with the Florentine *bianchi* provoked in 1306 a loss of confidence in the faction in power and a shift to the intransigent Guelf faction tied with the *parte nera* of Florence. A drastic change in policy ensued and for the third time, an expulsion of the Lambertazzi and many among the moderate Guelfs, who were deemed their equivalents.³² Emblematic of the new ultra-Guelf regime was the reappearance of the *bar-*

30 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*, p. 49.

31 Tamba, "Il Consiglio del popolo," p. 73.

32 The traditional interpretation of the events of the earliest years of the 14th century is found in Vitale, *Il dominio*. For a new interpretation of Bologna's external relations during this period and an important revision of the extent and impact of the Lambertazzi "expulsions," see Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, and his essay in this volume.

gello (*barisello*, in local language). The office earlier had been an extra-institutional force in support of the policies of Rolandino.³³ Under the new regime it became an institutional office, representing the seven arms societies that had led the ultra-Guelf uprising. Its task was to coordinate the struggle against the Lambertazzi and their allies and it was assisted by a council composed of leaders from those arms societies. The *difensore delle venti società*, a figure of the preceding regime, was abolished and the competencies of his council transferred to that of the *bargello*. In addition, the practice was consolidated of augmenting the membership of the *Consiglio del popolo* with adherents of the now dominant faction, at times swelling the number of members to 1200.³⁴ Other new entities were also of institutional importance: the *Otto conservatori dello stato*, the *Dodici della guerra*, the *Dodici capitani della parte di Chiesa e Geremea*, all instruments of the ultra-Guelf faction which were convoked to deliberate together with the *anziani e consoli*, the *bargello*, and the *preconsul dei notai*.

With the descent into Italy of Henry VII in 1310 Bologna stood with Florence in an anti-imperial front. The norms against the Lambertazzi and moderate Guelfs were made harsher and in October the *Consiglio della parte guelfa*, active previously as an organ of the Guelf faction, now became an institutional entity. New members were added, bringing its size to 350, and its deliberations were focused on war operations, public finance, and internal security. These topics were not withdrawn from the purview of the *Consiglio del popolo*, but the latter body conformed to the measures taken by the *Consiglio della parte guelfa*.³⁵ Between 1310-12 the heavy burdens assumed by Bologna in the war against Henry VII were met by the private resources of Romeo Pepoli, an extremely wealthy banker, whose presence had loomed large in the regime of the moderate Guelfs and then again in that of the ultra-Guelfs, under whom he was even given veto power over decisions by the various *balie*. Not even the death of Henry VII in 1313 returned the city's civic institutions to normalcy, involved as it was as Florence's ally in other conflicts and faced with a serious grain crisis. Once again Romeo Pepoli's wealth and credit resources helped confront a crisis and his influence consequently expanded into the financial sphere of government, marking an advanced stage of his "proto-signory."³⁶ In the following years he consolidated his *signoria*, designating candidates for the

33 Pini, "Manovre di regime," pp. 300-10.

34 Tamba, "Il Consiglio del popolo," pp. 77-83. For a prosopographical analysis of family ties among the members of the various councils, see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 69-133.

35 Tamba, "Il Consiglio del popolo," pp. 83-84.

36 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*, p. 86.

offices of *anziano*, *console*, *bargello*, and *ministrale* of the popular societies (1317) and *podestà* (1319). At the end of 1319 the *Consiglio della parte guelfa*, an obstacle to Pepoli's ascent to power, was abolished.³⁷ But Pepoli's hold was overturned in 1321 and he was forced to flee the city. Bologna thus became, apart from Venice, the only city in northern Italy still to have a regime of communal inspiration. A new official, the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* (standard bearer of justice), assisted by a council of eight citizens, was entrusted with protection of the reconstructed commune which presented itself as absolutely popular and Guelf. The *gonfaloniere* had to belong to a guild and actually practice that activity; he had to receive petitions from *popolani* and bring them to the attention of the *Consiglio del popolo*.³⁸ In 1322 the size of the *Consiglio del popolo* was increased to 1400 members, but the difficulties of functioning at that size soon became evident and the following year its composition, divided among ordinary members, who were named by the popular societies, and "added" members named by the *anziani e consoli*, was fixed at just over 1000 members and remained at that level.³⁹ The initiative to expand the council's size represented a real effort to increase popular participation in government, but the actual restructuring of modules tied to the societies shows the artificiality of the attempt. By now the *consorterie* of wealthy families and their extensive relations outside the city were more vital than the popular societies.⁴⁰

In the following decade Bologna adhered to its Guelf alliance with Florence, Robert of Anjou, and the pontifical legate Bertrand du Pouget, thereby burdening itself with onerous military campaigns, but without the wealth of Romeo Pepoli to sustain its expenses. Facing enormous fiscal and economic difficulties and fearing conquest by the Ghibellines, in 1327 Bologna turned to Bertrand du Pouget as its *signore*. The grant of full authority to him by the *Consiglio del popolo* could have been interpreted as a concession subject to limitations, even revocable, but the legate, whose mandate envisioned the restoration of pontifical authority over the Romagna, acted in the name of papal sovereignty, above and beyond civic institutions.⁴¹ The offices of *podestà* and *capitano* were replaced by a *rettore* and by a *vice capitano*, named by du Pouget and respon-

37 Tamba, "Il Consiglio del popolo," p. 84.

38 On the petitions of the *gonfaloniere* and the presentation of petitions in general, see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 418-28.

39 Tamba, "Il Consiglio del popolo," p. 88.

40 For the impact of these groups on the composition of the societies themselves, see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 1-41.

41 Vasina, "Dal Comune verso la signoria," pp. 622-23.

sible to him. The *bargello* and *gonfaloniere di giustizia* were abolished: the *preconsul* was replaced by a prior named by the legate, with responsibilities limited to the notarial guild. The *Consiglio del popolo* was no longer convoked; the *Consiglio degli ottocento* met only to proclaim judicial sentences. The *anziani e consoli*, reduced to 12 members, were chosen by the legate himself, as representatives not of the popular societies, but of the topographical quarters of the city. In place of the deliberations (*reformagioni*) of the *Consiglio del popolo* and *Consiglio degli ottocento*, and the provisions (*provvigioni*) of the *anziani e consoli*, issued for reasons of necessity and urgency, normative decrees were issued by the *signore*, usually in response to supplications. The preliminary examination that took place before issuance of the decree sometimes involved the *anziani e consoli*.⁴² These profound institutional reforms most likely were included and sanctioned in a new set of statutes, approved in 1332, the text of which has not survived.⁴³

The years of the legate's power ended ingloriously with the legate barricaded in the *castello* of Porta Galliera, besieged by a population in revolt and finally rescued by a contingent of cavalry sent from Florence on 28 March 1334 to escort him safely out of the city. A few days later a new regime was established consisting of a new *collegio degli anziani e consoli*, a *podestà*, a *capitano del popolo* (the latter two named by the *collegio*), a *bargello*, a *preconsul dei notai*, and a revitalized *Consiglio del popolo*.⁴⁴ A new redaction of the statutes, approved in 1335, paints a picture of a regime centered on popular institutions, but the reality behind the institutional façade was very different: "Effective political power was in the hands of narrow *balie*."⁴⁵ The *balie* were monopolized by members of the dominant Scacchese faction as were the *sapientes* who met with the *anziani* and controlled their actions. The Scacchese faction itself split under the rival leadership of the Gozzadini and Pepoli, and in August 1337 the *Consiglio del popolo* conferred upon Taddeo Pepoli, son of Romeo Pepoli, all the powers belonging to the commune and *popolo*.⁴⁶ But this popular action required legitimization by the Apostolic See, holder of sovereignty, which was finally achieved in August 1339 when Taddeo Pepoli was invested as apostolic vicar of the city.⁴⁷ Taddeo had already transformed civic institutions in a mode similar to that done earlier by Bertrand du Pouget, but Taddeo

42 Orlandelli, *La supplica*, pp. 41-72.

43 Trombetti Budriesi, "Introduzione," vol. 1, p. XXXII.

44 Trombetti Budriesi, "Introduzione," vol. 1, pp. XLVI-XLVII.

45 Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," p. 770.

46 Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," p. 781.

47 Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," pp. 782-83.

assumed the title of *conservatore della pace e della giustizia*, a title uncommon in a civic institution.⁴⁸ The meetings of the *Consiglio del popolo* ceased and its functions were discharged by the *signore* through decrees, prepared and issued by the *curia del signore*, consisting of eight notaries, named by Taddeo and serving as his diligent colleagues. He retained the *Consiglio dei quattromila* for election of communal officials, but reserved to himself the authority to proceed to their direct appointment.⁴⁹

Taddeo Pepoli died 28 September 1347 and was succeeded briefly by his sons Giacomo and Giovanni whose rule faltered under the impact of the Black Death and the negative outcomes of their wars in the Romagna. Overcome by fiscal obligations that had become unsustainable, they ceded the apostolic vicariate of the city to Giovanni Visconti, archbishop of Milan (who promised them 200,000 florins). This transfer of power was approved by the *Consiglio del popolo* on 24 October 1350, in a formula that was almost the equivalent of the one used by Taddeo Pepoli.⁵⁰ From the beginning it was obvious that the new *signore* would hold his acquired power tightly to himself. His representatives in the city at the highest level were the *capitano* (*luogotenente generale*), who substituted for the *signore* and served as military head, and the *vicario generale* who presided over the civic councils and controlled the administrative apparatus.⁵¹ Judicial functions remained under a *podestà* named by the *signore*, whereas the office of *capitano del popolo* was abolished.⁵²

The activities of civic institutions were reduced even further. A new statute of 1352 attests to their presence, but also shows that the discretionary power of the *signore* weighed heavily on them. A *Consiglio dei quattrocento*, whose members were named by the *signore*, replaced the *Consiglio del popolo*. The new council had competency in administrative and financial, but not normative matters, the latter belonging exclusively to the *signore*.⁵³ The *Consiglio degli ottocento* became an assembly for the declaration of sentences and important governmental acts.⁵⁴ The *Consiglio dei quattromila* retained its function of electing communal officials, but only those indicated by the *signore*, who also made direct appointments of people he trusted to the most

48 Antonioli, *Conservator pacis et iustitie*, p. 129.

49 Antonioli, *Conservator pacis et iustitie*, pp. 136-46; Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," pp. 784-88.

50 Lorenzoni, *Conquistare e governare la città*, pp. 39-49, 57-66.

51 Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," pp. 813-16.

52 Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. XCI-XCII.

53 Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. CXIX-CXXI.

54 Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. CXVIII-CXIX.

important offices.⁵⁵ The *collegio degli anziani e consoli*, presided over by the *vicario generale* of the *signore*, issued instructions in administrative and fiscal matters.⁵⁶ It was the governmental body most able to give voice to the needs of a city overwhelmed by military expenditures and faced with fiscal resources completely disproportionate to the economic and demographic crisis triggered by the Black Death.⁵⁷ The institutional structure thus defined during the *signoria* of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti was retained during the brief dominion of his nephew Matteo, who succeeded him on 5 October 1354, but was overthrown and replaced by his *luogotenente generale* Giovanni da Oleggio on 17 April 1355. The latter's regime was marked by total institutional continuity, confirmed in a new set of statutes issued on 14 September 1358.

Pressed by an attack from Visconti's troops, Giovanni da Oleggio made an accord with Cardinal Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz who was in the process of successfully restoring papal sovereignty in the Romagna. On 13 April 1360 the cardinal obtained a new dedication to the Church from the city and, as *vicario generale* of the Patrimony of Saint Peter, assumed power over the city, opening a period of direct dominion over Bologna by the Church. However, the institutional picture did not undergo significant variations. At the summit there was the pontifical representative; a rector (1360-63), then a cardinal, as legate or vicar (1364-67), with full normative and judicial powers of government.⁵⁸ The civic councils underwent a further demotion, but the *collegio degli anziani e consoli*, invested with administrative functions, succeeded in maintaining a space within which it could intervene in the name of the city and sustain a critical relationship with the pontifical representatives.⁵⁹ However, this relationship became strained when military expenditures imposed new heavy financial burdens on citizens and demanded their participation in military actions. In 1368 the vicar, Cardinal Anglic de Grimoard, took control of appointments to the *collegio* and drastically reduced its competencies and the autonomy of its deliberations. His action signaled the beginning of a change in the nature of the Church's dominion. In response, the active forces of the city – entrepreneurs and professionals who were recovering from the mid-century crisis; professors of the *studium* (the only urban body that the various *signori* and pontifical representatives had effectively helped); the families of the oli-

55 Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. XXXVI, CXIII-CXV.

56 Lorenzoni, *Conquistare e governare la città*, p. 82.

57 Braidì, "Il governo della città," p. LVI.

58 Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. LI-LX; Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," pp. 829-36.

59 Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," p. 840.

garchy, limited to roles inadequate to their prestige and ambitions – became ever more hostile to the political and economic decisions of the Church's representatives.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the pontifical vicars did not recognize, or did not want to acknowledge, the signs of increasing discontent.

During the night between 19 and 20 March 1376 the dominion of the pontifical vicar collapsed. Acting against it were the leaders of the oligarchy with the persuaded participation of popular forces and the support of Florence, which was at war against the pontifical state. It was a bloodless revolt that ended a regime that had already collapsed because of its own deficiencies. That very evening a general assembly restored the institutions of communal autonomy, entrusting the government to the *collegio degli anziani e consoli*. The *collegio* rapidly made vital decisions for the city's future: recognition of pontifical sovereignty, measures for military defense, formation of a *Consiglio generale* with normative powers, and criteria for the selection of their successors. Within a short period the decisions were carried out: the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* was born. The delineated institutional structure was confirmed by new statutes issued at the end of 1378.⁶¹

The government was entrusted to a *collegio* of nine *anziani*, appointed for two months and assisted by two collegial groups: the *gonfalonieri del popolo* (heads of urban military groups with police powers), and the *massari delle arti*, representing the 26 revitalized guilds. Penal and civil jurisdiction belonged to the *podestà*, a foreigner selected by the *anziani*, and to the *capitano del popolo*, who was also charged with protection of the regime. Legislative power and political direction were the responsibilities of the *Consiglio generale*, composed initially of 500 and gradually increased to 1200 members. This structure provided for the ample participation of citizens, but the quality of that participation was tightly constrained, in a manner that was always more encumbering, by two obstacles. First was the increasing influence of factions: oligarchical factions to be sure, but with many popular followers.⁶² Second was the institutional structure itself with its basis on communal traditions. The rapid alternation of so many persons in office compromised the capacity for and rapidity of decision-making in governmental bodies. The need to modify the barely restored communal institutions became ever more evident, but the

60 Dondarini, "La crisi del XIV secolo," p. 887; Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. LXVII.

61 De Benedictis, "Lo 'stato popolare di libertà," pp. 901-02; Braidì, "Il governo della città," pp. LXIX-XCVI.

62 For the factions and their policies – the Scacchesi favoring urban autonomy; the Maltraversi an accord with the Church – see the essay by Giuliano Milani in this volume.

situation did not move beyond intentions, despite the clear demonstration of its compelling nature by the experience of the *Dieci di balia*.

The *collegio dei Dieci di balia* was created in January 1388 under the threat of an attack from the Visconti. Its members were granted full military, fiscal, and even normative powers. The initial duration of their office was for nine months but was extended to four years, with the same persons continuing in office (bankers, merchants, a professor from the *studium*). The effectiveness of their actions showed the validity of the innovation, which had concentrated a great part of governmental power into a narrow council of long duration.⁶³ The experiment, however, was not repeated. In the following years numerous other commissions (*collegi*) were created, competent in important sectors such as financial matters (e.g., *Sedici deputati alla revisione degli estimi*, *Venti deputati sulle entrate e spese*, *Quattro then Cinque regolatori delle entrate e spese*), and for internal security (*Otto ufficiali sulla pace*, *Dieci ufficiali della pace*, *Dodici ufficiali di pace*). These commissions were limited in size and their charge ended within a few months. The results obviously could not overcome the problems behind the creation of each new commission and hence after a relatively brief period, another commission, often similar in title and equally limited in its duration, was activated.

Emblematic of the missing capacity or will power to modify the statutory institutions was the work of three commissions with the same title – the *Sedici Riformatori dello stato di libertà*. The first group was active from 23 December 1393 to 31 March 1394; the second from 10 May to 8 August 1398; the third from 1 January to 28 February 1400. They were composed in great part of prestigious exponents of the oligarchy. They were entrusted, as indicated by their title, with modification of the existing institutional structure. Nevertheless, their decisions had very little institutional impact. Instead, they had strong consequences on a purely political level. The first commission, appointed as a consequence of a rebellion incited and skillfully managed by the factions of Carlo Zambeccari, Francesco Ramponi, and Nanne Gozzadini, did bring forward some changes to the norms for the elections of the governmental commissions, but concerned itself above all with provisions of an economic and financial nature and with blocking the lists from which the members of the *collegi* were drawn each year, in order to direct the actions of those bodies according to the expectations of the factions represented in the commission.⁶⁴

63 Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 11-16.

64 Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 29-67.

The second commission, formed at the conclusion of the crisis into which the political system had been thrown and appeased by that preceding commission, permitted Carlo Zambecari to affirm his predominance.⁶⁵ Professor of the *studium*, formerly a member of the *Dieci di balia*, Zambecari sought to manage power by utilizing, not overthrowing, existing institutions. His was the start of a *de facto* lordship, but it was cut short by the plague of September and October 1399 which killed Zambecari and his closest collaborators.⁶⁶

The third commission was created after a violent and bloody conflict, such as had not occurred for a long time, left the followers of Zambecari defeated by the faction led by Nanne Gozzadini and Giovanni Bentivoglio. The new commission, even more so than its predecessors, was an expression not only of the oligarchy but of a single victorious faction. Only a very few traces of the provisions adopted by it survive. Nevertheless, the documents of the institutional bodies regulated by the statutes, in particular the councils of the *anziani*, *gonfalonieri del popolo* (later called the *tribuni della plebe*), and the *massari delle arti*, make it clear that the new *collegio* was an expedient for consolidating a political change obtained by force, not for modifying institutions. During 1400 the work of governance fit well with the ambitions of Nanne Gozzadini. A rich banker with extensive external ties, he was putting into practice a plan of personal predominance similar to that of Carlo Zambecari, carried out by means of communal institutions. Giovanni Bentivoglio, the other leader of the faction, apparently had not taken part in that plan, and his reaction was swift and decisive. Having obtained the support of part of the oligarchy, early in February 1401 he with his military organization occupied the city and on 11 March he had himself acclaimed *signore*.⁶⁷

Thus ended the *signoria del popolo e delle arti*, overthrown not by any economic crisis, which various indicators – strong military expenditures, the start of construction of San Petronio, activation of the public debt, coinage of gold coins – seem to exclude, but by a lack of political vision. A lack that was manifest in the oligarchy: an oligarchy of urban origin (bankers, merchants, professors of the *studium*, and elite professionals) who had made the city the stage of their self-aggrandizing actions. They had defended the autonomy and jurisdiction of the *contado*; but above all had defended their own power and only instrumentally the production of an internal market. A lack of vision also prevailed in the popular party: it had interests diverse from the oligarchy, but did not know how to envision its own political objectives. It had revealed its

65 Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 117-32.

66 Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 147-54.

67 Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 170-72.

strength in rebellion on occasion; it had always participated and often had been decisive in affecting outcomes, but did so only in support of an oligarchical faction.

The *signoria del popolo e delle arti* nevertheless left a legacy in the city's political institutions, one that endured until the end of the 18th century. Its councils – the *anziani*, the *gonfalonieri del popolo*, the *Riformatori dello stato di libertà*, which evolved into the Senate in the 16th century – presented the needs of the city (or rather, of its upper classes) before the legate, representative of the Apostolic See. And that legacy can be seen, even today, in the face of the city. The basilica of San Petronio – the church of the city and its institutions – with its appropriately unfinished façade is a splendid metaphor of this “*signoria*,” a project born and defaced in the last 25 years of the 14th century.

Appendix

The Notariate at Bologna

In the majority of cities in north-central Italy the notariate was one of the most prestigious of guilds, a preeminence stemming from the large number of those who exercised the profession and from the importance of so many functions performed by notaries in the civil society of the communal cities. Precisely because the notarial profession had developed during the pre-communal period to meet private needs and without hierarchical or territorial ties, thus remaining outside the consolidated structures of communal public authorities, the commune paradoxically found in the notaries, the writers of private documents, the instrument to attest to the validity of the acts of its own governmental bodies. But the relationship did not transform the notaries into dependents of the commune: they remained free professionals to whom the commune had temporary recourse. Similarly decisive for the prestige of the notaries was their commitment and willingness to improve their own course of instruction. As their numbers increased, they integrated study of their professional skills with attendance first at episcopal schools, then at independent schools of the arts, in order to deepen their grammatical preparation and expand it to knowledge of rhetoric and law.⁶⁸ The formative course of the notaries was also influenced in those cities in the 11th and 12th centuries where the texts of Roman law of the Justinian compilation were retrieved and collected as current law.

This meeting of law and notarial education happened in various centers, not only those in Italy, but above all with a particular intensity and impact in the relationship between the notariate and the *studium* of Bologna. Notarial documents from Bologna

68 Zabbia, “Formation et culture,” pp. 298-311.

at the beginning of the 12th century show a sudden change in the contractual formulas of perpetual leases (*emphyteusis*).⁶⁹ Iinnerius himself, a founder of the *studium* of Bologna, suggested this revision.⁷⁰ From the school of Iinnerius and from his students came a formulary for notaries, a “didactic support,” as Roberto Ferrara has defined it, for involving the notaries in the civil revival envisioned by these early masters, enthusiasts of the Justinian law.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the formulary did not seek to add the notaries to the law school, which produced the judges, advocates, and *doctores*. Instead the notarial curriculum focused on the arts that prepared masters of grammar and rhetoric. The program of arts was brief: two years at the most, in comparison to the five or six years of civil law; it was much less expensive, yet opened the student to a profession that offered constantly increasing and varied opportunities for work.

In this context, at the start of the 13th century, in the faculty of arts of the Bolognese *studium*, a true school of the notariate was born through the work of Ranieri da Perugia. For his students Ranieri in 1216 wrote his *Liber formularius*, a collection of formulas for various types of contracts.⁷² Then in 1223 he began a second work, with the significant title *Ars notariae*;⁷³ “*Ars*” indicating a complex set of rules with the objective of giving attention to all aspects of the management (*paciscendo*), defense (*litigando*), and disposition of properties through testaments (*disponendo*).⁷⁴

Ranieri’s school was very successful: some students came from other cities, such as Bencivenne da Spoleto and the Master of Arezzo, who with their own texts spread the *ars notarie* according to Ranieri’s interpretation throughout south-central Italy.⁷⁵ Bolognese students carried on his teaching in the *studium* of Bologna: Salatiele, Matteo de’ Libri, Zaccaria di Martino, and above all Rolandino Passaggeri, whose *Summa artis notariae* became the fundamental pedagogical text for the new *ars* in the second half of the 13th century. As evidenced by its many extant manuscript codices and then

69 Orlandelli, “Petitionibus emphyteuticariis.” The *emphyteusis* was the most utilized contract in the Bologna area from the 10th to the 12th century. The new formula eliminated feudal signs of submission from the contract and set the two contracting parties on the same level.

70 Orlandelli, “La scuola di notariato,” pp. 39-40.

71 “After that first reflection on the *emphyteusis*, which had immediate effects on contemporary notarial charters, Iinnerius and his collaborators, with and after him, must have carried out and proposed an organic formulary, of the school and for the school.” Ferrara, “Ancora sul formulario,” pp. 53-58. From among the four doctors, disciples of Iinnerius, Ferrara, on the basis of a gloss fixed to the codex of San Gallo of the first work of Ranieri da Perugia, has suggested as author Iacopo di Porta Ravegnana.

72 Published with the title *Ars notaria*: Rainerii de Perusio, *Ars notaria*.

73 *Die Ars notariae*.

74 Orlandelli, “La scuola di notariato,” pp. 46-50.

75 Orlandelli, “La scuola di notariato,” p. 51.

printed editions, the *Summa totius artis notariae* became the most widespread and authoritative text of notarial theory and practice in Europe until the 18th century.⁷⁶ To be sure, notarial teaching continued to evolve after the issuance of Rolandino's *Summa* in response to new openings for notarial activity, especially opportunities in the chancelleries of the emerging *signorie* or as legal procurators. Two major co-existing directions were developed by two commentators of the *Summa*: Pietro Boattieri and Pietro d'Anzola. One offered a program for those whose work centered on public office, the other for those who were active as procurators in court cases, especially on behalf of private parties.⁷⁷

The importance of the school and masters of the *ars notarie* of the *studium* was matched by the prestige of the notaries' guild, the *societas notariorum*.⁷⁸ Two factors promoted and sustained that preeminence and were decisive in the vicissitudes of the Bolognese notariate. First was the cultural level of the notaries. Beginning in 1221, in order to practice as a notary in the Bolognese territory it was necessary to pass an examination in front of a judge of the *curia* of the *podestà* and the exam itself served as a condition for admission to the *societas*.⁷⁹ Around 1250 the communal statutes established the standards of the exam, articulating them within the conceptual structure of Ranieri's *Ars notariae*: candidates had to prove their knowledge of drafting contracts, wills, and documents of judicial administration. They also had to demonstrate that they knew how to compose an official letter (*epistula*), and translate the redacted acts from *volgare* to Latin and vice versa. A few years later candidates were required to have completed a three-year course of study prior to taking the examination. The 1288 statutes of the commune and those of the notarial guild clarified that the candidate's preparation was to have been divided into two years of grammar and one in notarial studies, carried out under the guidance of a docent of the *studium* (*doctor notarie*).⁸⁰ The course of study was therefore tied to the teaching of the *ars notarie* in the *studium*, an instruction based on "a technical and literary culture that was of an extremely composite order, indeed all-encompassing, in which grammar, rhetoric, law, and graphic skill lived together."⁸¹

The purpose of the examination was to ascertain that the candidate was able to draft acts relative to the management of private property (sales, leases of property and animals, loans, deposits, dowries, wills, etc.) and to related issues of status (emancipa-

76 *Summa totius artis notariae Rolandini Rodulphini Bononiensis*.

77 Tamba, *Rolandino e l'ars notaria*.

78 Tamba, *Una corporazione*, pp. 299-353.

79 Ferrara, "Licentia exercendi," pp. 88, 92. In 1304 the *societas notariorum* doubled the course of study: four years in grammar and two in notarial studies. Idem, "Licentia exercendi," p. 112.

80 Ferrara, "Licentia exercendi," pp. 102-11.

81 Giansante, "Archivi e memoria," p. 304.

tions, guardianships, etc.), as well as those for a plurality of entities with specific political, normative, judicial, and administrative competencies, according to procedures that were becoming ever more complex. The exam also covered the literary and rhetorical preparation of the notary in order to verify his capacity to render the declarations of private persons and communal officials faithfully into documentary Latin.

The nature of notarial preparation has left a series of traces, different from those anticipated, but just as significant. These are signs of a true rhetorical expertise, attuned to the valorization of communal ideology and self-affirmation, as evidenced in the prologues put forward by certain notaries, among them Rolandino himself, who were charged with writing documents of great political importance, such as statutory texts and the emancipation acts of the serfs.⁸² Other evidence can be seen in the attention of the Bolognese notaries to the new lyric poetry in *volgare*, which had given rise to brief sequences of poetic text, disseminated in the pages of the *Memoriali*, in which since 1265 were registered and conserved notices of the most important acts written by the notaries for private persons.⁸³

The second factor that contributed to the primacy of the *societas notariorum* in the final years of the 13th century was its full adherence to the *popolo*-Guelf regime, established after the civil struggles of the 1270s. In the formulation of that policy choice Rolandino himself had played an important role, and in 1283 he also promoted a fundamental refiguration of the *societas*. The popular and Guelf loyalty of its members became a condition for admission, while a rigid hierarchical structure, with a single figure, the *preconsul*, at its summit, guaranteed that the policies of the *societas* would be congruous with those of the regime in power. His constant presence in the numerous *balie* that at the turn of the century guided the policies of the commune reflected the primacy of the *societas notariorum*.

These two factors – a cultural preparation of the highest level, which provided a valid foundation not only for the notarial profession but for other activities as well, such as for the various bankers and merchants who passed the examination for the notariate, and the benefits of being a member of the most important guild, allied with the regime in power – together with broad possibilities of work, both for private persons and in the many public offices reserved for notaries, also explain the large number of those inscribed in the *societas*. In a city which reached 50,000 inhabitants at its height, there were approximately 1000 notaries in 1283; ten years later there were more than 1300 and in the following 25 years, in a period of demographic decline, they increased on average by 50 members each year.⁸⁴

82 Giansante, *Retorica e politica*.

83 Marcon, "Cultura notarile," p. 233.

84 Tamba, *Una corporazione*, pp. 316-21.

After 1325, with the effects of an economic crisis becoming more evident, the number of members was lower. Stronger and continuous decline, however, took place when the city fell under the dominion of Bertrand du Pouget and then of Taddeo Pepoli. The end of the popular regime, of which the *societas notariorum* had been a structural pillar, inevitably precipitated this negative consequence.⁸⁵ The impact of the Black Death at mid-century and the *signoria* of the Visconti accentuated the already heavy hardships pressing on the city and on the notaries themselves, penalized as they were by the diminution of public employment open to them in favor of Visconti functionaries.⁸⁶ Nor did the dominion of the pontifical legates bring notable benefits.

The birth in March 1376 of the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* was the sign of a drastic change, a strongly desired and pursued return to the past. The *societas notariorum* participated in this undertaking and the number of its members initially increased. Among its associates were still bankers, merchants, and exponents of an urban nobility that once again felt itself to be a political protagonist.⁸⁷ But it was soon evident that the new government could not be realized in the anticipated form. Some notaries succeeded in holding posts in the government, but they did so not as representatives of the guild, but because they were tied to one of the noble factions that held power.⁸⁸ By the beginning of the 15th century the end of the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* confirmed the substantial unreality of a regime structured formally on the guilds. Left to the *societas notariorum*, which had abandoned all political ambitions, was the narrow prospect of dedicating itself merely to a never-ending defense of its members' professional interests.

85 In these same years the presence of poetic text in the pages of the *Memoriali* disappeared. Orlando, *Rime due e trecentesche*, p. 44. A causal fact? Perhaps, but also the mirror of the self-enclosure of the Bolognese notaries within their restricted profession.

86 For the role of the notaries during the Black Death and their persistence in performing their duties during that crisis, see Wray, *Communities and Crisis*.

87 Tamba, "Da forza di governo," pp. 223-37.

88 In the pages of the official communal registers of the last quarter of the 14th century, new poetic texts appear. Different from those inscribed earlier in the century, they are the work of only a few Bolognese notaries, in particular Matteo Griffoni and Nicolò Malpigli. In their sonnets and ballads the themes of courteous love are interwoven with ethical-political ones: themes of strong valency in Griffoni (see Marcon, "Matteo Griffoni poeta," pp. 114-26); with attention in Malpigli to the hardships under which so many young men struggled who had embarked on the notarial profession. Marcon and Tamba, "Sonetti inediti."

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From One Conflict to Another (13th-14th Centuries)

Giuliano Milani

Struggle among the *Cavalieri* and the Birth of the *Popolo* (1194-1227)

The chronicler Pietro Villola recounts how in the spring of 1194 the *podestà* of Bologna, Guidottino da Pistoia, was attacked and wounded while exercising his office. Put to flight, he was pursued by some nobles of the city who, having seized him, pulled out all his teeth because he had condemned them to too many fines they deemed too high.¹ According to other sources, reported by Leandro Alberti, the horrific action must have been instead an official punishment, enacted against a *podestà* guilty of corruption.² In its not easily resolved ambiguity, oscillating between the idea of a simple private action against a too-zealous functionary to that of a penalty carried out against a corrupt official, the misfortune of poor Guidottino illustrates some of the difficulties that accompanied the passage in the Italian communes from a system of government based on local consuls (*consoli*), representing the greater urban families, to a government founded on the presence of a foreign *podestà*. Perhaps the differences in the accounts are due – at least in the original sources that have not survived – to diverse estimations of the work carried out by Guidottino. Most likely, as happened elsewhere in those very crucial decades, the *podestà* left some people satisfied but not others. Perhaps during his term of office a dispute and conflict had arisen within certain families who participated in the highest level of urban public life. It would be difficult to explain, otherwise, why the *podestà* who succeeded Guidottino, the Milanese Guido da Vimercate, wanted six experts to review the accounts relative to the public expenditures carried out under Guidottino's term and during the two preceding years, which also had been turbulent, and in which Bologna had been governed by consuls. At the end of their inquiry the six wrote a report in which they listed a long series of expenditures which they declared to have not been “done well.” They had discovered that during the period examined the consuls of the commune (belonging to the oldest and most glorious families of *milites*, that is, the mounted knights in the communal army) had extorted many of the public

¹ Villola, “Cronaca,” p. 58.

² Alberti, *Historie di Bologna*.

resources that they were supposed to have administered; from compensation for military expenses to indirect tariffs on commerce, from grain collected from the rural communes to grinding mills owned by the commune.³

On the one hand, we cannot be certain that the diverse judgements given by the sources on the operations of Guidottino da Pistoia were weighted by the authors of the texts according to whether or not they found them to be advantageous to participation in the exploitation of communal goods. On the other hand, the report of the expenditures carried out under Guidottino's mandate clearly shows that a vast conflict pierced the urban *milites* during the last years of consular rule and the first of *podestà*'s. That conflict was rooted in the ever-increasing difficulty of sharing the resources of the commune, which for almost a century had been at its disposition. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur has clarified how, from the beginning of the communal experience, the urban *milites* had prospered not only through the wars they conducted on behalf of their cities – wars which were periodic, seasonal, and which made it possible every spring to amass booty, ransoms, and indemnities – but also by means of privileges that the city put at the disposal of those who waged war, such as the concession of fiscal revenues of every type.⁴ This system, at Bologna as elsewhere, functioned in some measure for most of the 12th century, especially because those wars also meant an expansion of territory, thereby making available an increasing quantity of resources and permitting the number of *milites* to grow. Nevertheless in the final decades, perhaps because it reached the boundaries of the *contado*, the mechanism jammed and entered into crisis.

This halt to growth seems to have been at the basis of the continuing conflicts internal to the ruling group despite attempts to pacify them at the dawn of the Duecento. There are frequent traces of those conflicts at Bologna in the chronicles and contemporary documentation, in particular in the so-called tower pacts with which some families committed themselves to help each other in building a structure and fighting together against another family group. This happened, for example, in 1196 when members of the Carbonesi family pledged to fight together against the heirs of Pietro di Enrico, namely those who would become the Galluzzi. One of the Carbonesi, a certain Uspinello, was killed, according to the chronicler Villola, in the course of a clash that took place in 1182, which seems to have been one of the *ludus battalie*, organized and ritualized combative games which frequently degenerated into outright conflicts. Next to these ritualizations of violence, other attempts

3 Orlandelli, *Il sindacato del podestà*, p. 158; Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, p. 33.

4 Maire Vigueur, *Cavaliers et citoyens*, pp. 167–213.

to discipline the conflicts between the *milites* were made with the establishment of a communal tribunal, mentioned by the chroniclers in 1197, when one reads that “justice began to be rendered in the house of Bulgarus,” and obviously from the recourse to a foreign *podestà*.⁵

In contrast to what happened in other cities, especially in the northeast, at Bologna in this first phase the noble families who fought each other do not seem to have aggregated themselves into stable factions tied to international coalitions. However, the danger that this might also happen in Bologna was also recognized, especially because of the city’s nearness to the parties at Ferrara, which in turn were allied with those of the Veneto. A letter sent in 1211, written by four representatives of the Bolognese commune, asked the papal legate not to enter the city in order to prevent his presence from causing the eruption of disorders between the citizens who supported Salinguerra Torelli and those who sided with the Marchese Azzo d’Este.⁶ But apparently, as the letter itself shows, among the *milites* there were also families and individuals who worked to prevent conflicts from flaring up. Ordinances issued by the *podestà* during the following year, which then were entered into the civic statutes, show that in an early phase these citizen-peacemakers succeeded in holding the upper hand. It was in fact decreed that in case a *bolognese* took money from one of the Ferrarese party leaders he would have to consign it to the commune and would have been deprived of any possibility of holding public office. The same thing would have happened if he obligated himself in any vassalage pact or in a more generic oath of fidelity.⁷

The coexistence within the cavalry of conflicts and attempts to contain them seems tied to the distinctive structure of Bolognese society, in which, unlike that of the neighboring Veneto cities, families much richer and more powerful than others did not stand out and were not destined to gather around them as organized followers the rest of the *milites*. Instead the Bolognese cavalry was composed of many lineages co-existing on the same socioeconomic level. Thanks to this social structure – to which we will return in the conclusion – at Bologna party conflicts were held at bay, permitting a notable development which saw the start of public works (construction of a communal palace, canals, and a large area for a market) which reflected and at the same time helped economic growth, a growth capable of distributing wealth beyond the

5 Villola, “Cronaca,” p. 58 (for the preceding conflicts, pp. 66, 72).

6 *Annali Bolognesi*, vol. 2.2, p. 311.

7 *Statuti di Bologna dall’anno 1245 all’anno 1267*, Bk. 8, Rubric 10 “De feudo non accipiendo a marchione vel a domino Salinguerra,” vol. 2, pp. 197-98.

confines of the *milites*' group, favoring the enrichment as well of many in the communal army who fought on foot.

The *Milites-Populus* Conflict and the Birth of the Parties (1228-73)

The Bolognese chronicles permit us to understand clearly what happened in 1228.⁸ In that year the Bolognese army was defeated by the Count of Romagna, representative of the emperor, at Mezzocollo. As a result of this defeat, serious tensions broke out in the city between the *milites* and the *populus*. The rectors of certain unspecified guilds (*societates artium*), together with Giuseppe Toschi, described in the chronicles as a noble and a merchant, went to the *podestà* and asked that a *Consiglio generale* be convoked, apparently envisioned as a council larger than that which was normally convened (the *Consiglio di credenza*) which was comprised only of *milites*. The *podestà* refused and because of his negative response the rebels forced open the doors of the communal palace, smashed benches and strongboxes, destroyed statutes, the books of those who had been placed under bans, and criminal trial records. This initial rebellion was followed by other military defeats and finally the convocation of the requested council in 1229, which according to the documentation emerged qualitatively and quantitatively different from its predecessor. The earlier version included approximately 250 members; the new council included 400 citizens recruited on a topographical basis, 100 per quarter.⁹

The proximity between the defeat of the urban *cavalieri* and the revolt of the popular societies indicates that in 1228 the conflict over the financing of military expenses and its management by the urban *cavalieri* was renewed. The political goal of the revolutionaries seems to have been, in short, not to leave decisions on warfare solely to the *milites*. But who were the non-*milites* at Bologna? What is certain is that they did not form a homogenous group. The very mention of a revolt led on the one hand by Giuseppe Toschi, and on the other hand by the heads of the guilds, indicates the presence of two different components: the wealthier societies, that is, those of the merchants and bankers (merchants of money), long present on the Bolognese political scene, who had furnished consuls and saw many of their members pursue the life of the *milites*, and the other guilds, which brought together the artisanal masters.

In his treatment of Florentine history, John Najemy hypothesizes a connection between economic advancement and the internal equilibria in the

8 Wandruszka, "Städtische Sozialstruktur."

9 Villola, "Cronaca," pp. 94-95.

popular world. From his point of view this world contained an intermediate component constituted from members of the greater guilds who were not part of the elite (bankers and merchants, but also judges). In moments of economic growth this intermediate component tended to ally itself with the knightly elite, promoting more party-oriented aristocratic regimes. In moments of crisis, on the contrary, it allied itself with guilds of a lower social level, supporting regimes of a popular mold.¹⁰

Events at Bologna in the decades following the attack on the communal palace seem to confirm this correlation and add a further dimension. The economic crisis leading to popular regimes seems in fact to have taken place at first in the area of public finance, systematically set off by increases in military expenditures. Until 1228 one war took place after another without interruption, provoking an increase in communal expenditures that pushed, as we have seen, the merchants to ally themselves with the artisans. Between 1228 and 1234 the number of wars diminished, resumed between 1234 and 1240, then returned to a lower level, leaving space for a new internal tension within the *popolo* as well as a division within the aristocratic world, whose members began to crystalize around certain powerful *consorterie*.¹¹ This dual presence of tensions, quite visible in the chronicles, is stigmatized in all official documents, which insist on condemnation of private vendettas and embrace pursuit of the common good (*bene comune*), as happened on the occasion of the 1234 ban of Alberto Lambertazzi, later incorporated into the mid-century statutes.¹²

Beginning in 1245, however, Bologna's military obligations soared, decisively augmenting expenses, and this increase led in all probability to a new alliance between the wealthier parties and the more artisanal guilds. In the glorious years of the capture of King Enzo at Fossalta (1249), the city served Cardinal legate Ottaviano degli Ubaldini as his base for conducting the struggle against Frederick II and his allies, a struggle that within a few years, while bringing communal finance to its knees, opened up a new territory of conquest for the urban economy. At the end of the Frederican era and in the following decade 1250-60, Bologna succeeded, in fact, in expanding into the Romagna, in whose cities it sent his own functionaries and statutes, and also in some Emilian cities, such as Modena.¹³

¹⁰ Najemy, *A History of Florence*, p. 36.

¹¹ Milani, "Appunti sul finanziamento."

¹² Vanghi, "Il 'Liber bannitorum,'" pp. 53-55; *Statuti di Bologna dall' anno 1245 all' anno 1267*, Bk. 3, Rubric 19 "Hec est forma statuti facti contra Albertum quondam domini lanbertini de lanberlatiis," vol. 2, pp. 361-66, discussed in Blanshei, "Criminal Law and Politics," p. 8.

¹³ Lazzari, "Esportare la democrazia."

This expansion was accompanied by the development of a *popolo* regime, in a form even more radical than that found elsewhere. The statutes of the *popolo* of 1248 collected and reorganized the norms produced up to that moment, attributing specific duties to the assembly of the heads of the individual organizations of the guilds and arms societies, and the *anziani e consoli*.¹⁴ The entire institutional structure that brought together the men inscribed in the guilds and arms societies was explicitly established in this way in order to serve a precise and coherent political project: to sustain internally, within the communal councils, the causes and rights of the *popolo* as decided by the *anziani*, and externally to protect the men of the *popolo* from the influence of the *cavalieri*. For their part, through the influence of the *milites* of other cities with whom they had fought together during the struggle with Frederick II, and by the effect of having two fronts which had been created everywhere in that clash, and finally because of the ever more frequent practice of governing the Emilian and Romagnol cities through pairs of *podestà*, one for each of the local parties, the *cavalieri* were transforming their shifting alliances into two precise factions: those destined to take the names of Lambertazzi and Geremei.

The leaders of the *popolo* attempted (and for some years succeeded) in keeping its societies far from the parties. The popular statutes are marked to a considerable degree by concern that the demands of the noble parties would deter the men of the societies from pursuing their interests, explicitly providing penalties for members of the societies who allied themselves with nobles or who did not vote according to the guidance of the *anziani* in the council meetings. Thus began a long period of tension between the *milites* organized in factions and the *popolo*, during which the *popolo* made controlling the struggles of the noble factions one of its principal priorities. Over the years this difference in attitude towards the confrontation of factional strife diminished in intensity at certain moments, but never by much. At Bologna, in fact, very rarely did the factions assume the function of serving as an instrument for the division of offices and therefore as a stabilizing system of representation within the government, as Marco Gentile found happened elsewhere, in cities of the Po Valley.¹⁵

In its first stage the tension between the *milites* and the *populus* was subject to the oscillations that the campaigns of the city ignited in the urban economy. From 1248 to the end of the 1250s there was a war every year (the one exception

14 For the surviving fragment of the earliest *popolo* statutes, *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, "Statuta Populi Bononiae inter Annos MCCXLV al MCCL," vol. 1, pp. 3-14.

15 Gentile, "Factions and parties."

was 1252), and this phase coincided with the first golden age of popular organization. The number of wars then diminished and almost ceased between 1260 and 1269, initiating a recurrence of factionalism. At this point party strife drew strength from the climate engendered by the crusade that brought with it the Sicilian enterprise of Charles of Anjou. Finally, in 1270 the violent encounters resumed and with these clashes came the popular attempt to weaken the *milites* and curb those practices that the ideologists of the *popolo* associated with noble identity. It was exactly at this time (1270-71) that the first anti-magnate lists were drawn up in Bologna.¹⁶

The Struggle between the Lambertazzi and the Geremei and the Birth of an Exclusionary System (1274-1305)

In 1274 the two parallel tensions which had characterized Bolognese political life for decades, one between the *popolo* and magnates and the other between the Lambertazzi and Geremei, exploded deafeningly, giving rise to irreversible events. In their descriptions of these events, the chronicles are again substantially unanimous. The disorders began in the spring with a dispute concerning where to send the city's troops. The pro-Ghibelline Lambertazzi pushed for sending the army to Modena to help the allied local party reenter the city after the opposing Modenese faction, that of the Guelfs, had expelled them. The pro-Angevin Geremei urged, on the contrary, sending soldiers to Forlì where some officials sent from Bologna to collect taxes in the *contado* had been repulsed. From this discord a fierce clash was born that spread throughout the entire city for months, at the end of which, notwithstanding some attempts at pacification, a considerable group of Lambertazzi fled, seeking refuge at Faenza. At that point repressive policies were organized against them and their possible allies among the citizenry, including compilation of a census of who they were, punishment by placing some of them under bans, others under a complex system of daily obligation to report their presence outside Bologna, and finally sequestration of their properties.¹⁷

The basis of this great change in 1274 – the failure to mediate factional conflict by popular intervention – was a shift in the stakes at play in the struggle between the Guelfs and Ghibellines as triggered by Charles of Anjou's conquest of the Sicilian kingdom. Beginning in 1266, to be a Guelf no longer meant

16 Milani, "Da *milites* a magnati"; Fasoli, "La legislazione antimagnatizia"; Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 143-53, esp. p. 150.

17 Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, pp. 249-60.

being a participant in a military struggle with the pope against the emperor or his descendants, but came above all to signify taking part in a new network of alliances that permitted access to enormous resources: commercial privileges (especially with Sicily and France); grain produced in the southern regions; collection of ecclesiastical tithes in all of Europe; and loans to sovereigns and bishops. One of the important consequences of this change was a transformation among the families, individuals, and organisms of the *popolo* who had until this moment kept themselves removed from factional struggles. They now began to sustain the needs of Charles I and his allies, the adversarial party. In short, the *popolo*, and in particular its wealthiest sector, composed of commercial entrepreneurs and bankers, made itself more systematically Guelf or Ghibelline.¹⁸

At Bologna (to judge from the narratives concerning the disorders of 1274), these factors were not significant prior to that year.¹⁹ Up to that point factional allegiances had been determined by the families' commercial and economic interests in the various areas in which the commune of Bologna had extended its influence: Emilia and Romagna. After the expulsion of the Lambertazzi and the entrance of Bologna into the Guelf-Angevin circuit they became more important. Indeed, great banking families such as the Gozzadini, Zovenzoni, and Pepoli constructed an interest group that through the fundamental intermediacy of the great notary and professor Rolandino Passaggeri, who was already close to the society of the bankers, founded the popular consensus in favor of the new Guelf-Angevin regime.

This crucial evolution did not mean that after 1274 the *popolo*, above all as formed by the members of societies other than the bankers and merchants, completely achieved its own political program or was completely overtaken by the political agenda of the Geremei. This point is well-illustrated by the shifting policies of exclusion and confiscation of property against the Lambertazzi. These policies continuously oscillated between two poles: on the one hand actions that were ever more radical and destructive – razing to the ground the houses of all those who were banned, sale of their properties, increases in the number of those banned in comparison to those who were confined to specific places outside the city – a policy that was sustained by the Geremei and the bankers allied with them. On the other hand were the contrasting initiatives aimed at the progressive conversion and reintegration of the Lambertazzi as internal enemies, set off from the rest of society. This policy was offered to those under confinement outside the city and then to those banned who took an oath to the Geremei party and who thereby regained possession of their

¹⁸ Milani, "Uno snodo."

¹⁹ Milani, "La memoria dei *rumores*."

rights. It included division of their lands into small allotments and renting them to citizens by the drawing of lots, and a distinction between nobles who were under ban and those who were *popolani*, for the purpose of reserving better treatment for the latter.²⁰

Thus, in the exclusion of the Lambertazzi, as already had happened in other areas, such as public finance and warfare, a new field of conflict was opened up: one between those who, in accord with the Angevin front, in the framework of a struggle ever more vast against the Ghibellines, maintained that it was necessary to concentrate all forces against the Lambertazzi, and those who, instead, thought that also the Geremei nobles should be marginalized within a policy marked by a strong revival of anti-magnate action. The tension between these two positions was influenced by international events near and far: until the beginning of the 1280s the strength of the Angevin front prevented the attempts of pacification undertaken by the papacy from succeeding, while the weakening of that coalition after the Sicilian Vespers led to an attenuation of the anti-Ghibelline policy and a revival of the anti-magnate program that was carried out in the *Ordinamenti sacrali e sacratissimi* of 1282 and 1284 and in the compilation of the statutes of the *popolo* and commune of 1288.²¹

Finally, during the 1290s a new war between the commune of Bologna and the Este *signoria* influenced internal policy.²² In contrast to what had happened earlier, however, this time the increase in military expenditures did not have the effect of strengthening popular institutions. The new burden of mercenary forces and the marginalization of the role of citizen *milites* by this time had rendered warfare an investment opportunity for those who could dispense large sums of money. Financed by means of private loans to the commune and direct taxes that generated a new demand for cash on the part of the inhabitants of the *contado* and therefore a further demand for liquidity which the bankers were able to satisfy, the war against Ferrara brought money into the cash boxes of the great bankers who saw the completion of their enrichment and an augmentation of the distance between them and the rest of the *popolo*.²³

The latter, at least for the moment, in their more artisanal components, were left greatly weakened. The same war, therefore, divided the Bolognese

20 Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, pp. 261, 330-38.

21 Milani, "Ordinamenta Sacrata." For the *popolo* Ordinances of 1282 and 1284, *Statuti del Popolo di Bologna* and for the communal statutes of 1288, including the Ordinances in Book 5, *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*.

22 Gorreta, *La lotta*.

23 Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*; Bocchi, "Le imposte dirette."

Geremei party into two new camps; one that was favorable to turning the city over to the Marchese d'Este, a group which, by analogy with Florence, began to be defined as the Blacks (*neri*), and its opponent, a group that in the final years of the Duecento brought itself close to the government of Florence and which for this reason was described as the Whites (*bianchi*). The Whites had within their ranks certain jurists of great importance such as Bonincontro dagli Spedali and Giacomo da Ignano, who for strategic and tactical reasons in 1300 favored and supported the re-entry of the Lambertazzi who still remained expelled.²⁴

The re-entry of the Lambertazzi, however, did not lead to peace, but instead triggered, with regard to their management, new tensions that as usual became interwoven with bellicose events between citizens. In the early years of the new century, with the strengthening of the Blacks of Florence, due to the defeats of the White Florentines after the arrival in the city of Charles of Valois (1301) and the so-called "Battaglia della Lastra" (1304), and the weakening of the Marchese d'Este after the rebellion from Ferrara of Modena and Reggio (1305), the Bolognese parties were thrown into confusion. Some of the *bianchi*, above all the jurists, preferred to ally with the Marchese, who by now no longer represented a danger to the city's independence, but others, for example Romeo Pepoli, remained faithful to the Florentine alliance despite the regime change in that city.²⁵

On the whole, these occasional reshufflings, at intervals difficult to follow, reveal the decisive acceleration of a development that had been initiated following the progression from an anti-Ghibelline to an anti-magnate policy: the proliferation of special commissions (*balie*) of *sapientes*, endowed with authority to decide the merits of delicate issues which threatened the security of the commune. In the name of the necessity of safeguarding the cause they defined as the "good state of the commune and the *popolo*," the traditional mechanisms for the exercise of power, founded on the equal division of seats among the city's quarters and among the popular societies, began to be overturned in favor of new systems of recruitment based on the political trustworthiness of those governing, and on their closeness to the party in power.

24 Vitale, *Il dominio*, pp. 72-78.

25 Vitale, *Il dominio*, pp. 81-88; Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, pp. 384-85.

The Clash between the Privileged and the Excluded and the Submission to the Papacy (1306-35)

In 1306 there was an outbreak of uprisings as a consequence of the discovery of a possible conspiracy to consign the city to the Ghibelline coalition. After some months of disorders that led to the expulsion of the *capitano del popolo*, a special commission was established, consisting of the *anziani e consoli*, the *defensor artium* and the *preconsul notariorum*, which issued ordinances mandating that the *anziani* had to be recruited from the members of families who had been considered Geremei since 1274.²⁶ After further riots the Lambertazzi and their descendants who had reentered the city just a few years earlier, fled again, together with many who had supported the regime that had permitted their return. The attempt at pacification by Cardinal Bertoldo Orsini, sent by the pope, failed because of the rebellion of certain societies of the *popolo* headed by the society of the butchers. The regime that was constituted after this new exclusion saw for the first time the entrusting of important functions of government to men recruited according to their closeness to the local pro-Guelf party, which under the prior regime had had its role somewhat reduced. The new government was established on the basis of its ideological exaltation of the Geremei party and its categorization of all opponents as Lambertazzi (even those who were not effectively close to the Ghibellines and pro-imperialists). During this regime the process was begun of standardizing norms that had been initiated on an exceptional basis in recent decades. In the first place, new magistrates were constituted, similar to those at Florence; party captains who began to be present at all the meetings of the magistracies of government (*anziani*, *preconsul notariorum*, *defensor artium*). Beginning in 1302, moreover, special norms were drafted which granted special privileges to those who participated in their redaction. Similar innovations, but on a much vaster scale, took place in the *Consiglio del popolo* and in the granting of special privileges to the seven societies that had opposed the regime of the *bianchi*. Management of the Lambertazzi passed from the *capitano del popolo* to a new official, the *barisellus* of the butchers, who was entrusted with an armed contingent of 300 men.²⁷

With these new institutions the commune succeeded in reconciling with the Ghibellines of Romagna and confronting the arrival of the new emperor, Henry VII, whom the Ghibellines of the rest of Italy were awaiting as their savior. These developments depended on the support of the banker Romeo Pepoli,

26 Villola, "Cronaca," p. 271; *Mathei de Griffonibus Memoriale*, p. 29.

27 For these new institutions, see the essay by Giorgio Tamba in this volume.

whose presence and influence in the institutions of government advanced without interruption.²⁸ On the basis of Pepoli's new power and above all acceptance of the distinction between the privileged and the excluded within the *popolo*, the parties were reconfigured on the criterion of greater closeness or distance from the Pepoli. Romeo on the one hand allied himself by means of marriages with the powers that earlier had threatened the city most extensively, such as the Estensi, and on the other hand proceeded to systematic control of civic justice. In the final analysis his downfall was triggered by actions in this sphere: first in 1316 when he was temporarily driven from Bologna after a member of the Garisendi family was absolved, by Pepoli's intervention, from the charge of having assassinated a blacksmith, then definitively in 1321 when the same thing happened with the acquittal of a student who had kidnapped a woman, the daughter, moreover, of a member of the faction opposing the Pepoli, called the Maltraversi.²⁹ Not all of communal society had been included among the clientele of Romeo Pepoli. Certain illustrious families, both nobles and *populares* had organized themselves to oppose him. To their ranks had also adhered certain societies of the *popolo* that had been excluded from the selection process initiated by the Geremei regime.³⁰

The attempts of Romeo to reconquer the city, futile despite some military successes such as the victory of Zappolino in 1325, accelerated certain trends that were already present: the hierarchization of political participation, the marginalization of the city from more active circuits of exchange now controlled by Florence, and the reduction of opportunities for enrichment for groups allied with the government. By the third decade of the Trecento the process of opening up institutions to greater participation that had occurred during the first half of the Duecento had been completely reversed. An increase in inequality was observable on all levels: from the individual societies to the civic councils, from access to justice, and to the recruitment of the *anziani*. Bologna participated thus in a more general evolution which included an increase in inequality, a slowing down of economic growth, and a continuation of conflictuality.³¹

In this environment, torn apart by increasing differences internally and by the external pressure of exiles allied with the Bonacolsi of Mantua, the governing classes of Bologna in 1327 welcomed the pontifical legate Bertrand du Pouget, nephew of Pope John XXII, granting him the title of *dominus* of the city.

28 Giansante, *Patrimonio familiare*, pp. 35-52; Idem, *L'usuraio onorato*, pp. 193-216.

29 *Mathei de Griffonibus Memoriale*, p. 34.

30 Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 449-52.

31 Epstein, *Freedom and Growth*.

The legate dismantled much of what remained of communal institutions and maintained his power for a few years by the support of a group of families that included the Pepoli, the Samaritani, and the jurist Giovanni d'Andrea, which permitted him to impose heavy taxes on the city and *contado*. The legate's government thus did not overturn the transformations that had begun in the late communal age, but rather accelerated them.³²

The Struggle between the Guelfs and Ghibellines and the Rebirth of the Commune of the *popolo* (1335-1402)

In 1334 the legate fled Bologna in the face of a revolt that broke out after he betrayed his promise to transfer the pontifical seat of government to Bologna and certain families, the Pepoli included, came to the forefront of his opponents. After a brief interval in which the Scacchesi and Maltraversi factions succeeded in coexisting, the latter also were expelled, as also shortly thereafter were the Gozzadini, who together with the Pepoli and Samaritani had constituted the nucleus of the victorious faction. Power thereafter remained in the hands of Romeo Pepoli's son, the jurist Taddeo, who had a new set of statutes redacted that restored certain communal institutions and who succeeded in having himself declared *signore* by the *Consiglio del popolo*.³³ Notwithstanding the apparent discontinuity in government, Taddeo brought to fulfillment certain developments begun under Bertrand du Pouget. Even more so than the legate, Taddeo governed by decrees issued in response to supplications submitted by individuals who sought fiscal dispensations and judicial privileges of various types. By use of the supplication and *gratia*, Taddeo revoked the bans of his opponents, thereby weakening to a great extent the strength of existing factions.³⁴ Moreover the political scene around Bologna was changing radically because of the expanding dominions of the Ghibelline *signori*: first the Scaligeri of Verona, and then the Visconti of Milan were greatly reducing the territorial extent of the Guelf-Angevin front. After the death of Taddeo in 1347, the city passed to his sons and then in 1350 to Giovanni Visconti, archbishop of

32 Benevolo, "Bertrando del Poggetto e la sede"; Ciaccio, "Il cardinal legato Bertrando del Poggetto."

33 *Mathei de Griffonibus Memoriale*, p. 43; Rodolico, *Dal comune alla signoria*; Antonioli, *Conservator pacis et iustitiae*.

34 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 306-47.

Milan.³⁵ His regime, although it also was brief, witnessed a further centralization of authority. His rule was followed in 1354 by that of his captain, Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio, who held power until 1360 with the support of the Maltraversi faction, which had been born in opposition to the Pepoli, but now was an autonomous aristocratic group at the head of a clientele network.³⁶

In 1360 this never-ending succession of very brief *signorie* came to a halt. The city, as a result of negotiations, returned to the sphere of Church dominions. The vicar general of the pope for Italy, Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz, entrusted the government of Bologna to his nephew Gomez, who was followed by other foreign ecclesiastical rectors under whose mandates Bologna succeeded in overcoming the crises of alternating dominations, plague, and structural problems that it had endured since the end of the Duecento.³⁷ Only in 1375 did the situation change with increasingly harsh fiscal pressure on the *bolognesi* and consignment of certain fortresses to mercenaries, policies which exhausted the local consensus supporting the legates. But the prospect of distancing the city from the papal vicars instigated new clashes of parties: between the Raspanti (successor to the Pepoli's faction of the Scacchesi), and the Maltraversi. From the accord which followed these clashes came rebellion. The legate was expelled, but immediately the Raspanti split apart, with some groups favoring return of the Pepoli. From these divisions came the establishment in 1376 of a government inspired by communal traditions and seeking restoration of communal institutions. The jurist Giovanni da Legnano who had played a fundamental role in this difficult situation assumed the title of vicar general of Pope Gregory XI.³⁸

In this neo-communal regime a greater participation in government was permitted than in those that had preceded it. Nevertheless, organized factions continued to flourish. This manifested itself particularly when pursuit of Visconti supporters led to establishing the magistracy of the *Dieci di balia*, which was granted extraordinary powers. As happened at the end of the Duecento, but even to a greater extent in this difficult situation, a narrow body was endowed with special authority, granted on the basis of a threat to public security, which meant the end of civic governance, the splitting of factions into subgroups destined to combat each other, and the equalization of new to old

35 During Taddeo's regime the trend to narrowing of power intensified. The short Visconti rule is analyzed in Lorenzoni, *Conquistare e governare la città*. For the brief regime of Taddeo's sons, see Antonioli, "Un epilogo."

36 Sighinolfi, *La signoria di Giovanni da Oleggio*.

37 Trombetti Budriesi, "Bologna 1334-1376," pp. 829-36.

38 De Benedictis, "Lo 'stato popolare di libertà"; De Bosdari, "Giovanni da Legnano."

enemies, thereby legitimating the group that had gained power. This process revealed itself with particular vigor from 1393, when, given the proliferation of the factions, the *Dieci* were replaced by the *Sedici Riformatori dello stato di libertà*. From the *Sedici* arose the heads of the principal factions in the final years of the Trecento who attempted to establish *signorie* over the city. Carlo Zambecari (1398-99) was head of the Raspanti, as was Giovanni Bentivoglio (1401-02), who had vanquished Nanne Gozzadini, historically a member of the Scacchesi. Bentivoglio, who had shifted his external allegiances rapidly, in turn fell from power with the battle of Casalecchio di Reno, won by a coalition under the Visconti and Nanne Gozzadini.³⁹ The subjugation of Bologna to Gian Galeazzo Visconti was not interrupted by his death (September 1402), but the following year, in order to free itself of the *signoria* of his son Giovanni Maria and his wife Caterina, deemed at that point a tyranny, Bologna renewed its submission to the papacy.⁴⁰

The Changing Nature of Political Conflicts

In comparison with other Italian cities of the communal period, Bologna thus seems to have been distinguished by the absence of circumscribed social groups that were significantly wealthier and stronger than others. At Bologna there was no single block of power strong enough to orient and control civic policy for long. In certain cities of the Veneto great aristocratic families had ancestors who had held public office since the 12th century; in certain centers of Lombardy and Emilia the lineages of nobles were once vassals of the bishop and the great abbeys; in many communes of Tuscany and the Piedmont, some lineages of *milites* had been to seize the opportunities of economic and commercial growth and reinvest their earnings in the acquisition of lands and *castelli*. But in medieval Bologna for a long time no organized group succeeded

39 Tamba, *Il regime*. On the exceptional "centrifugal tendencies" of Bolognese conflicts in the period 1398-1420, see Lantschner, "The 'Nourisher of Seditions'"; Idem, *The Logic of Political Conflict*, pp. 94-117. Lantschner argues that Bologna's "extraordinary volatility" stemmed from the city's "pluralistic order of politics... constituted by a whole host of bodies with some form of legal, political or jurisdictional authority; guilds, parish structures, parties, ecclesiastical institutions, and the university, as well as *contado* jurisdictions, the Church as the city's overlord for most of this period, and other contending outside powers, such as Milan." Lantschner, "The 'Nourisher of Seditions,'" p. 172.

40 De Bosdari, "Giovanni I Bentivoglio"; Sorbelli, *La signoria di Giovanni Visconti*.

in coalescing and separating itself clearly from the rest of society.⁴¹ Contributing to this specific characteristic were two major aspects of the city's preceding history: during the early Middle Ages Bologna had remained a small and relatively poor center; its great advance took place only in the 12th century with the birth of the commune and the *studium*. Moreover, Bologna never functioned as the capital of a great political formation, often remaining at the boundaries between diverse political entities and acquiring and losing strategic importance with changes in territorial configurations.

To this original lack in Bolognese society of organized groups that were stronger, richer and more powerful than others should be added the particularly long duration and often blocked process of closure of the urban aristocracy. In comparison with other cities, its acquisition of the characteristics of a patriate – concentration of power and creation of a closed government – moved slowly. Although Sarah Blanshei has recently posed again the term “oligarchy” to define the Bolognese ruling class of the early Trecento, the Bolognese oligarchy was, nevertheless, much larger, less stable, and more open than those elsewhere.⁴² To be sure, there were attempts to centralize power: from the undertaking by the urban *milites* at the end of the 12th century to the effort ventured by the *popolo* from the middle of the following century; from the affirmation of the Geremea party to the signorial project which gathered around Romeo Pepoli; from the forceful government of his son Taddeo to the neo-communal recomposition of the regime of the *popolo* and guilds. Each time, however, these moments of political closure and social hierarchization were of brief duration, provoking malcontents and opponents capable, within a short period, of instigating replacements and exposing the city to new attempts at internal and external hegemony. The chronological limits of this essay do not permit analysis beyond the end of the 14th century, but it is necessary nevertheless to indicate that the end of that century did not coincide with a social and political closure destined to last. Not even in the successive period, characterized, as is well-known, by the constitution of a private society that managed the urban treasury and by the establishment of the Bentivoglio *signoria*, did political operations become completely closed. Recent historiography of Renaissance Bologna has resisted the temptation to conclude that no space for change remained open even in that era.⁴³

This social and political specificity of medieval Bologna carried with it certain important consequences; contrasting directions that developed out of the

41 This is the main thesis of Lazzari, *'Comitato' senza città*.

42 Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*; Milani, “Il peso della politica.”

43 See the essays in this volume by Angela De Benedictis and Andrea Gardi.

same complex of causes. The first was the diffused and constant presence of factions and more generally of distinctive political aggregations. The fact that there were no organized groups stronger than others and that rarely were they institutionalized and enduringly based within governmental structures does not mean that there were not organized groups *tout court*, just the opposite: precisely because they were not destined to conquer enduringly, one over the other, the factions and associations only reproduced, divided, and recomposed themselves. Sometimes, as happened elsewhere, the groups were inspired by those of the past (like the Geremei of the Trecento who shared little with the family of that name, already extinct in 1274, or the Scacchesi of the early years of the Quattrocento, by that time no longer necessarily tied to the Pepoli); sometimes they presented themselves with new names and rules, marking their distance from the existing order (as did the unitary society of the *popolo* in the middle of the Duecento, or later the group gathered around Taddeo Pepoli).

This teeming scene of particular organizations, or of groups of power that, while presenting themselves as driven forward by concern for the general interest (like the *popolo* or the Pepoli) were capable of exclusionary policies and therefore destined to raise opposition (respectively on the part of the aristocrats who had been defined as magnates or as Maltraversi), had a role – I believe – in weakening the capacity of Bologna to resist external pressures; if nothing else, because as elsewhere, the groups cut off from power did not hesitate to seek outside support and protection. This vulnerability with respect to attempts at interference is the second characteristic trait of late medieval Bologna. It is demonstrated in the event from 1211 as summarized above, when an official letter signaled to the papal legate the danger that the firestorm of Venetian-Romagnol divisions might take root in Bolognese society. The long and difficult relationship of Bologna with the Estensi would have clearly demonstrated that risk. This search for support outside of Bologna ended by heavily influencing the history of factions, always identified by an intercity network of alliances, and more generally the vicissitudes of the city at the end of the Middle Ages as it oscillated between regimes closer to the Viscontean-Ghibelline axis and at other times closer to the papacy.

However, and we now come to the third characteristic – the lack of social groups much richer and more powerful than others – meant that at Bologna, more than elsewhere, the political factor was always predominant in the fortunes of individuals and organizations. All who held positions of power owed their success principally to political and not just economic causes. Moreover, the groups that were able to count on the control of important resources (like the bankers within the highest level of the *popolo* or the butchers at a lower

level) did not automatically transfer that wealth into power but laid out paths of affirmation that led to a reinvestment of those resources into institutional structures. The bankers did not only monopolize loans to students, but also the public loan; the butchers did not limit themselves to reinvesting their capital in land but made themselves the elite of the popular army. On the aristocratic front the great *milites* distinguished themselves by their political capabilities, clearly visible in the podestarial and capitaneal mandates that they exercised in an extra-Bolognese circuit throughout communal Italy.⁴⁴ This centrality of political capital as a social resource also can be considered a consequence of the original scarcity of particularly powerful families.

The very centrality of political life produced a fourth and final consequence. At Bologna certain professionals in the mediation and transmission of knowledge necessary to medieval politics gained special prestige: the jurists, obviously, but also the notaries and those intellectuals whose specific identity is somewhat difficult to recognize, men who revolved around the faculty of arts, capable of reading and writing complex texts (often in poetry), whose knowledge today we tend to separate among the fields of philosophy, science, and rhetoric. This cultural wealth, which constituted one of the most long-lasting legacies that medieval Bologna transmitted to successive epochs, was also the fruit of the complex political vicissitudes that unfolded in Bologna between the 11th and 14th centuries.

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44 Gaulin, "Ufficiali forestieri."

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Libertas, Oligarchy, Papacy: Government in the Quattrocento

Tommaso Duranti

Writing at a distance of several years about political-institutional events that had taken place in Bologna, two authors captured, in diverse but complementary modes, the chief characteristic of the closing century. Concluding his *Historiae Bononienses* in the 1490s, Giovanni Garzoni, doctor of medicine and humanist, identified an almost mythical *libertas* as the *fil rouge* of the unfolding stages of Bolognese history.¹ During those same years, the chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata scanned the last two centuries of Bolognese history, using as his framework the periodic rebellions and rededications to the government of the Church, counting 13 transitions, of which eight took place in the 15th century.²

After his brief attempt to establish a *signoria*, Giovanni I Bentivoglio was captured on 26 June 1402 and then assassinated.³ The *signoria* was taken up by the victor of that clash, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who from September of that year was succeeded by his son, Giovanni Maria. After only one year of his rule, however, the *bolognesi* welcomed Cardinal legate Baldassare Cossa: submission to the Church seemed the only way to escape from the renewed repression of foreign domination. Within a few years the elements that had characterized Bolognese politics since the late medieval “crisis of the commune” reasserted themselves: the violent encounters of oligarchic factions which, from time to time, were cloaked in popular support in order to generate a personal domination; the difficult political and diplomatic relationship with the *signore de iure*, the pope; and the *longa manus* of Milan, which vacillated between the roles of ally and/or conquerer.

One finds an almost didactic cyclicity in the interpretation by Fileno dalla Tuata, but only in appearance was it consistent. In fact, during the first half of the Quattrocento, a period torn by intermittent revolts and sudden changes of government, the dynamics of power were transformed as they adapted to the

1 Garzoni, *Historiae Bononienses*, p. 32.

2 Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*; De Benedictis, “Il papa ‘desiderava,’” pp. 188–89.

3 See the essay by Giorgio Tamba in this volume.

complex reality – the delineation of regional states – that was engulfing the entire peninsula, thereby producing strong and potentially dangerous neighbors, the slow recovery in stature of the post-schismatic papacy, and the affirmation of oligarchies destined to become patriciates.

The years of Cossa's domination (direct to 1410, then, after he was elected pope – later deposed as anti-pope – conducted through governors), were particularly harsh for Bologna, which played the role of a pawn in a broader political game and served as a coffer from which resources could be drained. After an uprising led by the wool guild in 1411, a revolt plotted by the two oligarchical factions between whom political life was polarized in the first half of the 15th century (the Bentivoglio and the Canetoli, from the two families of the same names),⁴ the two factions for a time allied, and in 1416 broke ecclesiastical domination, nominally re-establishing the “free commune.” With a procedure which in successive decades would become habitual, a new *collegio* of the *Sedici Riformatori dello stato di libertà* was created: given the state of emergency, the Council of 600 granted to this magistracy full powers and prerogatives.⁵ Members of both factions were included in the new *collegio*, but all belonged to the urban oligarchy. Although placed in a marginal position, the guilds were represented (even if only the greater ones), a positioning that had been guaranteed in the first *collegio* of 1394,⁶ but which henceforth became of less significance. This new regime had a short life, but the precedent of having a government body, even if extraordinary, deprived of popular components would have consequences of long duration. The *populus* was *de facto* excluded from central decision-making: what remained to them was the piazza, which often became merely the instrument of factions and certain individuals of the elite. The new order, the result of a process initiated at the end of the 14th century, was the incubator of the power, also charismatic, of the Bentivoglio family, destined to obtain primacy over the city in the second half of the 15th century.⁷ Among the *Sedici* of 1416 also present was Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, young son of Giovanni I, who had negotiated a peace accord on behalf of the

4 The two factions were not a direct counterpart to the preceding civic divisions. Theoretically both the Bentivoglio and the Canetoli came from the Raspanti faction, which in turn was heir to the Scacchese faction (pro-Pepoli) of the 14th century, which was of “White” Guelf orientation. But at this great distance of time, appeal to the preceding party tradition (for which see the essay by Giuliano Milani in this volume) was at most purely nominal and rapidly exhausted itself.

5 *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 2, pp. 301-04. See Verardi Ventura, “L’ordinamento,” pp. 299-301; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 69-70.

6 Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 30-36.

7 For the history of the family prior to the Quattrocento, see Bocchi, “I Bentivoglio.”

commune with the papacy after the revolt of 1412. As a result of holding that post, the pontifical commissioner granted him the proceeds from the collection of taxes from Jewish bankers, which all successive governors confirmed to him and to his family, thereby providing an economic resource that served as the foundation for the developing political power of the lineage.

The new regime immediately had to concern itself with a crucial problem facing Bologna: its relationship with the papacy. At least since the mid-14th century the relationship between the dominating power (the papacy) and those dominated (the cities of the *Patrimonium*) was essentially determined by concepts of a negotiated nature, through which the pope and the urban elite attempted to delineate reciprocal political spaces: sovereignty, for the former; *libertas* for the latter.⁸ A delicate diplomatic encounter was involved which can be reconstructed, first of all through the instructions to ambassadors. At Bologna at the end of the Trecento, a point of equilibrium was reached when Pope Boniface IX, on 29 October 1392, granted the vicariate to the *anziani e consoli* (elders) and to the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* (standard bearer of justice) for 25 years, at an annual rate of 5000 florins. The vicariate transferred to the civic magistrates the right to legislate, to elect their own magistrates, and to enjoy *iurisdictio* and *merum et mixtum imperium*. In short, except for the sovereign prerogatives of the Church, the Bolognese commune obtained self-government.⁹

Formally, the 25 years of Boniface IX's concession ended in 1417; in the years following resolution of the Schism with the election at the Council of Constance of Pope Martin V, the *bolognesi* sent an embassy of devotion to the pope, in order to re-establish relations and attempt to emphasize its own *libertas* "within" the Papal State. Martin V, however, proved to be a tenacious adversary. The ensuing diplomatic contacts were numerous and troubled, reaching results quite different from those hoped for by Bologna, which had initially requested renewal of the vicariate. Issues concerning the internal structure of government do not appear among the early requests, since these were not supposed to have been resolved in the privilege being sought. Martin V posed conditions that were essentially unacceptable, by refusing to concede the vicariate, he indicated he was willing to make an analogous grant: in short, he

8 "*Libertas* è lo spazio entro il quale essa [the city] riesce ad affermarsi e a svilupparsi" (Costa, *Civitas*, p. 29); see Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 11-15. On the negotiated nature of those relationships, see De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*; Eadem, "Lo 'stato popolare di libertà"; Jamme, "De la République."

9 On the papal vicariate, see Carocci, "Governo papale," pp. 162-63; Idem, "The papal state."

aimed at rendering Bologna *immediate subiecta*.¹⁰ The issue was a particularly thorny one: Bologna was a rebel city and the new pope not an easy adversary. Embassies were sent at least five times at each stage of Martin v's journey from Constance. A first result was reached in 1419; the pope, gathering Bologna to the bosom of the papacy, confirmed explicitly that it belonged *immediate* to the Church and that the faculties of government were transmitted to the civic magistrates except during the presence of the pope in the city.¹¹ The city's institutional structure was left essentially unchanged, although the choice of *podestà* became an ecclesiastical prerogative, even if the appointment was made from a roster of names proposed by the commune. The commune maintained, however, the prerogatives of electing all other magistrates and managing the city's finances. In short, the concession established a situation very similar to that of the vicariate, but there was no vicariate and therefore the city remained subjected to the direct government of the pope.

It was a result of brief duration. Early in 1420, a failed conspiracy led by Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio provoked renewal of the pontiff's desire for direct rule and he struck the city with an interdict. Bentivoglio, who was exiled, having been dealt with, new *capitoli* of submission were redacted,¹² by means of which direct control by Rome was made stronger – the direct appointment of financial magistrates and a more decisive role for the papal legate were added to the already existing selection of the *podestà* by the pope.

The expulsion of Antongaleazzo and the *bentivoleschi* brought the Canetoli back to the forefront. In 1428 they led a new rebellion against ecclesiastic dominion, driving out the legate and creating a *balia* (the *Otto di pace*), to whom were delegated the fullest powers. The rebellion triggered the usual spiritual censures as well as the outbreak of war, which brought the *contado* to its knees. Negotiations for new *capitoli* of submission were entrusted to an arbitration *collegio*,¹³ which took place at Bondeno, near Ferrara, through the usual *modus operandi*: the *bolognesi* presented a series of requests, to which the representative of the pope responded; the results of the mediation were drafted in a report that traced the lines of a compulsory interaction between the civic magistrates and the legate. The latter was the fulcrum of papal domination in the city. He was to be appointed by the pope before his predecessor left office and to be welcomed by the ruling classes, and to have the responsi-

10 Zenobi, *Le 'ben regolate città'*.

11 Fink, "Martin v"; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 28-42.

12 The text of these *capitoli* has been lost: Partner, *The Papal State*, p. 176; Carocci, "Governo papale," p. 168.

13 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 43-52.

bility of naming the podestà and the treasurer. Identity of the group responsible for the rebellion was confirmed: the arbitrators, in fact, accepted the list of approximately 80 *banditi* proposed by the Bolognese ambassadors, which included members of the Bentivoglio faction (among whom, in addition to Antongaleazzo and his son Annibale, were Ludovico Bentivoglio – who still was among the *Sedici* elected the prior year, Taddeo Bentivoglio, Giovanni Bianchetti, Ludovico Marescotti de' Calvi, Battista Poeti, Giovanni Fantuzzi, Carlo Malvezzi, and Giovanni dal Lino), and some of the more popular-oriented guilds, above all that of the butchers (always the popular element closest to the Bentivoglio, whose origins were from their ranks).¹⁴

Martin v never transformed that arbitration into a bull, thus avoiding giving official recognition to the institutional structure outlined in the Peace of Bondeno. However, notwithstanding the not insignificant restrictions of the settlement, the commune had succeeded in leaving ample open spaces of autonomy, at least *de facto*, thereby setting the foundation for a successive elaboration of a strong position for themselves between the wishes of papal dominion and those of communal self-government.

Of the vicariate there was no further discussion: the request is missing, in fact, among the petitions presented to the newly elected Eugenius IV in August 1431. There does appear among those documents, however, fuller emphasis on the *Sedici* – still an extraordinary organ, but one that was asserting itself as the real center of civic political power – in particular with the request that all magistrates be elected by them. Reluctant to attribute *de plano* such an important prerogative to the *Sedici*, Eugenius IV in 1432 designed an *iter* articulated for the management of appointments. In place of the *Sedici* was substituted a *collegio* of 20 councillors (five per quarter), named by the pope and all belonging to the Canetoli faction, who were to proceed to the election of the principal civic magistrates (*anziani*, *gonfalonieri del popolo*, *massari* of the guilds, *Riformatori* of the *studium*, and officials for the construction of San Petronio) by the drawing of lots to be carried out in the presence of the legate. The new *anziani*, before the end of their own term, were to proceed to the election of new councillors. The *uffici di utilità* (public works) were to be assigned by the legate together with the councillors, except for the treasurer, the office of the *bollette* (exports-imports), and the officials of three particularly strategic castles (Castel San Pietro, San Giovanni in Persiceto, and Medicina), whose appointments were to belong solely to the legate, as well as the choice of at least two officials of the city gates, the judge of the *mercanzia*, and the rector of

14 The list of the banned is given in Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 205–06. On the popular origins of the Bentivoglio, see Bocchi, “I Bentivoglio.”

the wool guild. The prerogatives of the civic magistracies and of the legate were designated in such a way as to create an equilibrium, albeit weak, with one fundamental exception: Eugenius IV also established that all dispositions would be forfeited if the pope were present in the city, hence reserving to himself the possibility of governing directly and at his own discretion. Nor was it only a declaration of his intentions: the visit to Eugenius IV at Bologna from April 1436 to January 1438 suspended, in fact, the city's self-government.¹⁵ The following years were convulsive ones of domination by the Visconti and Piccinino, the assassination of Annibale Bentivoglio and the subsequent revolt that led to the expulsion of the Canetoli, and the establishment of a regime of the Bentivoglio *pars*, culminating in Sante Bentivoglio's gaining leadership of the city.

With the election to the papacy of Nicholas V (1447), who in 1444 had been bishop of the city, Bologna hoped to be able to easily achieve satisfaction of its aspirations. The embassy of obedience was sent to Rome with a series of requests that, in the eyes of the "new" Bentivoglio regime, were supposed to resume the flow of contracts that had been interrupted and, in fact, rendered vain by the events following the concession of Eugenius IV. The requests of the ambassadors, all leading figures in the Bentivoglio faction, turned anew to the request for a vicariate. The high rate set by Nicholas V (12,000 ducats annually) was evidently intended to shipwreck the request: in the successive set of instructions, in fact, that request disappeared, this time definitively.¹⁶

The weight given to the *capitoli* of 1447 from the Cinquecento to the present as signifying a defining moment for the political and institutional structures of Bologna and for establishing an equilibrium between the demands for self-government and sovereign prerogatives, has burdened those documents with an almost mythical value, causing in some cases both the loss of the articulated pathway within which these *capitoli* were inserted, as well as simplifying their value and the problematic nature which characterized them. These last points were evident to contemporaries, as demonstrated by the Cinquecento historians Cherubino Ghirardacci and Pompeo Vizzani who described the strong internal opposition to the provisions of these pacts, which were understood to have been gained with the favorable opinion of the *Sedici*.¹⁷ Opponents complained that the accord consigned Bologna into the hands of the pope (not to be excluded, however, is the possibility that some of the opposition's concern stemmed from its recognition of the increasing power of the Bentivoglio): the

15 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 51-57, 223-28.

16 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 57-61.

17 De Benedictis, "Il governo misto," pp. 244-47.

vicariate having been discarded meant renouncing a *libertas* recognized *de iure* for an ambiguous situation in which the legate obtained a more decisive role in the city's political architecture. But it was also kept in mind that none of Boniface IX's successors has conceded the vicariate to Bologna; analogously, the role of the legate had already been set forward in the first plan of concessions by Martin V. Behind recognition to the pope of *iurisdiction* and *dominium* over the city and contado,¹⁸ Bologna saw its own institutional architecture recognized: *anziani e consoli, gonfaloniere di giustizia, gonfalonieri del popolo*, and *massari* of the guilds (according to the provisions of the civic statutes), as well as the *Sedici*, whose members for the first time obtained formal consecration as an organ of government. Thus the 16 *capitoli* approved in 1447¹⁹ in a certain sense innovated (while always, it must be emphasized, following in the wake of the contracts of the preceding 50 years) a government of diarchy which, with the formula of "*governo misto*," would characterize the political life of Bologna "within" the Papal State from that moment on throughout the *ancien régime*. In short, all political decisions had to be made with the consent of both of the two heads of the regime: the legate and the *Sedici*. But the importance of these accords lies above all in the fact that consequently they were always considered by the *bolognesi* as the point of no return in the mediation and defense of their own prerogatives (supplanting the precedent of the vicariate conceded by Boniface IX), and as the consecration of the Bentivoglio regime: a *governo misto*²⁰ therefore, in which the two elements were maintained reciprocally in balance, defining an institutional and above all, a political "framework." To be sure, within it there was space for the development of oligarchical primacy, that is, of the *Sedici*. But the role of another element of the regime must not be undervalued – that of the legates in the second half of the 15th century, who still have not received sufficient in-depth study and whose importance cannot be concealed by the celebrated adage of Pius II (evidently of service to his papal aspirations): *non legatus, sed ligatus* (not bearer [of delegated authority], but prisoner [by delegated authority]).²¹ The presence of papal representation in civic political decisions, even if just done literally, limited Bolognese pre-

18 Jamme, "De la République," p. 70.

19 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 112-17; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 58-61, 223-28.

20 On the concept of the "*governo misto*" see Colliva, "Bologna dal XIV al XVII secolo"; De Benedictis, "Quale 'corte'"; Eadem, "Il governo misto."

21 In general even less studied remains the political activity of the legates at Bologna in the 14th century; see Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, "Il Cardinal Bessarione"; Gardi, "Gli 'officiali,'" pp. 246-57; Mazzoni, "I rappresentanti"; Carocci, "Governo papale"; *Il carteggio*, pp. LXXXII-VI.

rogatives in comparison with a by now remote vicarial design. Inclusion of the legate guaranteed further development of his role, as indicated by the constant Bolognese request, in successive decades, that the legate reside in person in the city and that he be a cardinal.

The text of the *capitoli*, purposefully written in summary form, left space for new interpretations and adjustments to changing circumstances. For this reason the *capitoli* remained valid, above all in civic sentiments, for a considerable period; they provided a grid, within which the equilibrium between *libertas* and free dominion of the popes had, from time to time, to be updated. Among the transactions that accompanied confirmation of the *capitoli* of Nicholas v in the second half of the Quattrocento, particular mention is merited of that obtained from Pope Paul II in his bull of 21 January 1466, after a difficult diplomatic intrigue in which Milanese diplomatic pressure weighed particularly heavily.²² Paul II refused the request of the first embassy, accusing the *Sedici* of tyranny. According to the pope, they had betrayed the provisions of the *capitoli* of Nicholas v. In reality the accords of 1447 did not mention the mechanisms by which the magistracies should function; it was above all the evolution of the ruling class during the years of Sante's leadership that were considered illegitimate and in need of reform. At the end of the 1460s, therefore, the subject of making an accord with the pontiff no longer seemed to be as much a form of submission of Bologna to the Church as the means by which the *libertas* of the commune was managed by the governing elite. The bull of reform for the *collegio*, which was born from the intentions of the pope to put a brake on the prerogatives of the oligarchy, was transformed in reality into its antithesis. The reasons for such a "failure" of pontifical policy are found in pressure from Milan, a fundamental ally of the Bentivoglio regime, as well as in an anachronistic attempt to restrain a broadly diffused process in Italian politics. In fact, Paul II consecrated the *Sedici* and especially the role of Giovanni II Bentivoglio within that *collegio*, deciding that the *collegio* would be composed of 21 members: at rotation, there would be ten every semester, with the exception of Giovanni, who would be present in both shifts. The pope also accepted a life-term for the office, which had been developing since the 1450s, also thanks to the connivance of the legates, as well as the possible inheritance of the seat, advancing substantially the birth of the urban patriciate.²³

Contemporary with the diplomatic confrontation with the papacy was the institutional development of the commune in the direction of oligarchic clo-

22 Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 171-202; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 62-65, 236-39.

23 See the essay by Andrea Gardi in this volume.

sure, which from the second half of the 14th century depleted the popular magistracies of their significance. The strongest evidence of this closure is the development of the *Sedici*, born in 1393 as a *balia* (extraordinary commission), justified by a state of necessity.²⁴ In the course of the 15th century the *collegio* progressively assumed broader prerogatives, while maintaining, in the first half of the century, its extraordinary status.

From the institutional point of view, the commune was organized until 1454 according to the Statutes of 1389, therefore going back to a still “popular” phase in which access to offices was regulated and also guaranteed by membership in the guilds. Formally, the general institutional structure remained essentially unchanged: even the popular magistracies (the so-called *collegi*, that is, of the *massari* of the guilds and that of the *gonfalonieri del popolo*, later called the *tribuni della plebe*) remained in office, offering the impression of a *comune del popolo e delle arti* to a regime that in reality had voided the importance of those magistracies. In that sense, the evolution of the *balia* of the *Sedici* signaled the affirmation of a principle that was ever more oligarchic and the expulsion of the popular components from the centers of decision-making. As early as 1400 an addition to the statutes confirmed that decisions of the *Sedici* would be considered valid even in the presence of flaws in their form.²⁵ In the years of factional strife, control of the city passed to this *ad hoc* governmental organ, through whose decision-making capacity and defense the dominant faction from time to time expressed itself.

It was, however, above all with the revolt of 1416 that oligarchic pressure on the government became evident and essentially irrevocable. After that revolt had “liberated” the commune from pontifical dominion, the commune for the first time had in the *Sedici* a uniquely oligarchic body, stripped of those few popular elements that in preceding phases had at least formally guaranteed a broader political participation. The prerogatives that the *Consiglio generale* attributed to the *Sedici* designated in substance an “extra-institutional government,” one that existed outside the statutes and was justified by a state of emergency – a script repeated even more decisively in 1428: yet again a revolt against the ecclesiastic governor (and therefore a state of emergency), again the attribution of extraordinary powers to the *Sedici*. In fact, all prerogatives of government were entrusted to that *balia*, even those belonging to the Council of 600 itself. The state of necessity justified an action of such broad scope and the vote was almost unanimously in favor (521 versus only five opposed).²⁶

24 On the birth of the *Sedici*, see Tamba, *Il regime*.

25 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 68-69.

26 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 70-72.

Oligarchic closure resulted in an alternating Bentivoglio-dominated and Canetoli-dominated patriciate. In such a context, one cannot find in Bologna a division into factions that served as an instrument for disciplining political conflict.²⁷ The “factions” were not socio-political organizations; they did not in the least provide ideological substrata, nor even harken back to Guelfism (and a “popular” orientation) since the entire city by now adhered to both allegiances.²⁸ The two Quattrocento “factions” were power groups, substitute heads for two eminent families who were struggling for an exclusive and excluding dominion. At every victory, in a rotation to which Bologna was accustomed,²⁹ the faction in power obtained control of the governmental bodies and banned its adversaries. These exclusions do not seem to have reached elevated numbers in the Quattrocento, but at the same time they tended to be permanent: for example, of the approximately 80 *bentivoleschi* banned in 1429,³⁰ only ten or so were recalled to the city – and perhaps then only temporarily. This very adherence to two groups, at times tepid, instrumental, or irregular, does not seem responsive except to a certain pragmatism, sustained only by family rivalries, and not to political strategies, least of all any oriented to “foreign” political alliances. Perhaps only in-depth, but still far-off, prosopographical research on the families of the Bolognese oligarchy will illuminate their adhesions and roots in the ranks of one or the other faction. In Quattrocento Bologna the urban elite made use of institutional instruments not so much for purposes of a more properly fractious nature, as much as in search of support, or even less opposition, on the part of Rome.³¹

After the revolt of 1428, with this act by the Canetoli regime (the granting of special authority to the *Sedici*), an important precedent was established which crossed the boundaries of *pars*, as evidenced in a resolution taken ten years later, during a phase of Bentivoglio dominance. In that decade the contrast between the two oligarchic ranks had sharpened. An attempt at a new rebellion against pontifical dominion had resulted in expulsion of the Canetoli and the re-entry of Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, who was in exile after the events of 1421 and had during that interval undertaken the career of a *condottiere* (captain of mercenaries). In 1435 his return was greeted with such enthusiasm that

27 See Gentile, *Fazioni al governo*.

28 For institutionalized factions in the Visconti dominion and a polarization between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, see Gentile, *Guelfi e ghibellini*; Idem, “Factions and parties.”

29 See the essay by Giuliano Milani in this volume.

30 See fn. 14 above.

31 Something of an analogous nature, even if in a different context, is found in the Venetian area by Varanini, “Nelle città,” p. 590. Not at Bologna, however, were there such unlikely events and violent behaviors as Varanini himself records for the Venetian cities (p. 594).

the legate Daniele Scoti feared a new rebellion, so he had Antongaleazzo captured by subterfuge and decapitated. That hostile act strengthened the “patriotic myth” of the Bentivoglio and the strength of their *pars*. In 1438, therefore, the *Consiglio generale*, referring explicitly to the Canetoli provision of 1428, attributed that same fullness of powers to the *anziani e consoli*, which a few months later they transferred to a Bentivoglio-dominated *balia*, the *Dieci Riformatori*.³²

At the same time the *Riformatori* entrusted governorship of the city to Niccolò Piccinino, in an attempt to preserve the “free” civic dominion of Bologna from impending threats – from the papacy, newly expelled from Bologna, from the duke of Milan, and from the Canetoli exiles.³³ The “dedication” to Piccinino took place following a revolt, which self-servingly extolled the vendetta against Antongaleazzo that had been orchestrated by Raffaello Foscari, “fifth columnist” in the city for Piccinino. By the latter, Foscari was compensated with re-election (extraordinary) as *gonfaloniere di giustizia* and with the unprecedented privilege of holding the post of treasurer on a hereditary basis. Under the dominion of Piccinino the civic government was able to implement additional institutional innovations. In particular, at the end of 1439, in concert with Francesco Monaldeschi, deputy of Piccinino, the *Dieci Riformatori* enacted norms related to the popular *collegi* which established that they could not assemble without authorization from the *anziani*, to whom they were from that moment on completely subordinated, thereby marking a further step towards the complete depletion of the popular magistracies of any significance. In petitions of 1428 the Canetoli ambassadors had already requested that the *collegi*, and only these bodies, be convoked solely by the legate.³⁴

The strengthening of the oligarchy in government during the dominion of Piccinino was further confirmed by two successive acts. On 8 March 1440, the governor decreed the enlargement of the *collegio di Riformatori*, restoring its number back to 16: with a view of having a greater representation of the urban elite, the new members were selected from Bolognese families who, although already present for some time on the political scene, still were not officeholders. Helping to make that disposition feasible was the momentary easing of tensions between the factions, which had been sanctioned in 1438 by the re-entry of Annibale Bentivoglio and also of Battista Canetoli (who in 1435 had

32 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, p. 71.

33 Longhi, “Niccolò Piccinino.”

34 Longhi, “Niccolò Piccinino,” pp. 72–73.

killed Antongaleazzo) and by the promise of marriage between his brother Gaspare and Costanza, sister of Annibale.

This environment of formal reconciliation was favored, as usual, by the necessity of having to confront a foreign domination, always poorly tolerated at Bologna, and by the danger of compromising civic *libertas*. At the beginning of February, Annibale Bentivoglio had Raffaello Foscarari killed, the latter by now having become hated by the oligarchy because of his close relationship with Piccinino (and for the favors that he had received). In this context (but backdating the act in order not to make it appear tied to the homicide), the *Sedici* revoked the office of treasurer from Foscarari (and therefore from his heirs), and resolved to award a contract for the management of the treasury to a private society, backed by a loan of 12,000 *lire* and at an interest rate of 66 *lire*, 13 *soldi*, and 4 *denari* for every 100 *lire*. The members of the society who participated in the contract (41 new members, 13 of whom belonged to the old treasury, another 12 added a few days later) belonged to the civic oligarchy, which in this way shared the economic management of the commune, at the same time reinforcing their own political position. This act was of extreme importance, as made clear by Gianfranco Orlandelli, who has emphasized that in this way the elite assumed economic control of Bologna, while renouncing, *de facto*, political hegemony, thereby in a sense overcoming the provisions of the *capitoli* of 1447. More recent historiography, however, especially as underscored by Angela De Benedictis, is in accord in also emphasizing the strongly political valence of the act, which served to further strengthen the oligarchy. The absence from the ranks of the treasurers of the two personages most pointedly political, Annibale Bentivoglio and Battista Canetoli, rather than provoking a “distancing from politics” of the Bolognese elite, is to be traced back to the desire to preserve the new institution from the difficult contingencies which were presenting themselves.³⁵ Annibale, however, had been amply compensated: a few days after the homicide of Foscarari, the government resolved that the act was to be considered as having protected the state of Bolognese *libertas* and therefore that Annibale, physical executor of the deed, and whoever had been with him or had had knowledge of his intentions, were not to be prosecuted. To Annibale was further conceded the unheard of privilege of intervening freely in any office of the commune.³⁶ In this way the political role of Bentivoglio was consecrated, and he became *de facto* leader of the commune. That role was strengthened by his marriage (7 May 1441) to Donnina Visconti

35 Orlandelli, “Note di storia economica”; De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 117-19; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 74-76.

36 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, p. 110.

and by the concession (10 December) to him and his descendants in perpetuity of the properties confiscated from the Canetoli (the principal nucleus of which was at Pontepoledrano, where Giovanni II subsequently constructed his principal rural residence and the family's agricultural enterprise, the "Bentivoglio").³⁷

These acts, even if indirectly, were also a "lunge" against the dominion of Piccinino, weakened among other developments by his recent defeat in 1440 at Anghiari. His governorship was remodeled during negotiations which concluded in November of that year with new pacts which designated in substance, a separation of two spheres: to Piccinino was assigned full *arbitrium* to govern when he was present in the city, but if he were absent his deputies had to act in concert with the *anziani* and *Sedici*, who therefore were confirmed as holders of government authority (almost a Piccinesco version of the 1447 *capitoli*). But the Bentivoglio front was working to free the city from the Visconti-Piccinino yoke and the position that Annibale was gaining was judged excessive by Milan: it was, it seems, at the inspiration of the duke of Milan that Francesco Piccinino, son of Niccolò, had the principal leaders of the *pars* (Gaspere and Achille Malvezzi and Annibale himself) captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Varano, in Parmesan territory. This act provoked strong Bentivoglio reaction in the city: the daring act of liberation of the prisoners by Galeazzo Marescotti – another leader of the highest level of the *pars*; the secret re-entry (June 1443) of Annibale into the city; and the organization of the revolt that defeated the Piccinesco dominion (July 1443).³⁸ Grants were made to Annibale by the *Consiglio generale*, for example the income for five years from the *dazio delle carteselle* (duty on dowry and sale of property), which he shared with his liberators, and which contributed, together with the recall to the city of certain exiles, to the attribution of a collective significance to the events that had concerned him only personally. But the role assumed by Annibale in that period was too much for his adversaries: in the spring of 1445 a conspiracy led to his assassination through the treachery of Bettozzo Canetoli, an event that triggered an explosive armed reaction of the *bentivoleschi* and a *popolo* inflamed and led by Marescotti, which resulted in the massacre and flight of the Canetoli, the gaining of a more firmly wielded power on the part of the Bentivoglio regime, and the *de facto* disintegration of the Canetoli "faction."

The new *Sedici* were therefore all *bentivoleschi*, but lacked a leader. Giovanni, son of Annibale, was only two years old, and Ludovico Bentivoglio refused to succeed his cousin. The choice fell, therefore, on Sante, illegitimate son of

37 Trombetti Budriesi, *Il Castello di Bentivoglio*.

38 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 77-79, 111-13; Roversi Monaco, *Conflitti oligarchici*.

Ercole di Giovanni I, who lived in Florentine territory, apparently ignorant of his ancestry (although he had important friends, such as Cosimo de' Medici and Neri Capponi).³⁹ On 13 November 1446 Sante made his triumphal entrance into Bologna, where he was invested as a knight and named guardian of Giovanni. The deaths of Filippo Maria Visconti and Eugenius IV opened up a new approach for Bolognese policies, which Sante knew how to shrewdly pursue. On the one hand he allied himself with Francesco Sforza, thus establishing an international axis which would guarantee keeping Bentivoglio preeminence in place, and on the other hand he initiated negotiations with Nicholas V which led to the above-discussed *capitoli* of 1447.

In the new institutional framework and policies inaugurated by the *capitoli*, Bentivoglio primacy had to face a final important set of opponents, led by the Pepoli and Fantuzzi families (families, as noted, of *bentivolesca* "appearance") who, accusing Sante and the *Sedici* of tyranny, occupied certain *castelli* in the *contado*. The revolt was resolved when Nicholas V, in response to the request for help from the rebels, sent as legate Cardinal Bessarion, with the task of recovering the occupied *castelli*, siding openly with the regime.⁴⁰ At the same time, the *Sedici* led by Sante had further strengthened their own magistracy by a series of norms that regulated their own functions, approved in November 1449 (laying the foundation of a process that, in 1466, brought, as noted above, Paul II to accuse the regime of tyranny). The new norms regulated the internal functioning of the magistracy, establishing its legal number and the principle of secrecy according to the importance of the topic discussed. Above all they closed access to their meetings to non-members, with the exceptions of Achille and Virgilio Malvezzi, Galeazzo Marescotti, and Giampaolo Castelli, who were authorized to serve as substitutes for their respective fathers, thus establishing the basis for the distribution of seats by family and the hereditary nature of the office.⁴¹ A few days later, through a new provision, the *Sedici* regulated the procedures for voting by lot for all the communal offices, putting fully into practice their prerogatives as a body of government.

In the year of the Peace of Lodi, the process of stabilization of the Bentivoglio regime produced a number of important acts, the result of political collaboration between Sante – who that same year married Ginevra di Alessandro Sforza Pesaro, thereby confirming at a high level the alliance with Milan – and Cardinal Bessarion. Two fundamental normative collections date, in fact, from 1454, which represent the consecration and implementation of the

39 On Sante, see Ady, *The Bentivoglio*; Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 117-27.

40 De Benedictis, "...Sendo la parte," pp. 444-46.

41 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 78-81.

prerogatives of the riformatorial, oligarchical government: the so-called *provisiones taxarum* and the statutes of the commune. The support of Bessarion for the regime was expressed in more than formal approval of the measures taken by the *Sedici*. A clear example of this is the establishment of a commission charged with reforming the taxes and the *estimi* of individuals and communities of the *guardia* and *contado* and determining the boundaries of the rural communities (17 April 1450). This commission, composed of members of the oligarchy, including some of the *Riformatori*, enjoyed full authority as well as pre-granted approval of their decisions on the part of the legate; furthermore, some of the commissioners had already initiated the work at least two months prior to issuance of the provision. Bessarion's act therefore can be interpreted as a legitimization after the fact of an already activated measure of government. Preliminary operations, which lasted until 1452, produced a draft of a complex of norms, collected into 25 *capitoli*, promulgated and taking effect 1 September 1454.⁴² Through these reforms, the governmental elite reset the preceding situation and reorganized it in fiscal and territorial terms, thereby fulfilling two of the major responsibilities of government. The new norms regulated the tax burden, thereby strengthening control of the city over its territory, above all by ensuring that the properties of citizens (and even those citizens who resided in the *contado*) enjoyed exemption from taxes, even if they were inhabitants of the *guardia* (the area immediately surrounding the city) or the *contado*, provided of course that they did not exercise a prohibited craft. The text, moreover, restricts the prerequisites for enjoying citizenship, following a process typical of the 15th century, which at Bologna was further elaborated upon the subsequent edition of the *provisiones taxarum* of 1475.⁴³ The urban oligarchy was, in addition to being an emerging patriciate, a class of landed proprietors, and in this way was able to preserve its own sources of income, important to its maintenance of political control. In fact, with this act Bessarion enabled the *Riformatori* to fulfill a function of government, the *iurisdiction*, which in 1447 the *bolognesi* had put back into the hands of Nicholas v.⁴⁴

Issuance of the new communal statutes also can be read as an act symbolic of the political consecration of the new regime and at the same time as the

42 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 81-90, 280-90.

43 The text of the *provisiones taxarum* of 1475 is edited in *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, II, pp. 47-132. For the increasing severity of the prerequisites for citizenship, see Angelozzi-Casanova, "Essere cittadini," pp. 273-75.

44 De Benedictis, "...Sendo la parte," p. 451; on the landed properties of the oligarchy, see Farolfi, *Strutture agrarie*; Duranti, "Tra mulini e canali," and on taxes, the essay in this volume by Rosa Smurra.

effective implementation of the government's prerogatives.⁴⁵ The most recent statutes, still in force, were from 1389, therefore representing a political and institutional reality that was extremely different from that of the mid-15th century. The strong political valence of the new statutes is confirmed not so much by the new norms included in the collection (which, however, remained in force, above all for the juridical sections, until the end of the 18th century),⁴⁶ but especially by the emphases and silences of the text. The *approbatio* lists, in fact, name by name, all the magistracies enacted in the new redaction, describing the institutional architecture of a Bologna finally in equilibrium internally and in its confrontation with its sovereign: the legate, the *anziani e consoli*, the *gonfalonieri del popolo*, the *massari* of the guilds, and finally, the *Sedici*, these last as representative of the Council of 600, that is, of the body that retained, formally, the highest normative function. The new communal ordinances abrogated preceding redactions and all conflicting norms, with the fundamental exception of certain norms, above all, those acts issued up to that moment by the *Sedici* with the legate, in line with the *capitoli* of 1447, thus determining, *de facto*, the normative superiority of the decisions of the *Riformatori*. This is the only explicit reference to the *Sedici* in the entire statute of 1454. The absence of norms on this magistracy is not to be read as a consequence of its *ad hoc* nature (by now overcome), but as the consequence of its prerogative to regulate itself: the silence concerning the *Riformatori* is opposite to its primacy. The other civic and collegial magistracies, expressions of the regime of the *popolo* and the guilds, were kept, but frozen in an image that was no longer consonant with reality. The redactors, in fact, as far as regards the major civic magistracies, simply referenced the first book of the 1389 statutes, not considering it necessary to insert its provisions into the new redaction. The norms of 1389 were still formally valid, but the political evolution and normative activity of the *Riformatori* during those 65 years had transformed the magistracies that were theoretically at the head of the civic order into an envelope devoid of sense: a course strengthened in successive years, when for example, from 1460, it was decided that the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* (a magistrate who by rotation represented the vertex of the commune) would be selected by the *Riformatori*.

45 Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 90-104. We still lack a published integral edition of the 1454 statutes: some rubrics (*approbatio*, *podestà*, *capitano del popolo*, *difensori dell'avere*, *depositario della camera*, *ambasciatori*, *consiglio dei Quattromila*, conclusions) are edited in Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 333-418; the books on trials (3 and 4) are edited in *Statuta civilia et criminalia* and Bk. 4 in Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 2.

46 De Benedictis, *L'applicazione degli statuti*.

During the final years of Sante Bentivoglio's preeminence, Giovanni II was built up politically – his debut on the political scene began in 1452, when as a ten-year old he was knighted by the Emperor Frederick III and attached to the *collegio dei Riformatori* as a supernumerary. In 1459 the right to vote and the privilege to substitute for Sante in case of his absence were granted to him.⁴⁷ During the last years of his life Sante was perhaps showing signs of an attempt to guarantee succession to his son Ercole, but the explicit support of Giovanni by the elite, as evidenced by a discussion in the *collegio*,⁴⁸ guaranteed that his succession would be viewed as legitimate. Giovanni was in the sentiments of the commune the natural heir of Annibale, hero of civic *libertas*, politically, however, he was the heir and continuator of Sante.

When Sante died in 1463, Giovanni was named *gonfaloniere di giustizia* in order to consecrate officially the new course; the next year he married Sante's widow, to confirm the very close alliance with Milan.⁴⁹ With the reform of 1466, Giovanni II began his primacy over the *Riformatori* and the city. Much has been written on the nature of this primacy. More traditional historiography, in line with the encomiastic judgements of his contemporaries, depicted Giovanni as a typical Italian *signore* of the Quattrocento. Another reading was initiated in the second half of the 20th century, when scholars, privileging a complex analysis of the political and economic components of the period, concluded that of many possible pathways, the one followed by Giovanni II could not be defined as a *signoria*. Weighing especially in favor of this conclusion was the greater attention given to the role performed by the civic oligarchy/patriciate in the political and economic management of the city and in the very maintenance of the role of Bentivoglio, delineating a kind of unwritten pact between the greater citizens and the first citizen, who must have been a *primus inter pares* with a preeminence essentially symbolic and destined primarily to please the Bolognese *popolo* and to facilitate relations with the powerful authorities of the peninsula. The period of Giovanni's preeminence (long and essentially peaceful, even if not accomplished by his merits alone) has therefore been defined, beyond the not significant lack of an official signorial title, with terms ("*signoria* in disguise," "crypto-*signoria*," "quasi-*signoria*") that highlight its limitations and non-completeness, especially in comparison

47 For bibliography, see Ady, *The Bentivoglio*; De Caro, "Bentivoglio, Giovanni II;" Trombetti Budriesi, "Giovanni II."

48 Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 181; De Benedictis, "...Sendo la parte," pp. 438-40.

49 Bernhardt, "Behind the Scenes."

with “great” contemporary Italian signorial dynasties.⁵⁰ More recent historiography on the Italian Quattrocento, however, has underlined the degree to which the sharing of responsibility in and management of government between an individual (the *signore*) and the aristocratic component was a quite common factor (even if with diverse gradations) and does not invalidate dominion of a signorial type. Doubtless Giovanni II governed Bologna thanks to the support furnished by members of the civic patriciate, composed in some cases of families of ancient origin, of a longer-standing political participation, of greater wealth than those of the Bentivoglio, and with international branches and ties at a high level. I believe, however, that the perception of contemporaries also has to be given consideration. If popular sentiment (favored by a policy of *panem et circenses*, however typically signorial) and the judgements of intellectuals in his circle (Angela De Benedictis has shown how difficult it is to speak of a court in the proper sense⁵¹) are to be evaluated for what they are, a certain importance should be given to the fact that especially from the 1470s, Giovanni was viewed, or at least treated, as *signore* of Bologna by the Italian governments. He also began to conduct himself as a *signore*, while remaining attentive to a policy of internal equilibrium that he had to pursue in order not to lose the confidence of the patriciate. Protection from Milan, confirmed and consecrated from 1470-71 with the concession of a military commission, and, perhaps above all, with the sending of a “permanent” Sforza representative to the city, in a certain sense “created” Giovanni II as *signore* of Bologna, in an exchange of recognition between governments *de iure* that were not completely endowed with legitimacy, but which rendered them *de facto* legitimate. For this process the dawning diplomacy of the Quattrocento was the most obvious instrument.⁵²

Bentivoglio primacy guaranteed certain advantages to the patriciate, especially those of an economic nature, which assured their support, at least until that signorial role was perceived as having crossed a line and consequently as being flattened by the international situation. Giovanni II seems to have directed his political policies, especially in foreign relations, with awareness of that “unwritten pact” internal to the patriciate. However, the dispersion of the

50 Francesco Somaini has recently proposed a new delineation with the concept of “*para-signorie*” which he defines as “regimes that allowed a partial formalisation of the prominence of a semi-*signore*,” giving Giovanni Bentivoglio, after he was granted a perpetual gonfaloniership in 1463, as a specific example. Somaini, “The collapse,” p. 252.

51 De Benedictis, “Quale corte.”

52 On the relation with Milan, see Covini, “Milano e Bologna”; *Il carteggio*. On the complex topic of Quattrocento diplomacy, see the bibliography cited in *Il carteggio*, pp. LXVII-VIII.

Bentivoglio archive represents a grave limitation on the reconstruction and analysis of Giovanni's dominion from the political point of view and for the mechanisms for guaranteeing the privileges shared among the members of the patriciate. In-depth analysis of the *Libri Partitorum* (the registers which report in summary form the deliberations of the *Sedici*), as utilized by Ian Robertson,⁵³ would be revealing, as would recourse to the diplomatic sources which can furnish a point of view, to be sure not impartial, but nevertheless attentive to the internal dynamics between Bentivoglio and the oligarchy.⁵⁴ For example, in the dispatches sent almost daily from Gerardo Cerruti to Galeazzo Maria Sforza one finds diverse levels of loyalty on the part of the *Riformatori* of the Bentivoglio *pars*, but also a substantial capacity by Giovanni II to orient himself when making political decisions (certainly also thanks to the support of Sforza, who in exchange received from Bentivoglio his adherence to his own external policy).⁵⁵

The position of privilege that Giovanni had obtained from Paul II was confirmed in 1473 by Sixtus IV who, defining him as *princeps* of the *Riformatori*, conceded to him, in addition, the right of succession of his eldest son, legitimizing at least embryonic form the hypothesis of a dynastic *signoria*. During these same years, the position of Giovanni was reinforced thanks to his obtaining various military commissions (in addition to that reiterated on the part of Galeazzo Sforza – in 1479 he received a commission from Florence, in 1483 from the pope, etc.), which guaranteed him income, as well as the possibility of surrounding himself with armed men and giving him visibility on the international scene.⁵⁶ These were also years of internal consolidation: Giovanni began to conduct himself as *signore* of Bologna, by offering festivals and jousts to the city (for example, with the inauguration in 1470 of the annual tourney of Saint Petronius); by making himself a promotor of urbanistic and architectural undertakings for the city and his family; by presenting himself as a patron of artists, intellectuals, and the *studium*;⁵⁷ by dedicating himself to increasing his own landed patrimony;⁵⁸ and by arranging marriages for his sons and daughters with members of Italian signorial families (the Este, Gonzaga, Sforza, Manfredi di Faenza, Malatesta di Rimini, Pio di Carpi, Rangoni, Orsini).

53 Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*.

54 *Il carteggio*.

55 Duranti, "Un compromesso."

56 On the Bentivoglio *condotte*, see Bocchi, "Una fonte di reddito"; *Il carteggio*, pp. LXVII–VIII.

57 On the artistic and cultural context, see Raimondi, *Codro e l'Umanesimo*; Basile, *Bentivolorum Magnificentia*; Clarke, "Magnificence and the City"; Duranti, *Mai sotto Saturno*.

58 Duranti, "Tra mulini e canali."

Particular emphasis was given to the marriage of his first-born son, Annibale II, who in 1487 married Lucrezia d'Este: the wedding was celebrated with magnificence, giving life to an ephemeral "Renaissance" representation that celebrated the dominant family of Bologna under the eyes of Bolognese citizens and illustrious invited foreigners.⁵⁹

In these same years Giovanni generally maintained a cautious attitude, but at times he was more open to international events: after having temporized because of papal threats, he lined up Bologna in the league against Sixtus IV that was organized after the Pazzi conspiracy, adhering therefore to the traditional axis of his alliances – Milan and Florence – even at the serious risk of making himself an enemy of Rome and the pro-papal elements of the civic oligarchy. Again against the papacy, Bologna found itself in the War of Ferrara of 1482–84 on the side of the Este who had been attacked by Venice. The years following these bellicose events saw the concession of various privileges to Bentivoglio, not only from traditional friends (for example, some Lombard fiefs from Sforza⁶⁰), but also from those who had been his enemies in the field: in 1482 he received the privilege of bearing the coat of arms and cognomen of Aragon from the king of Naples; in 1483 he obtained a military commission from the pope; his second-born son Antongaleazzo, for whom the father deeply desired a cardinal's career, was created apostolic protonotary; in 1485 the pope confirmed on him the privilege of the tax on the *carteselle*.

It is in this context that the most serious challenges occurred in Giovanni's political career: in August 1488 a conspiracy led by members of the Malvezzi family, nemesis of the Bentivoglio,⁶¹ was foiled at the last minute by a tip-off. Giovanni found himself in an extremely dangerous situation. Only two months earlier he had orchestrated a sudden attack on Faenza with the support of Ludovico Sforza, thanks to which he had hoped to complete his expansion into the Romagna. The murder of his son-in-law, Galeotto Manfredi, and the immediately personal intervention by Giovanni and some Milanese troops had, however, offered the Florentines an opportunity for counter-action. For a few days Bentivoglio was a prisoner of Florence and Lorenzo de' Medici humbled Sforza's aims in Faenza and in the Romagna, forcing Giovanni to reassess his own hegemonic dreams.⁶² The timing therefore was favorable for a Malvezzi-

59 Fazion, "Nuptiae Bentivolorum"; Trombetti Budriesi, "Giovanni II," pp. 43–46.

60 Trombetti Budriesi, "Giovanni II," pp. 49–50.

61 On the Malvezzi, partisans until this point of the Bentivoglio, then their greatest internal adversaries, see *Il carteggio*, pp. LX–LXVII; Duranti, "Un compromesso"; for the conspiracy also see Pio, "Aspetti politico-istituzionali," pp. 120–24.

62 On these events, see Pellegrini, *Congiure di Romagna*, pp. 89–142.

led attack on the “tyrant” of Bologna. Traditionally considered the beginning of Giovanni’s decline, the Malvezzi conspiracy should be placed in the context of the attacks on political leaders which characterized the Italian Quattrocento.⁶³ Giovanni crushed the attack harshly and pursued the conspirators who had escaped. The episode, which ended quickly, was then, typically, treated propagandistically: Giovanni wrote reassuring words to friendly courts, minimizing what had happened and emphasizing his own capacity to control what he described as an internal discontent of slight importance, while the anniversary of the conspiracy’s discovery was then celebrated solemnly, almost as proof by ordeal of divine support for the family’s dominion.

Apparently there were no immediate negative consequences, indeed the role of the family seemed to emerge strengthened from the crisis: in the following years Alexander VI confirmed the *capitoli* of Nicholas V and all successive modifications (1492), and the Emperor Maximilian bestowed the privilege of quartering the imperial black eagle on the family coat of arms, the right to strike coins, and named Giovanni II and Annibale II counts palatine. However, the start of the French ventures on Italian soil and the outbreak of the Italian Wars threw the political chessboard of the peninsula into confusion and weakened Bologna’s position: the role that it derived from its strategic position and its alliance with Milan diminished in significance. The cautious attitude that had characterized Bolognese foreign policy in the preceding years did not serve to protect the city from the impact provoked by the invasive French policy.

The new scenario was exacerbated by the campaign of Cesare Borgia in the Romagna. The pope’s son gravely endangered the *libertas* of Bologna between 1500 and 1503: with Borgia’s army at the city gates, the climate became even more tense with the discovery of a conspiracy commanded by the Marescotti, the family that had championed the Bentivoglio *pars* since the time of Annibale I. The Bentivoglio reacted with unheard of violence (apparently instigated by Ginevra and their son Ermete, against the judgement of Giovanni): the conspirators were massacred, leaving alive only the elderly Galeazzo Marescotti, who was present but helpless to stop the devastation of his lineage.⁶⁴ Moreover, the suggestion of an *estimo* that would tax the possessions of citizens as well as rural inhabitants threatened the implicit pact between the oligarchy and Giovanni II.⁶⁵ But for one last time he gathered the endangered city under his leadership, organizing a call to arms and to patriotic sentiment, entrusted to

63 Fubini, “Congiure e stato”; Villard, *Du bien commun*.

64 Pio, “Aspetti politico-istituzionali,” pp. 125-27.

65 De Benedictis, “...Sendo la parte,” pp. 459-60.

members of the family and to citizen-notary-orators for each urban quarter. Of this effort only the oration of Floriano Dolfi survives. From the church of San Domenico, 16 October 1502, Dolfi responded to the papal threats by accusing Alexander VI of wanting to overthrow the civic *libertas* of Bologna as had been legitimately consecrated in the *capitoli* of 1447.⁶⁶ The attack was averted because of the damage inflicted on Cesare Borgia by the conspiracy of the Magione, but it only postponed the inevitable. The new pontiff, Julius II, succeeded in completing what in fact had been in the minds of all the Quattrocento popes: recovering direct rule of the Church over Bologna, which had always evaded full subjection. With spiritual, propagandistic, political, and military weapons, Julius II prepared with precision his triumphal entry into Bologna in November 1506. The city's resistance was weakened by the French army and especially by the fraying by this time of the tie between the elite and its first citizen: Giovanni no longer represented a guarantee for maintaining privilege. The Bentivoglio, in fact, were abandoned. Fleeing in secret from the city, Giovanni took refuge in the Lombard duchy and never returned to Bologna, dying in exile in 1508. His palazzo on Strada San Donato, which had represented the brilliance of a family and ultimately of a city, was sacked by the population and then razed to the ground in 1507.⁶⁷ The destruction of the palazzo and the images of the *signore*, symbols of 40 years of Bentivoglio domination, initiated a *damnatio memoriae* of Giovanni II which in part (partnered with the difficulty of finding first-hand sources) endures even today.

After the precipitous flight of Giovanni II, a government of popular origin was formed, led by 26 *Venti huomini da bene*,⁶⁸ but the entrance into the city of *dominus* Julius II led a few days later to the suspension of self-government. When the pope left Bologna he created, albeit only formally, a Senate of 40 councillors, which included anti-Bentivoglio members, thereby enlarging the civic patriciate. Julius II also re-established the popular magistrates, the *collegi*, restoring on paper the *governo misto* that had been constructed with the *capitoli* of 1447. In this context, an effective role, one destined in successive decades to obtain greater importance, was assigned to peripheral ecclesiastical offices, especially to the legate and provincial treasurer.

Between May 1511 and January 1512, under the leadership of Annibale II and thanks to the help of French troops, the Bentivoglio succeeded in re-entering the city and re-establishing an ephemeral government, structured by

66 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 160-64; Trombetti Budriesi, "Alessandro VI"; Minutelli, "Nota biobibliografica"; and the essay by Angela De Benedictis in this volume.

67 De Benedictis, *Una guerra d'Italia*.

68 Farolfi, *Strutture agrarie*, pp. 41-50.

appointment of 30 *Riformatori*, who adhered to an attempt at a schism promoted by the king of France at a Council of Pisa in March 1512. The re-entry of Julius II in Bologna provoked, in addition to the definitive expulsion of the Bentivoglio family from the city,⁶⁹ the abolition of the Senate of 40 members which the pontiff himself had created a few years earlier. In this way the pope punished the treason of Bologna, subjecting the city to an extremely harsh direct government by magistrates appointed by him (in particular his nephew Orlando Della Rovere and then Francesco Frescobaldi as treasurer of the Church at Bologna).⁷⁰

The election of the pontifical legate Giovanni de' Medici as Pope Leo X (11 March 1513) permitted an easing of tensions in the relations between Bologna and the Holy See. Yet again petitions were presented to the pope, the instrument for negotiating a form of self-government with the sovereign, or better, as synthesized in the petitions, the "*vivere civile*."⁷¹ Leo X restored the Julian Senate, composed formally of 40 members (there were 39 until Clement VII, then 50 from 1590 with Sixtus V).⁷² Again with respect to the *capitoli* of 1447 petitions were presented, and then approved by Pope Hadrian IV in 1522. It was above all during his reign that the contrasts between the Senate – the patriciate – and the popular magistrates were sharpened, with the latter, notwithstanding the privileges granted by Julius II, progressively ousted from any government role.⁷³ From Julius II's pontificate on, the papal legate gained an ever-increasing authority. He was even able to derogate the text of the *capitoli*,⁷⁴ unbalancing in favor of his ecclesiastical governorship the equilibrium which had privileged, at least in part, the Bentivoglio oligarchy in the second half of the 15th century. This process was made explicitly concrete during the pontificates of Clement VII and especially Paul III, who in response to the Bolognese petitions (presented in 1534, then again in 1541 and 1543), strengthened the *auctoritas* of the legate, particularly in the fiscal and jurisdictional spheres.⁷⁵

In the progressive expulsion of the popular components and in the complex defense of its own prerogatives in confrontations with the Holy See, the civic, patrician, and senatorial government of 16th century Bologna took shape.

69 A final, failed attempt at re-entry was made by Giovanni II's sons in the spring of 1522, after the death of Pope Leo X; for subsequent family events, see Duranti, "Tra mulini e canali."

70 Honig, *Bologna e Giulio II*, pp. 58-80; De Benedictis, "Il governo misto," pp. 210-11.

71 As cited in De Benedictis, "Il governo misto," p. 212.

72 *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 2, pp. 314-15.

73 On this theme in particular, see the essay by Angela De Benedictis in this volume.

74 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 207-09.

75 De Benedictis, "Il governo misto," pp. 216-24.

During the 1540s reorganization of the offices charged with administration of the city and *contado* and simultaneously the definition of a system for the distribution of government offices within the patriciate was begun through the creation of *assunterie*, that is, ministries formally reserved to the senators.⁷⁶ This development was not finalized until the first decade of the 17th century, with the crystallization of the offices into eight *assunterie ordinarie* or *di turno*, whose composition was formed each year by rotation, permitting each senator to hold each office once every eight years. Through these *assunterie* – the *Camera*, *Governo*, *Imposte*, *Militia*, *Munitione*, *Ornato*, *Pavaglione*, and *Zecca* – the Senate managed the major functions of the socioeconomic, judicial, and urbanistic life of Bologna. In addition to their formal mandates (e.g., over justice, finance, defense, the mint), each ministry also supervised several guilds and even some charitable institutions. Thus the *Assunteria del Pavaglione* not only was responsible for the annual fair for the buying and selling of silk cocoons, but also for the major textile guilds and the *Opera Pia dei Poveri Mendicanti*.⁷⁷ There was also a variable number of *assunterie* “*di voto*,” often created for particular exigencies, and these offices also lasted a year and were formed by members appointed from among those who already were taking part in the principal *assunterie*.⁷⁸

Thus, by these key developments in the Quattrocento – regulating civic self-government (through the enacting of the communal statutes of 1454), forging a new relationship with the sovereign (the petitions and the on-going requests to renew and redo the *capitoli* of 1447), and forming a governing patriciate (the progressive institutionalization of the *Sedici*, then the Senate, as the governing body of the city) – the elite of Bologna, by now completely *within* the Papal State, had to redefine and accept new characteristics of its own identity in order to gain and retain access to a governing role in a city of the *ancien régime*.⁷⁹

76 De Benedictis, “Patrizi e comunità,” p. 31.

77 Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*, pp. 170–71.

78 Verardi Ventura, “L’ordinamento,” pp. 273–86.

79 For the political events of Bologna in the Cinquecento, see Gardi, *Lineamenti della storia* and De Benedictis, “Il governo misto.”

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Popular Government, Government of the *Ottimati*, and the Languages of Politics: Concord and Discord (1377-1559)*

Angela De Benedictis

In October 1502 Filippo Beroaldo, noted humanist and professor of the Bolognese *studium*,¹ urged Bolognese citizens to unite for the common good (*bene comune*) of the *res publica*, during a crucial period of the “horrendous wars of Italy.” Beroaldo turned to the heads of families in the Porta Piera quarter, gathered together in the church of San Giacomo, and exhorted them to defend their liberty, and that of Bologna, against the imminent attack of Cesare Borgia, supported in this campaign by his father Pope Alexander VI.²

Although this event is recorded in all contemporary chronicles, no text survives of the speech itself. From his other writings we know, however, that his call for union and concord was not a new subject for Beroaldo. He had begun to speak and write on the topic at least from 1491,³ directing his words to civic magistrates as they took office. His “*Oratio ad tribunos plebis*” had been published repeatedly in numerous printed editions of his *Orationes* (one, but not the last one, was published in 1502).⁴ Beroaldo revived a custom: every quarter, when the *popolare* magistracy of the *tribuni della plebe* took office, a speech reminded them of the purpose of their role as they took up administration of the *res publica*. Addressing the tribunes, Beroaldo emphasized their *sacro-sancta potestas* and their role as the most eminent among the magistrates of the people. As a rhetorician and humanist Beroaldo substantiated his praise

* The topics presented in this essay were the subject of my paper “The Popular Government and the Government of the *Ottimati* in Bologna (1392-1559),” held at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Chicago, 3-5 April 2008, as part of the panel “Oligarchic and Popular Government in Italy 1” organized by John Najemy and Christine Shaw.

1 From the rich literature on Beroaldo I cite only the recent monograph by Severi, *Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio*. On humanist and Renaissance culture in Bologna see the essay by Gian Mario Anselmi and Stefano Scioli in this volume.

2 See especially the classic study by Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, p. 126.

3 Beroaldo, “*Oratio ad tribunos plebis*” (1491).

4 Beroaldo, “*Oratio ad tribunos plebis*” (1502). On the numerous editions see Fabrizio-Costa and La Brasca, *Filippo Beroaldo l'Ancien*.

and exhortation with arguments from history. The modern Bolognese tribunes of his time were compared to those of ancient Rome as if they were derived from them; but in his comparison the differences were stronger than the analogies.

Civil discords and internal dissents – Beroaldo declared – were at the origin of the magistracies of ancient Rome. In Bologna, however, jurisprudence, laws, and concord had created the *tribuni della plebe*. In Rome no patrician could be a member of the *tribuni*. In Bologna, in contrast, patricians and *populares* were equally nominated to hold that office. Between the orders of the *plebei* and the *patrici* there was no rancor, conflict, or discord.

Turning to Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Beroaldo continued to underline the differences between the “ancients” and the “moderns.” The Roman tribunes stayed in office for a full year whereas the *bolognesi* were in office for only four months. Another difference was that while the *potestas* in the Roman tribunes was established more in order to limit other powers rather than to give them responsibility for action, the Bolognese tribunes acted in favor of the government of the *res publica* and refrained from doing that which did not fall within their duties.

In order to confirm the superiority of the Bolognese over the Roman tribunes (by number, by composition, by virtue), Beroaldo reminded the civic magistrates of the characteristic tendency of the Romans to enter into conflict with the consuls, just as a long-standing historiographic tradition still represented them.⁵ Given that discord among the orders was poison for the city,⁶ the Bolognese tribunes should not follow that example, but had to maintain concord among themselves and with the other civic magistrates when administering the *res publica*.

In representing discord as a poison for the city, Beroaldo drew on the very core of the speech Livy delivered to the consul Titus Quinctius Capitolinus when Rome was threatened by incursions of the Aequi (446 BC). The fact that Rome’s enemies had been able to arrive that far was only possible because of the discord and eternal conflicts between the patricians and the plebs,⁷ an example not to be followed. It was necessary to always bear in mind the adage of Sallust: “In harmony small things prosper. In conflict the largest are destroyed.”⁸

5 See Pedullà, *Machiavelli in tumulto*, pp. 108–12.

6 “Et quoniam Discordia ordinum venenum esse Civitatum.”

7 Livy, *Ab Urbe condita libri*, 3, 67.

8 Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 10, 6.

The intention, thought, and duty of the tribunes had to be aimed solely at the common good (*publicum commodum*) – Beroaldo continued – in the pursuit of equity and justice; without these qualities, as Saint Augustine wrote, kings were called tyrants, and without them the consensus of the *ottimati* became the will of just a single party (*factio*). Moreover, since the tribunes were magistrates of the people, it was their duty to provide for and defend first and foremost popular and plebian needs.

Resting on the authority of Plato and Aristotle, Beroaldo reminded his audience that the *popularis status* was only one of the various types of a *res publica*. There was the *principatus regius* called a monarchy; there was the government of the *ottimati* called an aristocracy in the Greek fashion; there was oligarchy, the government of a few chosen by wealth; there was “tyrannical” administration. Of these different forms, a role superior to all the others was allocated to the *popularis status*, called a democracy, if and when it proved to be *compositus*, that is, mixed together with the aristocracy. In this *principatus compositus*, the duty of governing and controlling the multitude belonged to the *magistratus* of the Bolognese tribunes, with *magistratus* signifying a rector and moderator. Thus, Beroaldo concluded, the tribunes could be of use and constitute an example for the *res publica* – they could honor and embellish it.⁹

Given the genre to which the *oratio* belongs (an address to the magistrates), it is not surprising that Beroaldo’s speech exhorted the magistrates to remain united and to exercise justice properly as called for by their role.¹⁰ Furthermore, on the one hand he maintained that justice, concord, peace, and the common good were the values (or rather virtues) that uniquely made possible a civilized coexistence – the shared life of a community – just as injustice, discord, war, and private gain, on the other hand, led to the ruin of a community.¹¹ Nor did the fact that “positive” values were being exalted mean that simultaneously the effective existence of their opposites was ignored, as together they equated the normality of a “city divided” (and that Bologna was indeed divided is attested by the conspiracies of the Malvezzi in 1488 and the Marescotti in 1501).¹² If we consider the representation of these problems in their most famous visual form – the frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti known as the *Buon Governo* in the

9 Beroaldo, “Oratio ad tribunos plebis” (1502).

10 For example, the “Orationes ad Priores florentinos” (1498-99) by Mario Salamonio degli Alberteschi and the “Allocuzione a un magistrato” (c.1520) by Niccolò Machiavelli, on which Quagliani has recently written: “Machiavelli, the Prince.”

11 On this problem see the recent essay by Costa, “Bonum commune”; Bruni, *La città divisa*; Zorzi, “Conflitto e costituzione.”

12 See the essay by Tommaso Duranti in this volume and Cucini, “Législation statutaire,” vol. 1, pp. 459-71.

Palazzo Pubblico of Siena – one sees that the centrality of the system of virtues is flanked on one side by the representation of good government and its concrete effects on civic life, and on the other by the representation of bad government and its effects. Whoever occupies a seat where decisions on how to govern are taken is duty-bound to observe those images, reflect on their meaning, and draw conclusions on how to adequately and justly fulfil his *officium*.¹³

The humanist Beroaldo thus presented to the plebeian tribunes of Bologna a value system that humanistic culture had constructed from a long tradition of concepts on civil life (that is, political life), which included the forms of government and the relationship between the *stato degli ottimati* (or aristocracy) and the *stato popolare* (or democracy). In this sense, Beroaldo's oration presents an exemplary introduction to an issue that has been recently raised in the Anglo-American historiography of Renaissance Italy: the relationship between popular and oligarchic governments and their evolution over the 15th and 16th centuries. Christine Shaw has written that in practice "most civic governments in Renaissance Italy were a mixture of popular government and oligarchy,"¹⁴ making repeated reference to Bologna. It is to this experience and to the complexity of the "concord-discord" binomial (the coexistence and conflict between popular and aristocratic governmental structures within the monarchical papal government) that the following pages are dedicated.

The first section of this essay reviews the events and problems that occurred from the establishment of the tribunes to 1502; the second section focuses on the year 1506 in which Pope Julius II "reconquered" Bologna; and the third and final section presents moments of open conflict between the popular and aristocratic governments for which there is documentary evidence (up to 1559).¹⁵

The concept that a city's government could be composed of various "orders" not only corresponded to ideas on politics and forms of government that had long been consolidated, but also was a part of the political experiences of that period in which, although the life cycle of city states had been concluded, legitimacy to govern continued to be evaluated on the basis of the attainment of

13 There are numerous interpretations of the frescos. Here I refer only to the problem as highlighted by Belting, "Das Bild als Text," pp. 47-48. For a recent reading see Boucheron, *Conjurer la peur*.

14 Shaw, *Popular Government*, p. 9.

15 For more on sources and bibliography for this long period, see De Benedictis, "Lo stato popolare di libertà," and Eadem, "Il governo misto."

the common good for the *res publica*.¹⁶ The Bolognese magistracy that Beroaldo called the *tribuni della plebe* was founded with the title *gonfalonieri del popolo*.

Patrick Lantschner has recently described Bolognese political life in the late 14th and early 15th centuries as dominated by a special “volatility” with respect to other Italian cities.¹⁷ During that long period, on one of the numerous occasions of political turmoil in which Bologna tore itself away from (or was torn from) papal rule,¹⁸ – in the middle of the “War of the Eight Saints” between the papacy and Florence, in March 1376 – Bologna successfully rose up against the papal vicar. The motive for this uprising was the misrule of the Cardinal legate Guillaume de Noellet.¹⁹ As soon as the legate was expelled, the legislative *Consiglio* was once again established, composed of 500 men registered in the guilds. To the citizens who constituted the *Consiglio* was assigned the task of identifying the most appropriate form of government for the city that had liberated itself from the excessive power of the legates who followed Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz.

The *Consiglio*, therefore, discussed the foundations of civic life and the outcomes that those who governed the city needed to attain. Pietro di Argelato argued that the *civitas* could only exist if it were based on the three foundations of union, justice, and law, and those who governed must understand this. The notary Tomaso di Pietro Galixi proposed that the new form of government be modelled on the councils of other cities that had a *status popularis*, such as Venice which was ruled by the *magnates de populo* and men *de gentilli seu nobilli progenie* of the city; or Florence, ruled by *homines populares parve conditionis*. Galixi maintained further that the new Bolognese government should be based on “quatuor partes et genera hominum silicet magnates, homines divites populares et doctores, homines medie conditionis et homines de parva conditione,” while Thadeus de Azoguidis counseled that the four sectors comprise four each of “nobiles, [...] doctores, [...] mercatores et [...] alii boni viri populares.”²⁰

A broad government, then, was the only kind that seemed suitable in those times of continuous warfare between *signori* and states. A government of the

16 Ascheri, *Le Città-Stato*.

17 Lantschner, “Justice Contested”; Idem, “The Nourisher of Seditions.”

18 De Benedictis, “Il papa ‘desiderava’.”

19 For this event the study by Vancini, *La rivolta dei bolognesi* is still very useful. The humanist Giovanni Garzoni describes the uprising as “De bello populi bononiensi cum Gregorio undecimo Pontifice Maximo”: Garzoni, *Historiae Bononienses*, pp. 341-56. On that work and the author see Mantovani, “History as Civic Vocation.”

20 Quotations from speeches given in the *Consiglio* meeting are cited in Vancini, “La rivolta dei bolognesi,” pp. 44-46, fn. 2.

popolo was considered the best form of government for large cities. Around 20 years earlier government of the *popolo* – the *regimen ad populum* – was defined by the great jurist Bartolo da Sassoferrato as the form of government more similar to that of God than of man since its goal of the common good motivated the well-organized multitude that governed to prevent the common good from being transformed into private interests.²¹

When the notary Tomaso di Pietro Galixi asserted that the popular state of Bologna ought to be a mixture of the Venetian and Florentine practices, he was also fully aware of how difficult the collaboration among the four social sectors that constituted the government in Bologna would be. Everyone governed as he pleased, according to Galixi, leading him to conclude that “no pauper or man of low condition should associate with a magnate, since rarely does a magnate keep the faith with his associate.”²² In order to give an effective picture of the consequences that resulted from the co-presence of magnates and men of low position in the same government, Galixi turned to Aesop’s fable about the heifer, the goat, the sheep, and the lion: through his superior power over the other three animals, the lion did not honor the agreements he made with them.²³

For a short period following the expulsion of the papal legates, a government of the *popolo*, which had excluded the nobles, was indeed in power (the Bolognese experience took place essentially at the same time as that of Florence, following the Revolt of the Ciompi). The office par excellence of the short-lived Bolognese *signoria del popolo e delle arti* was filled by the *gonfalonieri del popolo* and the *massari delle arti* (together known as the *collegi*). The *gonfalonieri* and *massari* were to defend, preserve, uphold, and maintain the *res publica* in a *popolare*, peaceful, and quiet state of liberty during the four months they were in office. The duty of defending the city and organizing its defense fell to the *gonfalonieri* in particular, whereas the *massari* were charged with upholding the “state of liberty.” The qualities of the “good,” the “pacific,” and the “state of the people and of liberty” upheld by the *gonfalonieri*, *massari*, and *anziani e consoli* were written into the preface of the new civic statutes, drafted between 1376 and 1378 and later approved when Bologna had already returned to the Church.²⁴

21 Quaglioni, “Regimen ad populum.”

22 “Nullus pauper vel homo parve condicionis debeat se associare cum homine magnate, quia de raro esset quo homo magnatus teneret fidem socio.”

23 Vancini, *La rivolta dei bolognesi*, p. 46, fn. 1.

24 *Gli Statuti del comune di Bologna*.

In 1382 Urban VI agreed to recognize the *stato di libertà* of the *bolognesi* thanks to the jurist Giovanni da Legnano who held the vicariate of the city until 1383.²⁵ After 1383, however, a new situation of extreme tension and very difficult governability arose that could not be modified even by the concession of the vicariate to the *anziani e consoli*. It then seemed absolutely necessary to reform the *stato popolare e di libertà*. This task was entrusted in December 1393 to a new magistracy – the *Riformatori dello stato di libertà*,²⁶ a *balia* composed of 16 members, defined and desired by the *anziani* and the *collegi* who gave it the authority to issue measures with the same validity as the general *Consiglio*. The *arbitrium super bono et pacifico statu civitatis* was thus passed from the *gonfalonieri* and the *massari* to the *Riformatori*. The *balia* was intended to be extraordinary and in power for only one year, however it became *de facto* permanent since it was constantly renewed throughout the intricate and complex first half of the 15th century with its continuous conflicts (discords) between sections and factions for supremacy in the government. The *Sedici Riformatori* thus became the office that constituted the “government of the *ottimati*” – the aristocratic government of the city.

In August 1447, when the concordat between Bologna and Nicholas V put an end to the long and complex negotiations that had taken place over the government of the city and its *contado*, the pope recognized the roles of the *gonfalonieri del popolo* and the *massari delle arti* without modification of the requests made, as also had been done for the role of the *anziani e consoli*. They were to govern together with the legate: the civic officials could not legislate without the consent of the legate, and vice versa. There was also provision for the participation of the *Sedici* within the civic government, but the pope expressed considerable reservation regarding the requests put forward on the election of successors and their role in the selection of the legate. The civic government was thus composed of the *Sedici* (the government of the *ottimati*) and the *gonfalonieri del popolo* with the *massari delle arti* (the popular government), who could meet and hold deliberations only with the consent of the legate, representative of the papal monarchy (the monarchic government). The rule of the *ottimati* and the monarchic government was recognized as superior to that of the popular government, in the sense that election of the

25 In his treatise on war da Legnano considered the problem of rebellion/resistance: see the annotations by Lantschner, “Revolts and the Political Order.”

26 On this development the study by Tamba is fundamental, *Il regime*. A synthesis especially incisive for the period 1378-1507 is that by Milani, *Bologna*, pp. 56-66.

anziani, gonfaloniere di giustizia, gonfalonieri del popolo, and massari delle arti was the duty of the *Sedici* and the legate.²⁷

Despite having identified the *Sedici* of Bologna as “tyrants,”²⁸ Pope Paul II bestowed permanent terms on them and gave a predominant role within that magistracy to Giovanni II Bentivoglio. Over approximately 70 years the *balìa* that had initially been extraordinary and elected by the popular government had become a life-long office that elected the officials of popular government.

What, then, was left to the popular government, particularly to the *gonfalonieri del popolo* and the *massari delle arti*, who nonetheless continued to be a part of civic government? What role did they play in a political landscape in which the violent conflictual system from the late-14th and the first half of the 15th century had been partially absorbed and neutralized with the 1447 concordat?²⁹

For the period from 1447 to our initial point of departure, 1502, both archival and chronicle sources can be described as particularly reticent on this matter. Little is known beyond the substantially regular election every four months of the *collegi* of the *gonfalonieri del popolo* and the *massari delle arti*. There are traces of a possible conflict over jurisdiction between the *Sedici* and the *collegi* that is confirmed for 1468 and contradicted the following year by a notice from the then governor, Giovan Battista Savelli, who conferred on the *collegi* adequate *potestas* and *iurisdictio* in order that the *gonfalonieri* and *massari* could take action on the crimes and offences that came to their attention as they patrolled the streets and talked to people in the city.³⁰ From that time on the office of the *collegi* came to be called an *ufficio da honore*, and was listed as such alongside the *anziani e consoli* and the *Sedici*, in a register in which all the offices of the *comune* were divided into either *uffici da honore* or *uffici da utile*.

In 1496 the *gonfalonieri del popolo* of the last quarter of the year passed a resolution that gave their office the name that Beroaldo had used for them five years earlier – *tribuni della plebe* – and also adopted a new coat of arms so that their honor and dignity would be recognized and observed. The resolution was based on the authority of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and the *Corpus iuris canonici*. One can hypothesize that the noted jurist and humanist Lodovico Bolognini played a part in drafting the resolution, since in that quarter he sat among the *gonfalonieri/tribuni*. The popular magistrates of Bologna decided, with the

27 On the *capitoli* of Nicholas V see De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 107–36 and the essays by Andrea Gardi and Tommaso Duranti in this volume.

28 Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*.

29 Lantschner, “Revolts and the Political Order,” p. 36.

30 Cucini, “Législation statutaire,” vol. 1, pp. 256–57.

consent of the *Sedici* and by unanimous resolution that every attendant and officer of each of the 16 tribunes had to carry a hatchet (as in the fasces of the Roman lictors), which was deemed indispensable for the present and future splendor of the magistracy, not least as a worthy ornament of the sacrosanct and wide-reaching power of the tribunes. As declared in the resolution, in a densely populated city like Bologna magistrates should not and must not be lost in the crowd as they had been up to that point, walking among the population without a coat of arms. It could not continue to be the case that due honor not be shown to magistrates, or indeed that magistrates be the object of contempt and mockery.³¹ Nothing further on this topic can be found in the sources, but perhaps one can hypothesize that two years into the “horrendous wars of Italy,” the necessity of facing a possible future danger to the common good of the *stato di libertà* motivated the government of the *ottimati* to uphold the honor and dignity of the popular government.

In 1502 Bologna was at war, and while Cesare Borgia threatened Bologna with his army, Alexander VI used against Bologna the extra power of spiritual weapons that only the pontifical ruler had at his disposal: excommunication and interdict. By this time, the use of such weapons had become a custom for Renaissance popes.³² Whereas excommunication could strike the individual *signore* in power at the time, normally identified as a tyrant (in Bologna at this time it was Giovanni II Bentivoglio), the devastating power of the interdict had an impact on all of the inhabitants of the city. Bologna had already, and on more than one occasion, felt its consequences over the course of the 14th and early 15th century, on each of the not few times that Bologna “withdrew” from the Church. Unlike the situation in Florence,³³ the numerous interdicts imposed on Bologna, until now, has not aroused the interest of historians. It is, however, a problem to which it would be worth employing old and new methodologies – both interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary.

As of now, we know that the city’s reaction to the interdict Alexander VI hurled against Bologna in 1502 was quite unanimous (and the sources are in agreement on this point): a willingness for armed resistance, which was certainly pressed for in the arguments and vigor of the speeches delivered in each of the four quarters of the city by Filippo Beroaldo (as discussed above), Bonifacio Fantuzzi, doctor of civil law, the knight Virgilio Ghislieri (who, furthermore, was from a family traditionally hostile to the Bentivoglio), and the

31 De Benedictis, “Identità politica.”

32 De Benedictis, “Abbattere i tiranni.”

33 The study by Richard Trexler on the effects of the 1376 interdict and those following until 1511 remains essential: Trexler, *The Spiritual Power*.

canon legist Floriano Dolfi. The text of Dolfi's speech has survived, published in 1900 with no indication of the original,³⁴ but its contents correspond to summaries recorded by contemporary or marginally later chroniclers. Within the discourse are many of the arguments used by more than one jurist to defend Florence from the interdict launched by Sixtus IV against the city following the Pazzi conspiracy.³⁵ One again finds a pressing call for unity in order to combat the common enemy; an exhortation made, however, with full and explicit knowledge of the existence of discordant positions among the *bolognesi* themselves. One part of the city was said to maintain that "giving aid to this holy work" was the task only of the "nobles and magnates of the land, who held the governance, offices, and *utilitadi* in the *Camera* (finance office) of Bologna" and not of the "citizens who do not hold office, or only on rare occasions, from this community." But the need for the defense of all citizens, "sweet liberty," and the health of the "state" established in 1447 meant that every possible objection would have to be overcome.³⁶

The danger in 1502 was overcome, but the same problem arose again – in a much more serious form – four years later with the successor to Alexander VI, the "warrior pope" Julius II.³⁷ On this occasion, like the previous one, Giovanni II Bentivoglio had refused to go to Rome to clear himself of accusations of bad governance. Once again, in Bologna explicit positions had been taken (whether spontaneous or not) in favor of Giovanni and the Bentivoglio. The climate of war and the open declarations of the pope motivated the forging of a common front.

The chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata noted a significant episode on 8 September. It was a day on which the entry into office of the *gonfalonieri del popolo/tribuni della plebe* was marked by civic ritual. At the time the papal deputy presented the usual oration, exhorting the officials to remain united and exercise good judgement as was their duty. Following the customary meal taken together with the *anziani e consoli*, at which the deputy was present, the jurist member of the office of the *gonfalonieri/tribuni*, Ercole Bolognetti, responded to the speech by the deputy. Bolognetti reprised the exhortation to unity, but used it to express hope for loyalty to the house of Bentivoglio, urging the *collegi* to "put their wealth and sons in defense of this [house]" and spurring them to be united in order to "weaken the enemies and overcome the arrogant, who want

34 Dolfi, *Orazione in difesa*; De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 162-64; Trombetti Budriesi, "Alessandro VI."

35 For the vast literature on this topic, see De Benedictis, "Abbattere i tiranni."

36 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 163-64.

37 Shaw, *Julius II* and the very recent work by Massimo Rospocher, *Il papa guerriero*.

to upset their state, and many people.”³⁸ A short while later the papal deputy called Bolognetti aside and told him “that he must be ignorant, or mad” to utter such a speech in his presence. Speaking of “wanting to overcome the arrogant” could only be a reference to the pope, who, however, “was not arrogant, but wanted to come to his own House.” On hearing the reprimand directed at Bolognetti, other *gonfalonieri* began “to say other mad words against the deputy” and to threaten him. The situation might have become difficult had it not been for the intervention of one of the *gonfalonieri*, Tommaso Grengoli, who attempted to calm the others, and then told the deputy that “this was a customary oration, presented almost by rote” and that during celebrations “one spoke of the honor and glory of the house of Bentivoglio.”

That same day, and again on 14 September, the *gonfalonieri del popolo* together with the *massari delle arti*, the *collegio dei dottori dello studio*, and the *società dei notai*, told the ambassador of the pope, Cardinal Antonio del Monte, that “they wanted no other government than that of the Bentivoglio” since they had always maintained *buona giustizia* and kept “this land for 50 years in good peace and tranquility, and the entire population was utterly content.” Everything that had been told to the pope against the Bentivoglio family was entirely the result of malicious gossip.

Nevertheless, the following day Antonio del Monte confirmed the order of Julius II to the Bentivoglio. Should the pope’s command not be carried out, then Bologna should expect “excommunications, interdicts, and damnation.” The papal ambassador was set to leave Bologna for Rome on 16 September. At the time of his departure, the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* Angelo Ranuzzi, had the *gonfaloniere del popolo* Tommaso Grengoli express an objection to the announced excommunications and interdicts. The objection was based on the opinion of Giovanni Campeggi, jurist and doctor of the *studium*, who had been consulted on the merits of the matter. At the same time, a request was made to suspend the measures that had been announced until the Bolognese ambassadors reached the pope. Del Monte granted the suspension, and then left.³⁹

Although there is no doubt that a good number of people thought that the behavior of Giovanni II and many of his house had been, particularly in recent years, and continued to be, tyrannical, the position of the various governing sectors of citizens – including the *popolari* – was unanimous. Appeals against

38 For the quotations from Dalla Tuata in the following section, see De Benedictis, *Una guerra d'Italia*, pp. 52-56.

39 No trace remains of Campeggi’s opinion, however the *consilium* drafted by Giovanni Crotto, another jurist and professor of the *studio* has survived (De Benedictis, *Una guerra d'Italia*, pp. 115-21).

the sentence of Julius II's issuance of excommunications, interdict, and damnation were presented to the pontifical deputy, to the vicar of the bishop, to the Apostolic See, to the future pope, to the council. Right up until the publication of the interdict, the *popolo* sought to inform the pope that he should not place Bologna under an interdict since "what he was given to understand was false." The very same day this opinion was expressed through a speech by the *procuratore sindaco* of the *Camera*, Tommaso Grengoli, as part of his response to the query posed to him by the *gonfaloniere di giustizia* when the papal ambassador Antonio Del Monte had left Bologna a month earlier. Grengoli asserted "how the pope, wanting to interdict and excommunicate this land, could not do so with justification." This veritable and legally argued defense also had the purpose of protecting the population from fear: "they did this so that the population would not become alarmed by the interdict." Fileno dalla Tuata, upon whose chronicle the above account is based, was one of the 12 witnesses called to attend the formal protest in the *Camera*.⁴⁰

The achieved concord could not, however, last for long. During the difficult and tumultuous months in the late summer and autumn of 1506, the double war of Julius II and the French against Bologna put to the test both the *res publica* composed of "aristocracy" and "democracy" and the *res publica* composed of papal and civic governments based on the *capitoli* of 1447. At a certain point the discord between the *ottimati* and the *popolari* manifested itself with such virulence that it led, once again, after a lapse of more than two centuries since 1377, to a solely popular government (as was the case in other Italian cities from the outset of the wars of Italy). Giovanni II having fled, a government of "20 men of substance" (*venti huomini da bene*) replaced the *Sedici* who were judged to be entirely incapable of defending *lo stato popolare di libertà*. It was, however, an exceptionally short-lived government – lasting only around ten days.⁴¹

The liberator of Bologna from the tyranny of the Bentivoglio,⁴² the "conqueror" Julius II, initially suspended all forms of civic government – therefore also the popular government – in order to make himself not only the sovereign, but also the only governor of the city. The government of the *ottimati* and the Senate of 40 councillors, and also the popular magistrates were reinstated – at

40 De Benedictis, *Una guerra d'Italia*, p. 68.

41 De Benedictis, *Una guerra d'Italia*, pp. 129–33.

42 An acute observer of that war, Niccolò Machiavelli (see De Benedictis, *Una guerra d'Italia*, pp. 23–26 and passim; Cutinelli-Rendina, "Machiavelli e Giulio II") did not always speak of the Bentivoglio as mass tyrants. For one side of this issue, see Irace, "Bologna," pp. 186–87, and for the other, Fournel and Zancarini, "Tirannide," p. 614.

least in name – while the pope remained in Bologna. In February 1507, when the pope was about to return to Rome, the risk that the city might be subjected to an exclusively monarchical government (that of the cardinal legate as an alter ego of the pope) led to a renewed concord between the aristocratic and popular governments, albeit momentarily. The common good was then represented by the *stato di libertà* which the *bolognesi* had lost since Julius II's entrance into Bologna, and which they now wanted returned to them. A concord was reached by the pope, the Senate, and the *collegi* according to which the Senate, together with the legate, were to govern, protect, and defend the city, its people, and the rights of the Roman Church.

In substance, then, this agreement once more established a government of dual composition, yet with a fundamental difference compared to the preceding period – the role of effective government of the legate and, subsequently, of the Roman Curia with its old and new articulations; two political actors, two institutions whose presence in civic government was to determine, over the course of the next 50 years, the definitive submission of popular to aristocratic government.

That outcome, however, was not foreseen. The more direct presence of the papal monarchy and the diverse quality of its political action compared to the preceding period of the Bentivoglio *signoria* led to the hope and belief that the popular government could play a role almost equal to that of the aristocracy. But the papal monarch never intended to sustain those hopes, and supported them only fleetingly and for political opportunity. Discord prevailed over concord and the conflicts were recurring and severe.

Between 1508 and 1510, when Julius II was absent from Bologna, the aristocratic and popular governments shared a common front, for the common good of the people, against the private interests of high-level Roman clergy in the management of the abbey of Santi Naborre e Felice. Two prestigious institutions of civic *charitas*⁴³ paid the costs of bending to these private interests: the San Giovanni Battista pesthouse and the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte. When Francesco Soderini, Cardinal of Volterra, received the right from the pope to succeed to the possessions of the abbey of Santi Naborre e Felice in 1510 – a right that the Bolognese Senate had also expected to receive – a long and complex legal case began in the Roman tribunals that rendered impossible any concord between the Bolognese Senate and the *collegi*.⁴⁴

43 Terpstra, "Republics by Contract"; Idem, "Republicanism, Public Welfare"; Idem, *Cultures of Charity*.

44 Sneider, "Ai Collegi."

Both the Senate and the *collegi* petitioned Julius II not to allow the Roman *Rota* to transfer to itself, from the Bolognese ordinary courts, the jurisdiction of any first and second-degree lawsuits regarding Bologna. Julius II did not reply to the Senate. Instead he replied to the *collegi*, which had also sent him other petitions, after the *collegi* succeeded in arming the people against the French troops that were threatening Bologna, where Julius II had returned in September 1510. With a bull dated 22 November 1510, the pope granted the petitions presented by the *collegi* on fiscal matters and on the administration of justice; on the observance of the general statutes of the city and of the *Foro dei Mercanti*; on having the strongholds in the *contado* reserved to the citizens; on bestowing ecclesiastical benefits from the city and diocese of Bologna only on its citizens or the sons of its citizens, despite the Senate having ruled differently. The pope conceded all these *grazie* because of the devotion and fidelity of the Bolognese people. The concessions were to be inviolate – as the bull specified – and observed so that there would be a *vim contractus* between the pope and the community of Bologna.

As was the custom at that time, the public was notified of the contents of the bull from the rooms of the Palazzo Pubblico. The event was recorded in contemporary chronicles as well as by some authors of the following generation. All bear witness to the great tension existing between the Senate and the *collegi* due to the fact that the papal bull was addressed only to the *collegi* and not to the Senate.

On their own part, the *collegi* decided to commemorate the pope's preferential treatment of them in an everlasting and indelible way: a summary of the contents of the papal bull can still be read today, inscribed in golden letters in the marble of one of the many inscriptions found in the basilica of San Petronio, the temple founded at the end of the 14th century by the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* and the site par excellence of "civic religion." Overlooking the "*memoria*" (as it was termed by a contemporary chronicler), was the coat of arms of the pope himself.⁴⁵ The popular government laid all their cultural memory and hope for its capacity for political action in that monument/memorial of 1510, and did so for the following 40 years, even during the long period of the wars of Italy.

From 1517 to 1518 the age-old dispute from Rome over the management of the properties of the abbey of Santi Naborre e Felice and the administration of the San Giovanni Battista pesthouse led to open conflict between the Senate and the *collegi*. The *collegi* would not compromise their position in favor of the Cardinal commendator of the abbey and accused the agents of the Senate at

45 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 191-92; Eadem, "Identità politica," pp. 40-44.

Rome of having operated in their own name and not in the interest of the poor victims of the plague. The Senate in turn described the behavior of the *collegi* as "seditious." This conflict between the Senate and the *collegi* was only extinguished by an agreement between the two parties advanced by the vice-legate Fieschi, when it was established that the abbey should be governed according to a procedure that demanded collaboration among the Senate, the legate, and the *collegi*.⁴⁶

In 1522 Hadrian VI was elected pope and the Bolognese Senate sent him the customary embassy of obedience and also presented him with the usual petitions requested of each new pontiff concerning the government of the city and the *contado*. However, according to the *collegi*, the contents of some of the petitions contrasted with the concessions granted to them in 1510 by Julius II. They therefore decided to follow the principle that allowed anyone to appeal to the prince if a violation to acquired rights occurred. In March 1523 they sent their own ambassador to the pope with their own series of petitions. One of their petitions, based on the principle that "no one should be able to sit on two tribunals," asked that no senator be permitted to serve as *gonfaloniere del popolo*. The Senate, on its part, defined the ambassador of the *collegi* as only a "*popolare*" and the petitions as "seditious."⁴⁷ The *collegi* were accused of "wanting to make two heads in the city" and promoting "great things to the *popolazzo*." The protests of the *collegi* that they did not seek to oppose the Senate but only to pursue the *bene commune de la patria* were of no avail. Hadrian VI was initially inclined to reply to the petitions of the *collegi* and appointed a special congregation of cardinals for that purpose. But then, in the face of open pressure from the Senate, he did not do so. In May 1523 the ambassador of the *collegi* left Rome without having received any reply from the pope.⁴⁸

An analogous situation arose again around thirty years later. The Senate and *collegi* separately turned to Julius III, in open conflict with each other, over the method of payment of the *Sussidio Triennale*. When, towards the end of 1552, the difficult negotiations between the Senate and the papacy came to an end, the terms of the agreement were not accepted by the *collegi*. The Senate maintained that the position of the *popolari* constituted a "very great wrong": the *collegi* planned "a bundle of many exorbitant things, put into play by people who under the pretext of the common good, planned other things for themselves." Furthermore, the tribunes and the *massari* had once more advanced

46 Sneider, "Ai Collegi."

47 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 206-07.

48 For the following account, see Ciuccarelli, "Giustizia o sedizione?"

the proposal of keeping their own ambassador in Rome, at the expense of the guilds, in order to protect the Bolognese *popolo* whenever their rights as contained in the statutes might be damaged. The proposal was rejected. For the Senate this effort by the *collegi* demonstrated that they were trying "to claim more authority than was their due or was fitting to that office, wishing to govern and give laws to their superiors." The *popolari* needed to be warned not to issue laws.

One year later, however, the tribunes and the *massari* demonstrated their dissent with even greater force. They formalized their requests in 11 petitions to be presented to Julius III. The Senate considered the petitions as an attempt "to stir up the plebs and seize the good will of the people" and act deliberately "against the authority of our own Magistrate." Julius III was informed by the legate Innocenzo del Monte of the intentions of the popular magistrates, and immediately made clear his response, dismissing "all the *capitoli* of the said *collegi*, and parties, and anything else done by them on these matters, as things that are outside their office and jurisdiction." On 26 December 1552 a papal brief revoked and condemned as detrimental to the city "various resolutions in part extravagant, in part scandalous" that had been approved by the *collegi* without the necessary participation of their superiors.

The unresolved open conflict between the patricians and the *popolari* resurfaced once again in June 1555, on the occasion of the customary embassy of obedience sent by the Senate to the new pope Paul IV with the usual presentation of petitions. Three well-known citizens urged the *collegi* to send ambassadors to Rome in order to liberate the people from the "tyranny" of the Senate, and offered personally to find the money for this undertaking. Then, on 13 June, during the solemn procession of Corpus Domini, Count Vincenzo Gozzadini, probably urged on by the other three, approached the popular magistrates shouting "do not let the *signori* murder your people, help them, defend them, and uphold their protection." He also accused the senators of being "gluttons" (*mangiaroni*).

The final intense conflict between the Senate and the *collegi*, which took place between 1555 and 1559, centered around the question of the end-of-term review (*sindacato*) of officials,⁴⁹ in particular the syndication of Camillo Giordano, the auditor of the criminal tribunal (the *Torrone*). Initially the aristocratic and popular parties were in agreement against the positions and decisions of the legate and Curia: they concurred that the civic statutes had not been respected in Giordano's syndication. Indeed, the Senate worked to release from prison one of the tribunes who had orchestrated a clamorous

49 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 222-23; Ciuccarelli, "Giustizia o sedizione?"

protest on the matter. But the *collegi*, despite the release of the tribune, made "a great outcry" and made clear their desire to send their own ambassadors to Rome to ask for a legitimate syndication of Giordano. The Senate, however, understanding that nothing would be gained from Rome, decided to defer action. This was the situation in 1555-56, but the issue returned with increased vigor three years later.⁵⁰

At the beginning of 1559 the recurrent abuses perpetrated by the judges and officials of the *Torrone*, both in sentencing and in the management of monetary penalties, forced the Senate to charge the Bolognese ambassador to Rome with asking the pope for legitimate syndications of tribunal magistrates. However, the *collegi* decided instead to present 11 petitions to the pope, recalling once again the concession made by Julius II in 1510.

The Senate believed the powerful noble family of the Pepoli was responsible for the *collegi's* action (one member of that family was a tribune) and accused that family of wanting "to ingratiate themselves with the *popolo minuto*" in order "to [be] dominant in this city, and to be superior to all the other *gentil-huomini*." The petitions of the *collegi* repeated, furthermore, the request that no senator be a member of the popular magistracies. To the Senate, the motivation behind the petition was extremely clear, and was, in a way, an echo of the discussions that had taken place within the *Consiglio del cinquecento* in 1376 "in which at that time the major part were merchants and artisans, who in their differing opinions could not be compared to them [the senators] and who through reverence yielded in a way that was damaging to the people." For the senators, this request signified an attempt "to delegitimize the [Senate of the] 40 as the pillar and nerve center of the state."

In their petitions, then, the *collegi* asked once again to be able to elect one of their representatives every year who would audit the accounts of the *Camera*. In addition, they claimed the possibility of sending their own orators to Rome at the expense of the civic *Camera*. The senators, however, believed that the pope ought not to concede that their authority be limited to requests of the tribunes: the majority of them were artisan "fools" (*idiotti*). Many of them were "new citizens who do not have any love for the ruler or the *patria*." The senators' position prevailed: their authority was not limited and furthermore, the *collegi* did not obtain any representative to check the accounts of the civic *Camera*.

At the same time as the wars of Italy were coming to a conclusion, the deep-rooted conflicts (discords) that had provided a counterpoint to the relationship

50 The following section is based on Ciuccareli, "Giustizia o sedizione?," especially pp. 132-34.

between the governments of the *ottimati* and the *popolares* seem to have yielded to a general concord between those sectors. A government composed of aristocracy and democracy (even if not in equal measure) within the monarchical papal principality ended only in 1796, when – following the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy – the temporal government of the pope over Bologna (and elsewhere) fell momentarily.

Between 1377 and 1559 the popular government of the *tribuni della plebe* and the *massari delle arti* was seen both as an institution and guarantor of concord as well as the authority responsible for civic discord; as aiming for the common good but also as acting as the bearer of one party's purely private interests. As Isenmann has noted in other European cities, Bolognese popular government was one of the constitutional and social orders competing for the common good, and when conflicts arose between those orders, "the good of the smaller and subordinate community [was] qualified as 'private.'"⁵¹ During the period analyzed in this essay (1552-59), this was particularly evident in the judgement that the Senate gave to the action of the *tribuni* and *massari*. And this was the judgement totally accepted and made its own by the papacy. In this sense concord and discord between the governments of the *ottimati* and the *popolares* in a city of the Papal State also constituted one of the multiple modalities (not only factional) through which conflict continued to characterize political life. Still, it is only in this sense that one can speak of a "civic republicanism" in late medieval and Renaissance Bologna analogous to that in German cities,⁵² since, as is well-known, 16th-century Bologna was not able to experience and practice similar instances of religious reform (nor were any other Italian cities able to do so).

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⁵¹ See Isenmann, "The notion of the Common Good," pp. 123-29 and p. 118 for the quotation.

⁵² Schilling, "Civic Republicanism in Late Medieval and Early Modern German Cities."

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Making of an Oligarchy: The Ruling Classes of Bologna

Andrea Gardi

At the close of the 13th century almost a quarter of the Bolognese population normally exercised political rights; at the end of the 16th century only a group of 50 principal families possessed them. This essay shows how, in the long passage from a citizen-state to full integration into the papal principate, changes in society produced a local ruling group that became ever more oligarchical and, in fact, hereditary, ending by formally constituting a civic nobility. The political effects of social transformations are analyzed: who arrived at the vertex of society and local power, how they arrived there, and how they decided to resolve the problem of access and replacement within the ruling group. The chronological framework extends from 1376, when during the general revolt against Gregory XI an autonomous commune under popular leadership was established at Bologna, to 1590, when Sixtus V imposed on the city a broadening of the civic council and definitively regulated access to its membership. At every point the political goals that motivated the various actors are considered – those of the urban corporations (guilds), who served as custodians of the ideology and practices of broad communal government; those of the greater families, who led the transition towards an oligarchical regime; and those of the princes (the dukes of Milan and above all the popes) who at various times rendered their own sovereignty effective in the city and sought the support of local and faithful interlocutors and representatives.¹

The challenges facing a work of this type are many. In the first place, the turbulent period at the turn of the 14th century (and the same holds true for much of the Cinquecento) has not yet been studied sufficiently, not even enough to establish the simple succession of events. We still lack in-depth knowledge of Bolognese economic life and especially the conditions and events that affected the principal families. The presence of strong currents of

¹ For Bolognese political events and institutions, see the essays by Giorgio Tamba, Giuliano Milani, Tommaso Duranti, and Angela De Benedictis in this volume. For the issue of oligarchy in the late Duecento and early Trecento: Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 69-133; Giansante, “Ancora magnati e popolani.”

social mobility, upward and downward, often interwoven with the twists and turns of civil conflicts, makes it difficult to identify with precision the boundaries between various groups and the place of individuals and families within them. Theoretical reflections from the Bolognese Renaissance on the actions of its protagonists are few, and therefore political alignments must be derived above all from actual practice. Another major obstacle to writing a history of the upper classes of Bologna between the Trecento and Cinquecento is the significance given by contemporary narrative sources to the competition between the factions that coalesced under the greater families (the Scacchesi, Maltraversi, Raspanti, Caneschi, Bentivoleschi, Malvezziiani), as if a focus on those factions presented a complete portrayal of local political life. In reality, the factions were a destabilizing element, provoking civil conflicts and institutional breakdowns. Constituting vertical solidarities branching into the guilds, the lower classes, and the *contado*, they still did not express the totality of Bolognese politics, in which both the guilds and the families unattached to the principal alliances operated. Finally, it is difficult but necessary to avoid dating the identification of social phenomena prematurely: the birth of a civic nobility at Bologna occurred only at the end of the Cinquecento when the popes made noble status concomitant with exclusive enjoyment of the highest communal offices. That act, however, is only the conclusion of a long formative period in which such exclusivity was affirmed only gradually in practice. Accompanied by the search for other signs of social distinction, the concept of a civic nobility entered the collective consciousness and gave rise to some theorizations and to the first and partial normative statements. Two centuries of travail were needed to pass from a changeable group of *divites populares* or “notable citizens” to the exclusive 50 *ex Nobilioribus Familijs* [...] *Cives* selected by the pope to sit in the communal council.²

In order to identify the pathways of this institutional and social change, it is necessary to review the existing historiography, integrating it with an examination of the principal chronicles and, where possible, with tracts that specifically treat the theme of the Bolognese patriciate, and finally with the normative sources directed to citizenship and the urban nobility. In this way it is possible to follow the natural process that flows from the formation of a common mentality (attested by the chroniclers), to theorization, and finally to its translation

2 For the transition between the 14th and 15th centuries: Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, and his essay in this volume; Tamba, *Il regime* (p. 12 for the first definition of the Bolognese ruling class, dated to 1376); Di Mattiolo, *Cronaca bolognese* (p. 63 for the second definition, dated to 1400). The last definition (1590) is from *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 2, p. 387.

into statutory terms, sumptuary dispositions, and council deliberations that politically acknowledge and canonize the changes in society.

Between 1376 and 1443 Bologna underwent a difficult period of political restructuring. After recovery of its autonomy as a popular commune (albeit under pontifical sovereignty), local political life was threatened by the rivalry between principal factions. Cardinal legate Anglic de Grimoard described the situation in 1371 thusly:

The *bolognesi* were divided at first, one part called the party of the Geremei or Guelfs, the other the Lambertazzi or the Ghibellines; the Ghibellines then were driven out and almost exterminated, after some time some powerful men rose from the *popolo*, one part of whom, while remaining *popolani*, united with certain nobles, and was called the party of the Scacchesi, which today is also called the party of the Pepoli, which party was expelled by another party of popular notables and some nobles, which today is called the party of the Maltraversi [until 1328, when it was called back again to the city]. [...] The Ghibelline party has almost totally failed, and one can take little notice of it. The party of the Pepolesi surpasses the other party twofold in wealth, friendships, and persons.³

He then advised his successor to conduct himself with absolute impartiality in governance of the city.⁴ The French cardinal thus clearly indicates the sociopolitical players on the Bolognese stage at the end of the Trecento. *Nobiles* and *populares* existed, but the popular *potentes* were united with nobles to form inter-class parties; at first those of the Guelfs and Ghibellines; then after the triumph of the former, those of the Scacchesi and Maltraversi, that is, respectively the powerful clientele network of the Pepoli family and those of its opponents, who expelled each other when they succeeded in controlling the commune. The important social actors are therefore the same as those of the preceding century: the nobles (who, as deduced from the narrative sources,

3 "Bononienses fuerunt primo divisi, quorum una pars appellata fuit pars Gerementium sive Guelforum, alia Lambertationum sive Gebelinorum: Expulsis autem et quasi exterminatis Gebelinis, post aliqua tempora surrexerunt quidem potentes in populo, populares tamen, quorum una pars iuncta quibusdam nobilibus appellata est pars Scachsiorum [*sic*], que et hodie dicitur pars Pepulorum, que pars fuit expulsa per aliam partem notabilium popularium et quorundam nobilium, que hodie appellatur pars Maltraversorum [...]. Pars Gebellinorum quasi totaliter defecit, et de ipsa modicum est curandum. Pars Pepolensium in duplo superat partem aliam quoad divicias, amicitias et personas." *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis*, vol. 2, p. 528.

4 On Grimoard see: Gardi, "Il mutamento," p. 390.

were essentially the old and weakened feudators and *domini loci* of the mountains); the *populares*, organized into the guilds; and the greater rich families of popular extraction whose members were defined traditionally as “magnates.” At the end of the Trecento the magnates were more often called *grandi* or *potentes* and, after the signorial experience of mid-century, were no longer discriminated against in local political life and enjoyed ties with foreign princes.⁵

Institutional order was the first problem faced by the refounded republic. A few months after the recovery of civic autonomy, in the *Consiglio generale* of 30 October 1376, the notary Tommaso Galisi declared that Bolognese society was divided into “magnates, doctores et populares divites, homines medie conditionis” and “homines de parva conditione vel pauperes,” and suggested the Venetian model as a guide for the commune (an alliance between nobles and *grandi* of the *popolo*), or better yet that of the Florentines (a government of the lower classes); which was opposed by Taddeo Azzoguidi, head of the Pepolesco party, who envisioned an oligarchy of *nobiles*, *doctores*, *mercatores*, and *populares*. The contemporary Cronaca Rampona distinguishes among *nobeli del contado*, *zentilomini* (notable citizens), *populo mezano*, and *populo minuto*, connoting the *zentilomini* as more attentive to their private interests than to the public good, while the more comfortably well-off *popolari* (the *mezzani*) are distinguished by their patriotism, and the *popolo minuto* as being so hostile to any internal *signoria* as to prefer papal domination.⁶ As for the factions headed by great families, the fact of constituting systems of clientage (and therefore social structures of a vertical type) rendered them necessarily inter-class groups which functioned in the interests of the leading families; nevertheless, the Scacchese party (at the end of the Trecento led by the Gozzadini, Bentivoglio, Malvezzi, Ghisilieri, and others) appears perhaps to have been more coherently oligarchical and compact, while their adversaries the Maltraversi (a residual category, definable above all in negative terms), seem at times to have sought ties with the guilds, lower classes, and the *contado*.⁷

5 For nobles and feudators at the end of the 14th century: Palmieri, *La montagna*, pp. 201-29; Zagnoni, *Il Medioevo*, pp. 345-406. For *popolani* and magnates: Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 136-312. For foreign ties: Tamba, “I Dieci.”

6 For the debate of 1376: Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 11-12; Castelnuovo, “Vivre dans l’ambiguïté,” pp. 95-105. “Cronaca Rampona,” especially vol. 3, pp. 309-14 and 317-19; on that work (and on the chronicle cited below), see Quaquarelli, *Memoria Urbis*, pp. 168-73.

7 This seems most evident for the factions of the Gozzadini at the end of the Trecento and the Canetoli 50 years later. See “Cronica Rampona,” vol. 3, p. 455; Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac*

The interaction among these forces, and the strategic position of Bologna at the intersection between the Florentine, Milanese, Venetian, and pontifical spheres of influence, introduced increasing instability into the life of the commune. The political leadership of the guilds was eroded, and then supplanted, by the strategies of the great families, who sought to occupy *de facto* local institutions with the support of Italian powers and with the favor of the lower middle classes. During the Papal Schism, the city obtained self-government from the Roman papacy in the form of an apostolic vicariate granted to the *anziani* (the communal executive body), and a competition was initiated that opposed the Maltraversi, tied to the guilds, to an alliance between the Scacchesi and the Zambeccari family: the victory of the latter alliance opened the door to a series of party regimes (Zambeccari, Gozzadini) that culminated in a formal Bentivoglio *signoria* (1401-02), but it was cut short by a brief Visconti conquest of the city and by its rapid cession to the Roman papacy. From 1408 Bologna became, however, the center of the new obedience to the pontiffs elected by the followers of the council convoked at Pisa to reconstitute the Schism. These various regimes were sustained on the whole by the great families, especially after the less important guilds and lower classes succeeded in 1411-12 in gaining leadership of the commune for the last time. When the Council of Constance deposed the Pisan pope, John XXIII, and ended the Schism, the urban oligarchy split between the factions of the Canetoli and Bentivoglio families (both formerly Scacchesi), which in alternating phases controlled local institutions; greater success fell to the Canetoli who led the city from 1420 to 1435 despite the presence of legates and governors who embodied papal sovereignty; the more exclusive Bentivoglio regained importance during the final Visconti domination (1438-43) and ended by overthrowing it.⁸

In this environment of political instability (19 regime changes in 68 years), norms followed in the wake of communal tradition. On the one hand, the statutes of 1376 and 1389 recognize only the distinction between citizens and non-citizens, even if access to communal and guild offices was limited to those who were “*veri cives civitatis Bononie, origine propria, paterna et avita*,” thereby excluding those who had become citizens recently, those infamous for committing crime (procuring, falsification, assassination, treason), rebels and *banditi*, inhabitants of the *contado*, ecclesiastics with the greater Orders (apparently considered a social group *ipso facto* privileged), and those who

factorum p. 81. For factions in general: Gentile, “Factions and parties” (the Bolognese case fits his thesis poorly, but see p. 311 for the allusion to the Maltraversi of Cremona).

8 For the events of 1392-94: Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 18-30; for the 15th century see Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, and his essay in this volume.

practiced crafts and trades that were humble or not organized into guilds: millers, bakers who worked *propriis manibus*, vegetable vendors, drovers, donkey drivers, wine-cask carriers, messengers, agricultural workers, and still others. On the other hand, there were no provisions barring nobles or magnates (who were not even mentioned), and in the text of 1389 access to the Council of 600, the legislative body of the popular commune, was open to knights (*milites*) and to doctors (*doctores cuiuslibet facultatis*), even those from a *contado* family. The statutes themselves further sanction an order of precedence, and therefore a *de facto* hierarchy, among the guilds, ranking at the vertex the notaries, then the bankers, cloth merchants, butchers, down to the humble stationers, curriers and tanners, and the corporation of the *Quattro Arti* (comprising the saddlers, shield-makers, scabbard-makers, and painters).⁹

Formally, therefore, communal norms admitted only distinctions tied to work activity (that is, to the sociopolitical weight of the professional categories), with the exception of the *milites*, the only ones to whom a hereditary social eminence was recognized. The latter distinction, however, was no longer motivated by discrimination but was fully recognized in the sumptuary provisions, which did not bind *doctores* and knights. Knightly dubbing still occurred as it had in the 13th century: in 1432 the pontifical governor Fantino Dandolo, after having celebrated mass, “fe’ chavaliero” Luigi Griffoni; the *podestà* of the city girded him with the sword; two other Bolognese *milites* put on his spurs; and two citizen-prelates dressed him in the habit of the Order of Rhodes. The chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata records at least 61 men who were made knights between 1376 and 1443 by various authorities: foreign princes passing through Bologna or encountered abroad, especially the *signore* of Mantua, the duke of Milan, and the king of France; pontifical representatives; other knights; the *anziani* of the commune themselves, for example, in the case (1382) of Lambertino Canetoli, who needed to be knighted in order to hold the *podestà* of Florence. These knights came principally from Scacchesi notables: five were Canetoli, four Gozzadini, Ghisilieri, and Bianchi, three Pepoli, two Bentivoglio and Galluzzi; but there were also Maltraversi – two Manzoli and two Griffoni. The equestrian dignity was a sign of social distinction which all desired and a clear indicator of the social aspirations of the greater families: as soon as Giovanni I Bentivoglio proclaimed himself *signore* of Bologna (14

9 For the first reference to the statutes, see *Gli Statuti del Comune di Bologna*, p. 401; for the second, pp. 67 and 681; for the third p. 407 (and pp. 311-15, 404-07, 681-84). For the pre-eminence of the merchants and bankers: Legnani, *La giustizia dei mercanti*, pp. 39-42. On the *Quattro Arti*: R. Pini, “La Società,” pp. 91-150. On citizenship: Angelozzi and Casanova, *Diventare cittadini*.

March 1401), he had 20 men dubbed knights by his devoted ally Pietro Bianchi (who had been knighted in turn 20 years earlier by the king of France, in the course of an embassy); seven anti-Bentivoleschi were knighted a year later by Francesco I Gonzaga when on behalf of the Visconti he brought down Giovanni I.¹⁰

The deepening awareness in the common mentality of an increasingly oligarchical concentration of urban power is clearly revealed in the lexicon of an eyewitness, the chronicler Pietro di Mattiolo (died 1425), a priest of artisan family background. His narrative, written at the end of the 14th century, swings between the poles of the *puouolo de le arti* on the one hand and the *grassi, possenti*, and *notabili cittadini* on the other hand. These terms signified social but especially political qualifications, since the *artexani* were distinct from the *puouolo menudo* (apparently those who were not part of the guild organizations or held a subordinate role therein, given that the chronicler distinguishes between *omini lauoraduri e de bassa conditione* and *grandi artexani*); in turn the *fiore di notabili cittadini* includes *chavalieri*, *doturi*, *zudixi*, *procuradori*, *merchadanti*, and others. After 1416 the commune was led by the *pouolo e arti* (a customary hendiadys in Bolognese political language), but above all by the *buoni e notabili cittadini* grouped into *chaxali*, that is, into great families with organized retinues. At the apex of society were the *doctores* and knights, the only ones who had the right to the title of *missere*, whereas already by 1410 it was attributed to any socially eminent person.¹¹ In the late Trecento Pietro di Mattiolo qualifies as *nobeli* only knights and titled persons, such as Ugolino da Panico, alleged descendant of the imperial counts of Bologna; only from 1412 on is the term *gentili homini* used to indicate eminent citizens, and only in 1420 is the banker Pietro Felicini, while still not invested with any particular title, defined as a *nobele e Riccho cittadino*.¹²

10 On knights: Maire Vigueur, *Cavalieri e cittadini*, especially pp. 365-80; Dean, "Knighthood in later medieval Italy"; and Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, especially pp. 231-39 and 266-71. For sumptuary norms: *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 103 and 111-36 and the discussion in the essay by Antonella Campanini in this volume. For the Griffoni and Canetoli: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, pp. 133 and 251 and for those knighted in 1401-02, pp. 167 and 175; Bosdari, "Giovanni I Bentivoglio," pp. 203-12. For Pietro Bianchi: Dolfi, *Cronologia delle famiglie*, p. 153. Pasquali Alidosi, *Li cavalieri bolognesi*, pp. 17 and 28-29, lists 15 among the knights of Rhodes and *frati gaudenti*.

11 For Pietro di Mattiolo see Cantelmi, *Bologna fra Trecento e Quattrocento*; for the terminology adopted by him, see Di Mattiolo, *Cronaca bolognese*, pp. 55-61, 74-79, 218 and for the environment to 1416, pp. 270-79.

12 For Ugolino da Panico and Pietro Felicini, see Di Mattiolo, *Cronaca bolognese*, pp. 19 and 300; Palmieri, "La congiura" (for Panico); Salvioni, *Il valore della lira*, pp. 225 and 227-29 (for Felicini).

It seems, therefore, that the early decades of the Quattrocento strengthened an already significant oligarchical tendency, favored by Visconti and pontifical influences: the embassy sent in 1402 to swear obedience to the duke of Milan was composed in equal measure of knights, *doctores*, *gentilomini*, and *artexani*; in 1418 Martin V asked that the *anziani* be “de nobilibus, mercatoribus et popularibus, pro meliori statu ipsius civitatis”; in 1440 the Visconti governor Niccolò Piccinino ordered the “Officialibus Nobilibus Civibus et ceteris quibuscumque” resident in the Bolognese city and territory to obey his lieutenant. By this time it had become clear that a group of families existed who were endowed with distinctive political importance within Bolognese society.¹³ Their importance, moreover, had already found institutional expression. The popular commune, after its restoration in 1376, soon felt the necessity of creating *balie*, that is, term offices which were granted extraordinary powers in order to rapidly confront emergency situations. Initiated in 1386 with the *Otto di guerra*, the *balia* was an entity that in various modes of composition would reappear periodically throughout the Bolognese Renaissance, at least up to 1522; the most important of these in the late 14th and early 15th century were the *Dieci di balia* and especially the *Sedici Riformatori dello stato di libertà*.

The *Sedici*, named by the *Consiglio generale* for the first time in 1393, immediately became the catalyst of oligarchic power. Although both notables and *populares* were included (all of the latter, however, were rich and prestigious), and although they were elected to fixed terms, they set in motion a policy of subordinating the guilds to the commune and of appointing in advance the officeholders of future years. In 1398 the *Sedici* were newly instituted, but without defining their authority, and included seven bankers, three jurists, and two others experienced in politics; in 1400 they were renamed, again with undefined authority, and became the expression of the Bentivoglio faction's control of the commune. A council of 16 members flanked Giovanni I Bentivoglio during his brief *signoria* and a similar body apparently served the legate Baldassare Cossa and his successors in leading the city; even when a coup d'état overthrew the last popular government in 1412, the “notable citizens” and *ricchissimi merchadanti* who had carried out the coup restored the *Sedici* before recalling the pontifical legate.¹⁴

13 For 1402: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 180; for 1418: Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, p. 162; for 1440: Longhi, “Niccolò Piccinino,” p. 316.

14 On the *Sedici*: Guidicini, *I riformatori*; Tamba, *Il regime*, pp. 30-74, 117-20, 158-63; Idem, “I XVI Riformatori”; Bosdari, “Giovanni I Bentivoglio,” pp. 212-13; Vancini, “Una rivoluzione” (and Fasoli, “Le compagnie,” pp. 71-72); Di Mattiolo, *Cronaca bolognese*, p. 242 (for the quotation); Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 67-69, 243-45; Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di*

During the first half of the 15th century the most prominent families in the public eye concentrated all their local power in the *Sedici* and transformed it into a life-long cooptive office. In parallel with this development the oligarchy proceeded to the privatization (or appropriation) of public resources: in 1416 the communal grain mills were taken over by 73 buyers and their associates; in 1434 it was the turn of the fulling-mills, while at the same time a group of 21 eminent private citizens granted an interest-bearing loan to the communal treasury. Four years later, however, Raffaele Foscherari, who was very closely tied to the governor Piccinino, was named hereditary treasurer: the alarm raised by this measure among the greatest Bolognese families was such that on 4 February 1440 Foscherari was killed by Annibale, head of the Bentivoglio, and on 18 March (ten days after their restoration), the *Sedici* entrusted the treasury to a group of 40, then 51 lenders, and 14 of the additions were from the group of 1434.¹⁵

In this way a nucleus of families was decisively defined, a group that under the leadership of the Bentivoglio controlled the political and financial life of the commune through the *Sedici* and the council of 12 members elected each year from among the shareholders of the Treasury. Between 1393 and 1443, 113 families entered the ranks of the *Sedici* or analogous bodies. Of these, however, 66 entered between 1393 and 1402 and only 47 during 1403-43; 50 families were present only once, and of these 29 entered before 1402, another 21 after that year.¹⁶ The start of the foreign *signoria* in the early 15th century therefore coincides with sclerosis in the replacement rate of the urban ruling class, which in some decades was reduced to approximately 60 great families who took possession of local institutions and managed them through factional regimes.

Between 1443 and 1506 the Bentivoglio faction controlled the government and formalized the already delineated social rigidity, but did not succeed in stabilizing the city politically, both because it excluded from office those who

Bologna, pp. 190-214, Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, and the essay by Tommaso Duranti in this volume for the development of the *Sedici*'s powers.

15 For the financial dispositions: Orlandelli, "Note di storia economica," especially pp. 233-40 and 253-54; ASB, Comune-Governo, Diritti e oneri dei Comune, Convenzioni, trattati, obbligazioni. Serie cronologica sciolta, Busta 3 (now Comune-Governo, Busta 15), Fascicolo 237, part 2, nn. 11 and 22; *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis*, vol. 3, p. 318; Zaoli, *Libertas Bononie*, p. 28. On the fulling mills: *Raccolta di leggi*, vol. 1, pp. 31-35. On Foscherari: Tamba, "Foscarari (Foscherari) Raffaello"; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 265-76.

16 The data are from Guidicini, *I riformatori*, vol. 1, pp. 13-34, who, although imprecise, offers nevertheless a representative picture.

were outside the dominant party and tended to transform itself into a familial *signoria*, eliminating the oligarchic and collegial factors, and also because in the end it was subject to the pressures of greater powers operating in northern Italy, in particular the papacy, Milan, and then France.¹⁷ Bentivoglio dominion was punctuated by the expulsions of rival families and even of those merely critical of their supremacy: the Canetoli and Ghisilieri in 1445; the Fantuzzi, Zambecari, and Pepoli in 1450 (the latter later were recalled, but were excluded from the *Sedici*); and the Caccianemici in 1472. In contrast, the Bentivoglio, Malvezzi, Marescotti, and Castelli obtained privileged positions within the oligarchy. The Bentivoglio received part of the communal income; they and the Malvezzi always had two exponents among the *Sedici*; these four families were able to send substitutes to meetings of the *Sedici* when their appointed members had to be absent. The split in the urban oligarchy became apparent with the conspiracies led by formerly loyal families – the Malvezzi in 1488 and the Marescotti in 1501.¹⁸ The Bentivoglio regime early on provoked criticisms that were later sustained: the visit of Pius II on his way to Mantua in 1459 was the occasion for the jurist Bornio da Sala to publicly denounce the tyranny of the faction to the pope; the Bentivoleschi themselves lamented to Paul II that the families of the *Sedici* “enjoy all that city, whether in having its revenues spent as they please [...] and all the offices are given either to their relations or to their friends.” Gradually the regime lost the confidence of the *populares* and turned to the lower classes for support. At the same time society also became more polarized economically: at the beginning of the Cinquecento 54 per cent of landed property in the *contado* was in the hands of barely 83 families, who remained at the vertices of political and economic life. People whispered that the regime was good only “to the nobles and magnates of the land who held the government and offices [...] and not to the citizens, who did not hold office, or did so rarely.”¹⁹

17 For what follows, in addition to the essay by Tommaso Duranti in this volume, see Ady, *I Bentivoglio*; Basile, *Bentivolorum magnificentia*; Gardi, “Gli ‘officiali’”; Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*.

18 For the expulsions: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, ad annos. For the privileges: Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 39–43, 85–86, 128–31, 213–14; for 1470: pp. 213–14; Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 112–13 and 432–42. For the Malvezzi, also Belvederi, “I Bentivoglio e i Malvezzi.”

19 For Bornio da Sala: Bocchi, “Plagi e primizie”; for the laments and loss of consensus, Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, p. 17 for the first quotation “se godono tuta quella Citta, si in far spendere lintrate a lor modo [...] et tuti li officij se dano o alor parenti o aloro amici” and pp. 207–09. For the *popolo minuto*, Ady, *I Bentivoglio*, pp. 134–45, 172–75, 234–35. On property and the second quotation: Farolfi, *Strutture agrarie*, pp. 22–23 (“alli nobili e

The *Sedici* comprised the instrument for increasing the concentration of power as it moved in the direction of becoming a hereditary institution but with vicissitudes in its size. Named in 1443 but quickly replaced by the *Dieci di balia*, it was restored in 1445 with its members' terms of one year's duration (although it was rumored that the Bentivoglio wanted to reduce its membership to six) and with confirmation of all the authority of that office in 1416; above all, they were recognized formally in the 1447 *capitoli* of Nicholas V.²⁰ The members of the *Sedici* profited rapidly by breaking away from the other families within the faction: in 1450 they made their office one of indefinite duration. In 1459, in connection with the visit of Pius II, norms providing for succession in membership of a semi-hereditary nature were approved and the composition of the *Sedici* was broadened with the addition of seven supernumerary members. Pressure for access to the group that was defining itself as the inner circle of power was such that a few years later Paul II felt the need to intervene in order to defuse local tensions. Not being in a position to impose an authoritative solution, in 1466 he proposed that the commune select between the options of doubling the size of the *Sedici* or bringing its membership up to 21 (that is, the old *Sedici* with five remaining supernumeraries), with a permanent seat for the faction's head, Giovanni II Bentivoglio. Contrary to the pope's expectations, the second proposal was selected, which therefore sanctioned the formal existence of an oligarchy, composed of hereditary communal councillors, around a Bentivoglio *signoria de facto*. Between 1466 and 1506, 33 families alternated in office, of whom only three, however (the Cattani, Orsi, and Salaroli) had never before entered the *Sedici*.²¹

Control by the *Sedici* (the name remained despite its enlarged membership) over offices of the popular commune reduced the significance of those posts for their holders to sources of income and badges of honor. The statutes of 1454

magnati della terra, che hanno avuto lo governo et officii et utilitadi [...] et non alli cittadini, che poi non ebbero officio, o rare volte").

20 On 1443: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 277; Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*, p. 85. For the authority of the *Sedici*: Verardi Ventura, "L'ordinamento," pp. 301-02; for the project to reduce the membership of the *Sedici* to six: Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 126-27; for the *capitoli* of 1447: Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno*, pp. 56-61, 223-28; Bartolotti, "Sui 'Capitoli'." Martin V did not want to sanction the institutional predominance of the *Sedici* (*capitoli* of 1429) and Eugenius IV had made it 20 councillors of the pontifical governor. ASB, Comune-Governo, Diritti e oneri del Comune, Convenzioni, trattati, obbligazioni. Serie cronologica sciolta, Busta 3, now Comune-Governo, Busta 15, Fascicolo 237.

21 Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 41-47 for 1450 and the norms of 1459; pp. 139-46, 167-97, 217-18 for the events of 1466. For access to the *Ventuno*: Guidicini, *I riformatori*, vol. 1, pp. 45-78.

limited officeholders, according to custom, to citizens of three grades of origin, that is, the sons and grandsons of citizens, as in 1376, but in fact the ties of clientage and faction of *Sedici* members determined their allotment. According to the contemporary chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata, from 1460 the *gonfalonieri del popolo*, *massari delle arti*, and tax contractors were selected by *imborsazione* (in which a roster of nominees was compiled, with each member of the *Sedici* supplying names according to a varying but pre-arranged number, and from which a name was drawn when a vacancy opened up), rather than by election or by *subastazione*, that is, by auction, in the case of the contractors, while the *gonfaloniere di giustizia*, who presided over meetings of the *anziani* and theoretically led the commune, was named only on the basis of friendship and family relationships; in fact, from 1463 he was selected from among the *Sedici* themselves, inaugurating a practice that was formalized within a few years. Different levels were thus formed within the oligarchy: the families who had lost their seats among the *Sedici*, those who aspired to obtain them, and the secondary families who were represented among the *massari*, the *gonfalonieri del popolo*, and the *anziani*. The latter two magistracies were held by approximately 160 families outside of the ranks of the *Sedici* and were valued by those who claimed social importance; at the end of the century, the *anziani* seem to have been commonly viewed as nobles.²²

However, it is more difficult to define the nobility of Bologna in the second half of the Quattrocento, as each family sought to accumulate signs of social distinction and recognition of belonging to that class. While the ancient nobility of the *contado* had been reduced by norms (1475) to the status of citizens with extra-urban residence, knights continued to be created (Dalla Tuata alone records 54 of them between 1446 and 1506), especially by Frederick III and Pius II when they passed through Bologna, and continuously by Giovanni II Bentivoglio; in 1462 Frederick III further conceded to every *gonfaloniere di giustizia pro tempore* the right to name two knights. Completely new, however, was the acquisition of fiefs in the *contado* by some families of the oligarchy: in 1447 the Sanuti obtained the county of Porretta (which passed in 1482 to the Ranuzzi); the Malvezzi those of Selva and Castel Guelfo in 1455 and 1458. These, however, were exceptional cases, since they not only devolved on private

22 For the Statutes of 1454: *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 1, pp. 540-41. On clientage: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 323; Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 58-63. On the popular magistracies: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 333; Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 49-60. On the *anziani*: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 368; Zanni Rosiello, "Le 'Insignia' degli Anziani." On the *gonfalonieri*: De Benedictis, *Diritti in memoria*. On citizenship, Angelozzi and Casanova, *Diventare cittadini*; Idem, "Essere cittadini."

citizens from communal sovereignty, but this was done particularly thanks to ties established with the popes (Nicholas V, Calixtus III, and Pius II), ties which only a very few faithful Bentivoleschi among the *Sedici* were able to maintain without rousing suspicion.²³

The fact is that Bolognese society was mobile; a pope of patrician family like Paul II lamented in 1466 that the new ruling group included the newly enriched “who a short time before were some linen merchants, some furriers, and some one thing and some another.”²⁴ He was alluding in particular to Giacomo Lini and Giacomo Grati, two men who in their ties with the Bentivoglio had found a pathway to rapid social ascent. A contemporary chronicler, Girolamo Borselli, commenting on the death of Grati, describes him as *Dominus [...]* miles, *vir patritius*, but says that “Here he was first, the one who made his house illustrious, for when he was young, he was a furrier” (Borselli would express analogous reflections about the *ex-causidicus* Bernardo Sassoni). Through political loyalty, public offices, and knighthood, within a generation one could thus pass from rich merchant or professional to member of the urban oligarchy, to the ranks of the *patricii*, as Borselli labels the 21 *Riformatori*, the narrow nucleus of important families.²⁵

The status of *patricii* nevertheless does not find confirmation in normative provisions, nor in a more complete articulation of social classification in Renaissance Bologna. The latter can be seen in an edict issued 24 March 1453 by the Cardinal legate Bessarion (and incorporated the following year into the communal statutes), who for sumptuary purposes grouped the *bolognesi* into five categories (plus the *comitatini*): the three highest-ranking groups in descending order were the knights (*milites*), doctors (*doctores*), and nobles (*nobiles*), and on an equal footing with the latter were included the *patroni et magistri* of the *artes superiores* of the notaries, bankers, drapers, and silk merchants; in fourth place were the butchers (*beccai*), apothecaries and spice

23 For the concession of 1462 and the norms of 1475: *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 2, pp. 52 and 420-21. See Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, pp. 307 and 326 on the knights created by Frederick III and Giovanni II; p. 321-22 for Pius II. For Pius II see also Pini, “Non tam studiorum.” On fiefs: Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 101-03; Comelli, “Di Nicolò Sanuti.”

24 As cited by Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, p. 65: “che da poco tempo in la erano chi mercadanti da lino, chi pellizari, et chi vna cosa et chi vnaltra.”

25 For Giacomo Lini: Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, p. 65; for Giacomo Grati: Angiolini, “Grati, Giacomo.” See Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*, p. 99 for the quotation from Borselli (“Hic primus fuit, qui domum suam illustravit; nam cum esset iuvenis, pelliparius erat”); p. 98 for the appellative *patricii*; and p. 106 for Sassoni. For Sassoni see also Guidicini, *I riformatori*, vol. 1, p. 60.

merchants (*speziali*), wool workers (*lanaioli*), cloth merchants (*strazzaroli*), haberdashers (*merciai*), cotton workers (*bombasari*), and goldsmiths (*orefici*). In fifth place were the “other inferior or more vile crafts and guilds and also those others not of the nobility who did not practice any craft or trade,” that is, all the urban residents who did not belong to the 11 listed guilds.²⁶ In addition to the social primacy traditionally assigned to knights and *doctores*, in this decree we find for the first time a Bolognese authority (the pontifical legate) thus introducing the term *nobiles* into the normative lexicon, giving it a precise definition: nobles were third-generation citizens who had a *doctor* or knight in the family during the past 30 years and did not pursue a manual craft or trade, and if they did, belonged only to the four highest ranking guilds without actually performing manual labor (except for the notaries). Hence the existence of a civic nobility constituted by those who lived without doing manual labor was sanctified legally; the guilds (which had been the expression of the communal ruling class since the 13th century) were regrouped, first among the *artes superiores* (a new term in Bologna), then another seven guilds which configured a rich “middle class” and together with the preceding guilds led the civic commercial tribunal, and lastly the members of 14 guilds (including the furriers) who were defined as *viles* and paired with the mass of non-organized and non-specialized workers. This fundamental text (the circumstances surrounding its composition remain unknown) revolutionized communal tradition, which had distinguished only between citizens and non-citizens: with the sanction of the prince it gave the force of law to social distinctions (even if it did not draw political consequences from them); it formalized the idea of a fixed social hierarchy, and tied the concept of nobility to the repudiation of the mechanical arts, thereby following a model that would become generalized in Cinquecento Italy. The Bessarion norms would be maintained at Bologna up to the Council of Trent, with the addition of only a few neglected categories (foreigners, soldiers, artisans of the *contado*, Jews – whether bankers or not, prostitutes).²⁷

26 For the edict of 1453: *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 3-17, 148-52 and pp. 150-51 for the quotation (“aliorum inferiorum seu viliorum ministeriorum et artium ac etiam aliorum non existentium de nobilibus suprascriptis et non exercentium artem aliquam”).

27 For the commercial tribunal: Legnani, *La giustizia dei mercanti*, pp. 57-58 and cfr. Fasoli, “Le compagnie,” pp. 76-77. On Bessarion at Bologna: Bacchelli, “La legazione”; on Bolognese tracts on nobility: Angelozzi, “La trattatistica,” and for the Italian context, Donati, *L'idea di nobiltà*, especially pp. 3-80, 118-36, 165-76; Nico Ottaviani, “*Res sit magni momenti*.” For a revision of these classifications in 1474 and for earlier classifications in the Duecento, see Blanshei, “Aristocratization of late medieval-early modern Bolognese government,” pp. 237-38, and for successive norms, *La legislazione suntuaria*, pp. 154-81.

The sumptuary measures were limited, however, to acknowledging a mentality that also appears in the writings of the chroniclers. Borselli himself, who defines the *Ventuno* as *patricii*, when speaking of the role of his father who served alongside the Canetoli in 1445, excuses himself for putting him among nobles (“si virum gregarium inter nobiles pono”) and by *nobiles* he meant the heads of the faction. A little known Giovanni who lived at mid-century recounts in his chronicle how in 1447 two knights, two *doctores*, and two *gentilomini* (a Bentivoglio and a Malvezzi) went on an embassy to Nicholas V in a great company of notable and honorable citizens (“citadini da bene e orrevoli”) and says that the great masters of the city at that time (“Li gran maestri, che rixeano in quello tempo”) were the seven families of the Bentivoglio, Pepoli, Malvezzi, Fantuzzi, Bargellini, Vizzani, and Marescotti. Writing later, Dalla Tuata attests at the end of the century to an inflation of attributes and noble behaviors, which are interwoven with the old lexicon of communal politics: not only is his narrative punctuated with the status designations of *nobile* or *gentiluomo*, but in 1495 he records an order to the *gonfalonieri del popolo* to carry their *scuri* (hatchets), the symbols of their authority, when out in public “because there were so many gentlemen and citizens who carry the sword that the *gonfalonieri* cannot be distinguished from the others,” while in 1504 he points to the *nobilissima* composition of the *anziani* of the last bimonthly term (four *gentiluomini*, consisting of one who was “rich,” a jurist, a medical doctor of Italian-wide fame, and the most important procurator and merchant of Bologna). However, he also notes that the local government was in the hands of Giovanni II Bentivoglio who dominated the other citizens called the *Sedici* (“vinte altri citadini chiamati li Sedese”) and that Giovanni perennially surrounded himself with a swarm of 200 citizens drawn from the *populo*, *zentilomini*, and *chavalieri*.²⁸ At the end of the Bentivoglio epoch there thus existed a civic nobility recognized both in public opinion as well as in normative measures, but political rights were still tied only to the enjoyment of citizenship.

Between 1506 and 1590 the mechanism for the selection of the Bolognese oligarchy was gradually defined.²⁹ With the flight of the Bentivoglio in 1506,

28 The first quotation is from Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*, p. 86; the two successive ones are from Giovanni, *Cronaca di Bologna*, pp. 285, 287 (“perché ce erano tanti zintilomini e citadini che se favano portare le spade che non se chonoseano li confalonieri dali altri”), pp. 95-121 on the author Giovanni; the last quotes are from Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, pp. 380, 413 (and cfr. p. 461). On the *scuri*, De Benedictis, *Diritti in memoria*, pp. 34-36.

29 For the following section, see Gardi, “Lineamenti della storia”; Idem, *Lo Stato in provincia*, pp. 99-120, 347-97. For information on the councillors: Guidicini, *I riformatori*, ad voces.

artisans and merchants restored popular government for a week and prepared for the peaceful entrance into the city of Julius II. The latter, in turn, resumed the traditional policy of the popes: he sought a dialogue with an oligarchy that would gather together with loyalty to the pontiff all those who enjoyed social importance, independently of belonging to a faction. Notwithstanding a fleeting restoration of the Bentivoglio (1511-12), the popes and local notables basically collaborated in a stable manner; among the issues discussed and regulated were also the definition of and access to the oligarchy.

The difficulty can be expressed thusly: how to reconcile political equality among citizens with a formalized social inequality? The uncertainty that this issue raised appears clearly in the language of the chroniclers. Eliseo Mamellini refers to the ephemeral popular regime of 1506 first as “Vinti homini cittadini” elected by the *populo*, then as “Viginti nobilibus viris per populum electis,” while Dalla Tuata writes of “vinte homini da bene tutti merchadanti e artesiani.” In fact there were 25 (20 plus five supernumeraries) and at least one *doctor*, two notaries, procurators, and drapers, three bankers, and three silk merchants, with the opportunistic addition of one Pepoli: in short, the highest level of the *populus*.³⁰ Upon taking over the city, Julius II immediately abolished the *Sedici* (the Bentivoglio brought them back in 1511, raising their number to 31) and transferred their powers to 40 “Consiliarios praesentis Status pro Nobis, & Sancta Romana Ecclesia, & pro Civitate nostra Bononiensi,” including 20 Bentivoleschi families, 11 anti-Bentivoleschi ones of long-standing, five who were such since 1448, and four represented in the *popolo* government of 1506). The norms regulating access to this group were the same as those for entrance to the *Sedici* in 1466. It was a regime that consisted exclusively of great agrarian landholders: the anti-Bentivolesco Carlo Grati had his relative Nicolò Rigosi included, but when the pope learned of his lowly status he was infuriated and substituted a *popolare*, Tommaso Cospi, in his place (“quando el papa sepe che l’era de infima nazione s’infuriò e lo sostituì”). Social eminence was therefore a prerequisite to being a part of the oligarchy, even if Julius II did not call these eminent citizens *gentiluomini*, but merely *cittadini*. Quite quickly Dalla Tuata denounced the exclusivity of the *Quaranta*: after the execution in 1508 of the councillor Alberto Castelli he writes that “there is no longer anyone to defend the rights of the people and the republic” (“più non c’è chi tiegna la raxon del populo e dela republicha”), and that his colleagues “are a sect of the *Quaranta*, who help one another [...] who would like to be the

30 For the first two quotations, Montanari, “Cronaca e storia,” pp. 15-16. On the chronicler, see De Tata, “Mamellini (Mammellini...)”. For the last citation, Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 484.

ones who designate [as councillors] whom they want and have this office as an inheritance" ("sono una seta deli 40 che teneno insieme [...], che vorebano essere loro a fare [councillor] chi paresse loro, e torse tale mazistrato per heredità"). When in 1510 it was rumored that the number of councillors would be reduced, he burst out "blessed would be this land were there none of them, or no more than eight or 12" ("beata questa tera non ne fusse niuno, overo fuseno otto o dodexe e non più"). Dalla Tuata, a citizen of notarial family, badly tolerated the control exercised by the *Quaranta* over public offices, which he considered a resource to be distributed equally; but he also absorbed the idea of noble primacy to such a degree that he defined the Bottrigari, Dolfi, Gessi, and Verardi families, who had held the anzianate office many times, as being *de vile naçion*.³¹

In 1512, after the final expulsion of the Bentivoglio, who had re-established a dictatorship of faction with the support of the *popolo minuto*, Julius II punished the revolt by not restoring the *Quaranta* and leaving the *anziani* at the head of the commune: within one year at least 44 families took turns holding that office, indicating the sovereign's capacity to re-establish a broad access to office. Leo X permitted a period of institutional experimentation: in 1513 he accepted the request of the commune to reconstitute the *Magistratus et ordo nobilium* of the *Quaranta*, under terms analogous to those set by Julius II (21 anti-Bentivoleschi and 19 Bentivoleschi families flowed into that office), but he did so without defining the great families as *nobili*. In fact, he had no intention of changing the council's social extraction. When the new *Quaranta* refused to accept the *comitatino* jeweler Girolamo Pandolfi as one of their members, because "his father [...] was a *vilan* like others and paid direct taxes [like other *contadini*]," the pope "excused himself and said that he had thought he was *nobele*" and excluded him, "although he was a *zentil persona*." However, an analogous maneuver in 1514 did not succeed in the case of Annibale Paleotti, refused by the *Quaranta* as a Bentivolesco *de gente infima*, since he had been assigned to the post by the sovereign. Leo X, however, also sought to establish a new feudality next to the civic nobility, both by granting fiefs in the *contado* to approximately 15 families of the city, and by linking up important families of the mountains, such as the Pandolfi, Ramazzotti, and Tanari.³²

31 For the definition of the *Quaranta* in 1506: *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 2, p. 300 (and see Gozzadini, "Di alcuni avvenimenti," pp. 109, 158-60, of the first part). On the observations of Dalla Tuata on Rigosi: Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 492, on 1508, pp. 533, 537, on 1510 p. 574, on offices and exclusiveness pp. 604, 611.

32 For the definition of the *Quaranta* in the *capitoli* of 1513, see Gardi, *Lo Stato in provincia*, p. 106. For the citation concerning Pandolfi ("suo padre [...] era vilan chome li altri e

Leo X's projected three-part alliance among civic nobles, new feudators, and eminent *comitatini* failed in the face of resistance from Bolognese political culture: "those good *patrici* [...] destroy our republic" thundered Dalla Tuata at the granting of the new fiefs. Greater caution was necessary: Clement VII revoked the fiefs, leaving only the honorific titles; Charles V on the occasion of his coronation (1530), granted the traditional titles of knight of the golden spur and palatine count to members of the Bolognese colleges of the *doctores* of the *studium*; the 1532 statute of the *tribuni della plebe* (as the *gonfalonieri del popolo* were renamed) defines the nobility on the basis of the old edict of Bessarion; and the norms on citizenship of 1541 do not privilege the nobility over other citizens. Various families then sought to procure distinctions elsewhere: the Campeggi received from Clement VII the county of Dozza in the Romagna in 1528, the Pepoli, counts imperial of Castiglione since the 14th century, became Venetian nobles in 1575; Gregory XIII bought for his Boncompagni relatives fiefs in the Este states and in the kingdom of Naples; in 1586 the Aldrovandi obtained the county of Guiglia in Modenese territory and the Facchinetti the marquisate of Vianino in the Parmegiano. In his 1588 book on the Bolognese nobility, Francesco Amadi did not define a class but listed illustrious *bolognesi* from Gregory XIII to the ecclesiastical dignitaries, knights, and members of at least 420 families.³³

If the status of the nobility thus remained in flux for a long period, the families of the *Quaranta* worked constantly to enclose themselves into a separate class. After Clement VII in 1524 had evaded the explicit request of the commune that the members of the *Quaranta* be selected from noble and meritorious families of the Holy See, the question was repeated, in an attenuated form, to his successors for more than 40 years, but non-binding responses were always received. In fact, the *Quaranta* desired hereditary succession and cooption in case of the extinction of a family; the families who aspired to enter their group sought to put themselves in the limelight socially, to procure

pagava le colte") see Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 680; Gardi, "Lineamenti della storia," p. 40, and Caprara, "Girolamo Casio"; for the second on Paleotti, see Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 685 and Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, vol. 1, pp. 32-47. On the new fiefs, most recently, Foschi, "Il castello"; for Ramazzotti: Capasso, *Nuove notizie*, for Tanari: Cavazza and Bertondini, *Luigi Tanari*, pp. 12-15.

33 Amadi, *Della nobiltà*. For the quotation from Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, p. 691 ("quelli boni patrici [...] destruzeno la nostra republica"). For the privileges of the collegial *doctores*: Brizzi, "Lo Studio di Bologna fra *orbis academicus*," p. 65. For Campeggi: Casanova, *Comunità e governo*, p. 286. For the Pepoli and Facchinetti: Dolfi, *Cronologia delle famiglie*, pp. 599 and 295 (for the origins of the Pepoli fief, see Calonaci, *Feudi e giurisdizioni*, p. 390). For the Boncompagni: Borromeo, "Gregorio XIII," p. 183.

patrons for themselves and briefs of anticipated nominations for seats that might be vacated; and to propose broadening the size of the *Quaranta* (to 120 seats). In the end, the popes wanted to avoid a closure that was too rigid and would provoke destabilizing tensions in the city: they therefore recognized the nobility of individual families (not the body of the *Quaranta* as such); permitted the granting of a council seat to sons or brothers; guaranteed a certain rate of replacement in the oligarchy and sought to bind it into a clientage mode. Control of the social dynamic of the city moved therefore into the hands of the popes as political sovereigns; in order to ascend at Bologna one passed through Rome. Between 1513 and 1585, 64 families rotated through the *Quaranta*, but of these only 11 had never held that post earlier and only 23 had an uninterrupted presence in that body. The Bolognese Gregory XIII seems to have changed the policy, committing himself to guaranteeing hereditary succession to the *Quaranta* (but introducing two new families into it, the Bonfioli and Ruini, who were closely tied to him); and in 1584 the commune modified the norms on citizenship, dividing it into three levels: common, *satis ampla* (granted to “Nobilibus Viris, virtute, doctrina, & armis insignibus”), and *amplissima*, reserved to the *nobilissimis viris* and which meant its holders were qualified to hold all communal offices. The three levels were conceded by the *Quaranta*, who identified themselves with the highest level and who in fact acknowledged as their equals only well-deserving cardinals; as citizens *satis ampli* only foreign nobles, university teachers, jurists, and doctors of medicine. An official statement of 1587 underscores that members of the *anzianate* were nobles, as were part of the *tribuni della plebe* (the others were merchants or simple citizens), various secretaries, and financial employees of the commune, and raised the control exercised by the *Quaranta* over local administration. But the *Quaranta* did not control access to their own group.³⁴ In fact, the *Quaranta* were named by papal brief and the competition to obtain such a dignity became frantic during the reign of Sixtus V. The latter, in order to avoid excessive tensions, on 21 March 1590 decided to broaden by ten members the size of the civic *Consiglio* (*Senatus*): for the first time a pope said that its members were *ex Nobilioribus Familijs* and that increasing its number would serve to augment the sociopolitical stability of the commune by maintaining equality among the *cives*; at every future vacancy the councillors would indicate to the sovereign four *cives Nobiles* suitable to hold that office, from among whom he

34 For incentives to broaden the *Quaranta*: Fanti, “Un progetto di riforma.” For the norms of 1584: *Concessionones, brevia, ac alia indulta*, pp. 79–81 (for the quotation pp. 79–80). For the 1587 statement: Gardi, *Lo Stato in provincia*, pp. 120–26. On citizenship: Angelozzi and Casanova, *Diventare cittadini*; Idem, “Essere cittadini.”

would choose one. It was no less than the recognition on the part of the prince of the existence of a civic nobility and the concession to the counciliar families of a closure of class under the surveillance of the pontiff. Also in the selection of the ruling class and in the control of the social dynamic the sovereign solicited the collaboration of the oligarchy, which he had agreed to formalize.³⁵

In the long period extending from the end of the 14th century to the end of the 16th century, an ideology persisted at Bologna that tied political rights to citizenship and to forms of collegiality and republican equality, but the institutions of popular government were progressively weakened, with the authority of the commune becoming concentrated in new bodies, formally extraordinary and restricted. Such a policy was promoted by the greatest *popolo* families who (together with some of magnate and traditional noble origin) competed to control those new magistracies, to regulate access to them and possibly thus to monopolize local institutions; for such a purpose they organized themselves into inter-class factions, allied themselves to foreign powers and sought to procure for themselves badges of honor within and outside Bologna. Since the guilds and arms societies of the *populus* had rapidly been paralyzed by their trust in factions and by the control of extraordinary commissions (the *Dieci*, *Sedici*, *Quaranta*), the political dialectic became concentrated around approximately 200 principal families, and a neo-noble mentality became diffused in popular opinion, which accepted hereditary social distinctions. While the factions aimed at organizing party regimes that excluded part of the possible ruling class from office, the dukes of Milan and the popes, when able to exercise their sovereignty over Bologna, sought to form a power group that united all notables into a common loyalty to the prince. In the 16th century the popes succeeded in implementing such a policy, which cemented a stable oligarchy recognized by the sovereign as a civic nobility (or as citizenship with full rights), sustained by him in its leadership of local institutions and society. The collaboration between the counciliar oligarchy and the sovereign who controlled access to it was consolidated and lasted to the end of the *ancien régime*, constituting the Bolognese manifestation of a process common to all of Italy.³⁶

35 For the norms of 1590: *Statuta civilia et criminalia*, vol. 2, pp. 385-89 (for the quotations pp. 386-87). For the closure of class in the Papal State: Zenobi, *Le 'ben regolate città'*, pp. 71-72, 174, 178 (who dates closure back to 1466).

36 For which see among his many works, Chittolini, *Città, comunità e feudi*; Castelnuevo, "L'identità politica"; Fasano Guarini, *L'Italia moderna*.

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Criminal Justice and Conflict Resolution

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The subfield of criminal justice history has undergone a tremendous burgeoning of scholarly activity during the past generation and the abundance of the premodern Bolognese criminal court records in particular has attracted and continues to attract a rich outpouring of scholarship. Interest in the Bolognese courts is not, to be sure, a new phenomenon. In the early 19th century the philologist and historian Ottavio Mazzoni Toselli plumbed the records for sensational crimes and in the early 20th century Hermann Kantorowicz compared the criminal procedure handbook of Albertus Gandinus with the court records generated in the cities, including Bologna, where Gandinus served as a criminal court judge in the late 13th century.¹ But historians of Bologna were not prominent in the positivist tradition that characterized the subfield until the last decades of the 20th century.² At that point there was a shift away from the positivist assumption that court records reflected quantifiable criminal behavior and actual levels of violence to an emphasis on those records as reflecting governmental policies and prosecution patterns.³ The still dominant statist framework was soon replaced, however, in large part because of the influence of social anthropology and the rejection of the Grand Narrative of state growth, with a new “processual approach” to the legal history of late medieval Bologna and to the study of premodern criminal justice in general.⁴ In a path-breaking series of articles based largely on Bolognese sources, Massimo Vallerani has emphasized the importance of negotiation, reconciliation, and conflict resolution in the tremendous growth of the courts in the late

1 Mazzoni Toselli, *Cenno sull'antica storia*; Idem, *Racconti storici*; Kantorowicz, *Albertus Gandinus*. Frati, *La vita privata di Bologna*, relied heavily on the works of Mazzoni Toselli, but also consulted the statutes and archival documents for his chapter on “Delitti e pene.”

2 Two exceptions are the tesi di laurea by Cagali, “La criminalità a Bologna” and Quadrini, “Primi sondaggi.”

3 Blanshei, “Criminal Law and Politics”; Eadem, “Crime and Law Enforcement”; Eadem, “Criminal Justice.”

4 On the processual approach, with specific reference to Vallerani, see Kuehn, “Conflict Resolution,” and for a general but non-Italian-based overview, see Brown and Górecki, “What Conflict Means.”

13th century.⁵ In this essay we review certain issues that are key to the new historiography, offer modifications of particular aspects and indicate where further research is needed. In particular we test the assumptions of the processual approach when one turns one's focus from the late 13th century commune to the prolonged crises of the 14th and 15th centuries and the transition to the revised judicial system of the *Torrone* in the 16th century.

Traditional historiography portrays the transition to the modern judicial system teleologically as a component of the progressive development of the state, exemplified in the shift from accusation to inquisition (*inquisitio*) procedure. In accusation procedure, the complainant initiated the trial and took responsibility for prosecuting the case – calling witnesses, posting sureties, and paying the trial expenses if the result were not a conviction, with the judge acting as a referee, facilitating reconciliation of the disputing parties. In inquisition procedure the judge, acting *ex officio* or on the basis of a denunciation by a local official from an urban parish or rural commune, prosecuted the charge and sought punishment of the alleged culprit. Accusation procedure is associated with a weak state, with its failure to maintain order and the concomitant frequency of contumacious offenders and the prevalence of disputing parties who resolved their differences by private peace accords, whereas *inquisitio* is viewed as a more effective procedure, reflective of a stronger, more modern state. Vallerani, however, shows that accusation procedure, a “bottom-up” process, grew faster than “top-down” *inquisitio* in the late 13th century and was the engine behind the development of the late medieval Bolognese judicial system. Far from declining, trials initiated by accusation procedure underwent an “exceptional diffusion” in the late 13th century, with a steady increase in the number of trials between 1286–96, rising from 650–700 per semester to 318 in 1294. On average, there were 1200–1500 accusation trials per year, in contrast to 150–200 inquisition trials (a ratio of eight to one at the lower levels and 7.5 at the higher levels).⁶ Moreover, Vallerani asserts that the line separating accusation and inquisition is falsely rigid. In his view the notifier or promotor in inquisition trials played a role similar to that of an accuser in accusation procedure, with reconciliation and conflict resolution significant in inquisition trials.⁷

However, the typologies of crime and trial outcomes varied considerably between accusation and inquisition trials. In nearly half of accusation trials the parties litigated over assaults, with offenses in the remaining portion

5 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*.

6 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 121, 126–27. The ratio is our calculation.

7 A view contested by Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, p. 343.

divided among thefts, expropriations of property, debts, and minor offenses. The overwhelming majority of cases (83 per cent), ended in acquittal, usually because the accuser and accused had made a peace accord, with the rest ending in bans because the imputed failed to respond to the summons to appear in court.⁸ A broad range of more serious crimes dominated the caseloads of inquisition trials, indeed the crimes for which the *podestà* and his judges could initiate a trial by their own authority were carefully listed in the statutes and exceptions were made only by legislation from the *Consiglio del popolo*.⁹ The instances in which assault could be initiated by *inquisitio* were restricted to specific “public” places and to attacks at night. Moreover, in practice the use of torture and the prosecution of those considered “vile” or the marginals of society are found almost exclusively in inquisition trials.¹⁰ Although *inquisitio* and the punitive sphere of criminal justice did not grow as fast as that of accusation and reconciliation in the late 13th century, if at all, it did increase in severity. In 1260 mutilation – amputation of a hand or foot – was designated as the penalty for those captured while under ban for major crimes even if the statutes specified only monetary penalties for those crimes. Corporal punishment for those who could not pay their fines became the norm in the 1280s; homicide, which had been punishable by monetary penalty, became a capital crime.¹¹

Although historians of Bologna agree that accusation procedure was overwhelmingly dominant in the late 13th century, they disagree over its importance in the 14th and 15th centuries. Vallerani recognizes that podestarial justice underwent a crisis in the early 14th century and that there is evidence of a “disturbing decline” of accusation trials in 1324, but concludes that this was a crisis of the trial, not of accusation procedure itself, and that the decline in accusation was temporary. He rejects Trevor Dean’s view that accusation had declined by the 15th century and asserts that at the end of the 14th century accusation procedure was “still in play.”¹² Strongly concurring with Vallerani, Joanna

8 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 132–33, 137, 156–57, 163.

9 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 274–75; *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 4, Rubric 7 “De inquisitionibus et quomodo et qualiter debeat procedi in eis et in quibus casibus potestas habeat arbitrium,” vol. 1, pp. 175–79.

10 Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 315, 327–37.

11 Blanshei, “Criminal Law,” pp. 10–11.

12 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, p. 172, fn. 93. He rejects Trevor Dean’s conclusion as given in Dean, “Criminal justice in mid-fifteenth century Bologna,” p. 37, that accusation procedure had virtually disappeared at Bologna by the beginning of the 15th century. Vallerani, however, provides no statistical evidence to substantiate that claim. Dean himself later pushed the demise of accusation procedure back to the middle of the 14th

Carraway Vitiello found that 13.7 per cent of her sample of 238 trials from late 14th century Bologna were initiated by accusation procedure and concluded that accusation procedure “was alive and well at the end of the 14th century.”¹³ The controversial nature of the topic stems at least in part from methodological problems. Variations between semesters and differences among the registers from the same semester make analysis based on the random nature of extant documents precarious, leading to the possibility that the low frequency of accusation trials may simply stem from the non-survival of accusation registers. Fortunately, unbound folios inserted in a number of 14th-century registers by the particular register’s notary list the total documentation that notary passed on to his successor, making it possible to chart the discontinuation of the practice of maintaining separate registers for accusation and inquisition trials. The last extant separate register of accusations dates from 1385.¹⁴ For the 15th century there are no such inventories, but analysis of a sample of *vacchettini e bastardelli*, collections of notes redacted by the notaries during the course of the judicial process (both of inquisition and accusation) and later transcribed into the registers of the *Libri inquisitionum et testium*, shows a similar relationship between the procedures without any danger of distortion of the data from missing registers.¹⁵

The decline of accusation procedure in the 14th century was a precipitous but not a steady process. In the second decade of that century the use of accusation faltered in the face of the exploding expansion of privileged status and legal immunities granted to thousands of members of the guilds and arms societies. Legal privilege not only diminished the frequency of accusation trials but made accusation procedure a vehicle for inter-class conflict rather than intra-class conflict resolution since the immunities granted by privilege meant that for the privileged *bolognesi* accusation procedure could not be used

century, asserting that it was “rare” in his sample from 1351, but his conclusion was based on a single register which contained only four accusation trials: Dean, *Crime and Justice*, p. 37. However, in a recent study, Dean, “Crime and plague,” describes the clear collapse of accusation procedure that he found in all extant registers of the 1340s, a collapse that preceded onset of the Black Death.

13 Vitiello, “Trial Procedure.” Vitiello’s sample is based on four semesters between 1372 and 1393.

14 These inventories are to be distinguished from the inventories found in the *camera actorum* which survive for the 13th century. Fasoli, “Due inventari del comune.” The last separate register of accusations is ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 245, Register 6. After 1401 the word “accusationes” drops out of the register headings.

15 ASB, Podestà, Vacchettini e Bastardelli, Busta 5 (1451-58); Busta 10 (1371-75); Busta 17 (1489-91); Busta 24 (1509-11).

against each other.¹⁶ Comparison of the accusation and inquisition registers of the same notaries shows that by 1326, the last year of communal government before the lordship of Bertrand du Pouget and after six years of privilege-dominated justice, the ratio of accusation to inquisition trials had inverted with a ratio of two to one in favor of inquisitions. By the first semester of 1347, in a sample of registers from six of the eight notaries, there is a 75 per cent decline in comparison with a similar sample from 1304. To be sure, the populations of city and *contado* were declining dramatically over those decades, even before the onset of the Black Death in 1348, but the population loss during that period was approximately 30 per cent, so the decline in accusation cannot be attributed to demographic loss alone. Within an arc of decline, use of accusation revived sporadically. For example, of 115 trials from 1363-64, 39 are by accusation (33.9 per cent), but between 1380-1420 there are only 75 accusations (12 per cent) out of 624 trials.¹⁷ Finally, in a sample from 1447-1511, there are 40 trials by accusation and 380 by inquisition, giving a ratio of one accusation to every 9.5 inquisitions, a ratio in definitive contrast to the eight to one ratio in favor of accusations in the late 13th century.¹⁸

Changes in the statutes also point to this shift in the use of procedure. In the statutes of 1288 there are specific rubrics dedicated to procedure which differentiate accusatory from inquisitorial procedure.¹⁹ In the statutes of 1335 only the method of presenting an accusation and witnesses in an accusation trial is retained, while the distinction between the two procedures in the method of prosecution is lost.²⁰ The rubric describing the nature and differences between the procedures and defining the authority of the *podestà* in application of the

16 The decline of accusation in the 14th century is discussed in detail in Blanshei, "Criminal Trial Procedures."

17 Blanshei, "Criminal Trial Procedures."

18 Cucini, "Législation statutaire." This ratio is based on the sample of trials used in that dissertation, a sample of 443 trials from 1447-1511.

19 *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 4, Rubric 1 "De accusationibus et denuntiationibus et quomodo et qualiter procedi debeat super eis," vol. 1, pp. 169-71; Rubric 2 "De accusatione non facienda ex eo quo facta est semel executio," vol. 1, p. 171; Rubric 3 "Infra quantum tempus debeant fieri accusationes," vol. 1, p. 172; Rubric 4 "Quod possint accusari vel denunciari de morte alicuius et de medicis mittendis et de vulneribus illatis mortuis post mortem," vol. 1, pp. 172-74; Rubric 5 "Ubi debent recipi accusationes, denuntiationes seu notificationes," vol. 1, p. 174; Rubric 7 "De inquisitionibus et quomodo et qualiter debeat procedi in eis in quibus casibus potestas habeat arbitrium," vol. 1, pp. 175-79.

20 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 3 "Infra que tempora accusationes porigi seu institui possint et debeant," vol. 2, pp. 589-91; Rubric 4 "In quibus casibus et infra que tempora porigi seu in scriptis dari possint et debeant nomina testium," vol. 2, pp. 591-92; Rubric 19 "De modo et forma procedendi contra accusatos vel inquisitos

procedures, which is still present in the statutes of 1335, 1352, and 1357, is suppressed in the statutes of 1376 and 1454.²¹

Accusation procedure thus yielded to *inquisitio*, but this development at Bologna was not part of a uniformly-paced or universal change in late medieval Italy or more broadly in Europe, so the question remains why it occurred when it did at Bologna.²² In addition to privilege, as discussed above, historians have pointed as possible causes to the risk of costly expenditures, the war with Ferrara at the end of the 13th century with men away and unable to complete or initiate litigation, the criminalization of tax delinquency which deprived citizens of their right to initiate a criminal or civil complaint, and the increased complexity of trials (more procurators and *exceptiones* and therefore more expenses).²³ But the decline of accusation continued beyond the introduction of these developments, indicating that there may have been other significant disincentives. A major contribution throughout the 14th and 15th centuries was the interjection of the executive authority into criminal court activities. Although the intensity of interference in the courts varied under different regimes, politicization of justice became an accepted *modus operandi* of court activities, a phenomenon particularly acute during the factional struggles of the first two decades of the 14th century and the subsequent establishment of the proto-signory of Romeo Pepoli, and also under the lordship of Taddeo Pepoli and the infamous "tyranny" of the papal legate Baldassare Cossa (1403-15), and under the Bentivoglio before the Malvezzi conspiracy of 1488.

In the 1320s interference took the form of a new procedure for initiating trials – a *querela* or petition to the *Consiglio del popolo* in which the querelant asked the *consiglio* to interfere directly in the criminal court on his or her behalf, either by ordering the *podestà* and his judges to initiate a trial against

contumaces existentes," vol. 2, pp. 623-28; Rubric 20 "De modo et forma procedendi contra accusatos vel inquistos non contumaces," vol. 2, pp. 628-35.

21 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 14 "Qua via procedi possit super malleficiis quibuscumque," vol. 2, p. 607; ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti, vol. 11, n. 44 (1352), fol. 129v; vol. 12, n. 45 (1357), fol. 122v. For the statutes of 1454, see the edition in vol. 2 of Cucini, "Législation statutaire." The criminal norms are not included in the edition of the 1352, 1357, 1376, and 1389 statutes by Braidì, *Gli Statuti del Comune di Bologna*. However, the entire statute of 1376 is edited in Venticelli, "Metodologie elettroniche."

22 For example, "the resistance to the use of inquisition" that Dean found in a comparison of procedures used in Savona in 1355 and 1455, Dean, *Crime and Justice*, pp. 34-37; also Magnani, "Il funzionamento della giustizia" and Cohen, "Inquiring Once More."

23 On expenses, see Blanshei, "Criminal Trial Procedures"; on the war with Ferrara, the criminalization of tax delinquency, and the increased complexity of trials, see Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 294-96 and Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 351-54.

the querelant's opponents or victimizers, or suspend or annul a trial against the querelant, and to do so usually by summary procedure. Approval of the *querela* required a majority vote by the *consiglio*, thereby making an important judicial process subject to political favoritism and the influence of enmities. For those allied with the majority of the *consiglio*'s members, the *querela* represented an attractive alternative to accusation procedure since the ensuing trial was pursued as an inquisition initiated in favor of the querelant.²⁴ The *Consiglio del popolo* and the *querela* process were eliminated in 1327 under the *signoria* of Cardinal du Pouget and replaced by supplication to the lord and the granting of a *gratia* by him, but du Pouget, although he used the *gratia* to cancel bans, seldom used it to interfere in the courts.²⁵ However, under the lordship of Taddeo Pepoli the supplication became an essential part of his system of governance and control of the courts.²⁶ Supplication and *gratia* provided a new method of dispute resolution. Instead of incurring the expenses of an accusation, a petitioner turned to the lord who might make a decision himself or order the court to initiate an *inquisitio*, one that favored the supplicant who had the support of the lord's authority and prestige.

Moreover, the lord's control of all aspects of government made disputants more vulnerable to abuses by the judges who could act with less fear of action against them during their syndications (end-of-term reviews). This vulnerability had already increased with the exclusion of the *consilium sapientis* from the criminal courts. In the late 13th and early 14th centuries a disputant could challenge a judge's decision or the claims of the adversarial party by asking for an independent legal opinion, a *consilium sapientis*, from a local Bolognese judge, one chosen from names supplied by the accuser and the accused, opinions which were almost always accepted by the *podestà*'s judge. In his sample of 2413 accusation trials from 1285-1300, Vallerani found 50 *consilia*.²⁷ However, the statutes of 1335 forbid the use of *consilia* in criminal cases and from the middle of the 14th century they virtually disappear from the court records, except to determine the expenses to be paid by an accuser, promotor, or notifier who took responsibility to prosecute but failed to prove his or her charge.²⁸ In Cucini's 15th-century sample of 443 trials there is only one instance of a

24 Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 418-55.

25 ASB, Comune-Governo, Riformagioni e provvigioni, serie miscellanea, Busta 2 (1301-35), folder "Suppliche del Bertrando del Poggetto."

26 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 306-47.

27 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 151-56, esp. p. 154, fn. 72.

28 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 20 "De modo et forma procedendi contra accusatos vel inquisitos non contumaces," vol. 2, pp. 628-35, esp. p. 635.

consilium, which was provided in 1489 in response to a request to delay the statutory time periods for various steps in the trial to take place.²⁹ In short, the politicization of the courts eroded trust in that institution, making it less attractive to potential accusers. Dispute resolution by accusation was superseded at least in part by supplication and *gratia*, at least for those who had confidence in the current regime and its amity towards them.

Executive control of the judiciary continued under the restored republican government of 1376 with oversight of the judiciary entrusted to the executive council of nine *anziani* and their associated colleges of 26 *massari* and 16 *gonfalonieri*. The *anziani* intervened in court trials, suspending or initiating them and deciding procedural issues. Sometimes the interference was in response to a supplication but the *anziani* also ordered investigations and trials against specific persons, suspended trials, commuted sentences, removed cases from the purview of the courts, and formed special commissions to act as courts of law. The members of the commissions were drawn from the ranks of the *anziani*, *gonfalonieri*, and *massari*.³⁰ Under the *anziani* interference in the courts remained low. Between 1380-1420 there are only ten such instances in a sample of 624 trials in the court of the *podestà*. However, the *anziani* also mandated trials, especially on the charge of conspiracy, in the court of the *capitano del popolo* (an office which was briefly restored in 1376 but which virtually disappeared within a year, appearing thereafter only very sporadically), and between 1378-1446 in the *ad hoc* courts of the *executor* and then the *conservator*.³¹ By the mid-15th century interference in the judicial sphere by the *anziani* was largely replaced by new executive officials who had gradually come to power beginning in the late 14th century – the 16 members of the *Sedici Riformatori dello stato di libertà*, usually referred to as the *Sedici*, leaving to the *anziani* only the authority to annul condemnations lower than 100 pounds. But

29 ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 390, fols. 98r-100v and 183r-90v.

30 ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 237, Register 1, fols. 7r-12v (5 May 5-13 June 1380), in which case the *anziani* suspended an inquisition in response to a supplication because the imputed was over 80 years of age. ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 237, Register 6, fols. 88r-90v (8 August-27 October 1380) for an investigation and trial of seven men who had been captured and were presented to the court at the order of the *anziani*. The men were charged with the robbery of mercenaries from Florence. The trial lasted two months but then was suspended by order of the *anziani*. For a special commission, ASB Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 268, Register 2, fols. 177r-78v (20-27 October 1395). For other examples, see Blanshei, "Criminal Trial Procedures."

31 All four trials in the *capitano*'s court in 1386 were mandated by the *anziani*. ASB, Capitano del Popolo, Giudici del Capitano, Registers 824, 825.

by 1457 even this prerogative was revoked and transferred to the *Sedici*.³² The *Sedici* received supplications and issued pardons, annulled condemnations, issued temporary safe conducts for *banniti*, and lowered and commuted sentences.³³ They also made penalties harsher than those issued by the judges or ordered the courts to issue condemnations and determined the penalty to be issued, decided on suspensions of laws concerning the judicial process, imprisoned certain imputed persons, abrogated specific statutory procedures, gave the *podestà* special grants of increased *arbitrium* and established special commissions, selected from their own membership, to work together with the *podestà* and his judges to deal with certain types of crime or act against certain offenders.³⁴ By controlling criminal justice, the *Sedici*, representing local Bolognese political power, maintained a significant level of autonomy from pontifical authority, an autonomy which was also specially demonstrated in the application of sanctions for crimes of a political nature.

The "criminalization of political offenses" was a process that began in the late 13th century during the factional conflicts of the Lambertazzi and Geremei. At that time the *capitano del popolo* and his judges were entrusted with the prosecution of political *banniti* and *confinati* and with the management of disputes arising from the confiscated properties of political opponents.³⁵ The office of the *capitano del popolo* was eliminated under the 14th-century signorial regimes, and although restored briefly in 1376, again with a focus on political crime, that function was assumed by the Bentivoglio-dominated *Sedici* as a consequence of that faction's conflict with the Canetoli family and the assassination in 1445 of Annibale Bentivoglio. In 1447, faced with various attempts of the banned Canetoli to return to Bologna, the *Sedici* assumed the

32 ASB, Comune-Governo, Libri Partitorum, n. 383, Register 1, fol. 9v (1450); n. 384, Register 3, fol. 19v; Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 2, p. 488.

33 Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 1, pp. 314-16, 371. For the issuance of special *arbitrium* to the *podestà* during the communal period by the *Consiglio del popolo*, see Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 277-92; Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 408-18.

34 For examples from the Libri Partitorum, n. 383 and 387, see Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 1, pp. 319-40. For an example of a special commission established in 1452 to act against theft in the *contado* and sodomy in the city, see ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 383, Register 1, fol. 68v (also discussed by Dean, "Criminal justice," p. 31). For a commission dealing with a specific crime, in this case an alleged assassin, ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 387, Register 8, fol. 45r.

35 Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*, pp. 439, 459; Idem, "Banditi, *malesardi* e ribelli." In the later 14th and early 15th centuries responsibility for political crime was moved to the *executor iustitie* and then to the *conservator pacis*, the latter office disappearing with the assumption of control for political crime by the *Sedici*.

exclusive right to determine guilt, manage sanctions, negotiate penalties, and grant pardons for political crimes, and to do so independently of papal authority. As usual, their authority was not incorporated into the statutes of 1454 but was confirmed formally in a 1449 provision of "self-regulation" promulgated by the *Sedici* themselves. They thereby defined and affirmed their autonomous sphere of action in relationship to the papacy, which technically retained the right to sanction crimes of rebellion.³⁶ However, they worked in tandem with the *podestà*, leaving him and his judges to deal summarily with lesser conspirators while the *Sedici* concerned themselves with elite opposition. The role of the *Sedici* in criminal justice thus was fundamental to the establishment and stability of the Bentivoglio *signoria*, but the Malvezzi conspiracy of 1488 and the Bentivoglio tensions with Alexander VI combined to erode the capacity of the *Sedici* to act as a judicial instrument for maintaining the regime. Repression of political crime shifted to an extra-judicial sphere. For example, punishment of the Marescotti family conspiracy in 1501 is narrated by the chroniclers but does not appear in the judicial or legislative documentation.³⁷ Indeed, legislation for criminal justice was almost totally produced in 1460-70, and virtually disappeared after 1480, as does evidence of *Sedici* activity over the judiciary, which became limited in the 1480s to acts of clemency.³⁸

As the executive officials, first the *anziani* and then the *Sedici*, increased their control over the courts they also expanded the *arbitrium* or jurisdictional authority of the *podestà* and his judges, and *inquisitio* was the instrument of that expansion. In 1294 the government had tried to broaden the *podestà*'s jurisdiction, giving him authority to initiate a longer list of crimes by inquisition procedure, but the courts were overwhelmed by the volume of trials that ensued and the legislation was quickly rescinded.³⁹ The statutes of 1335, however, in comparison with those of 1288, show that the *podestà* had gained authority over crimes that earlier had been outside his initiative. *Verba iniuriosa*, for example, for which he had had authority only in cases of magnate acts against *popolani* and acts against officials, became part of his *arbitrium*.⁴⁰ The

36 For the text of 1447, ASB, Comune-Governo, Liber Novarum Provisionum, n. 306, fols. 177r-80v (modern numeration) and Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 1, pp. 428-35; for the text of 1449, Duranti, *Diplomazia e Autogoverno*, pp. 78-81, and pp. 277-79.

37 Gigli, *Cronica*, p. 65.

38 Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 1, pp. 253, 325-27.

39 The enabling legislation was enacted in December 1294 and annulled 24 January 1295. ASB, Comune-Governo, Riformagioni e provvigioni n. 139, fol. 139r.

40 *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 4, Rubric 23 "De Pena eius qui iniuriam vel obprobrium vel contumeliam fecerit domino potestati vel eius familia," vol. 1, pp. 191-92 and Rubrics 38-41, vol. 1, pp. 206-07; *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 64

1288 statutes had limited the *podestà* to crimes that occurred in his term (usually six months) or within the preceding three weeks; gradually, as the typologies of crime for which he had authority expanded, so did the temporal periods of his jurisdiction and in the 1454 statutes he has authority to intervene in crimes against public order up to five years after the crime was committed. He could also act upon crimes that fit two other categories of offenses if they occurred within the prior two years.⁴¹ New measures increased the reporting efficacy of *ministrales* (urban parish officials) and the *massari* in the rural communes. In the 1288 statutes these officials could denounce only homicides and woundings with the shedding of blood if committed with weapons and had only one day to do so. In the 1376 and subsequent statutes they were given authority to report all cases of woundings with any type of weapon, as well as theft, kidnapping, rape, and arson. The period of notification was extended to three days for crime in the city and eight days for the *contado*. For the same purpose, the monetary fine for failure to report these crimes was increased considerably, becoming proportional to the gravity of the crime.⁴² An important distinction should be noted, however, between these crimes which local officials were *required* to report and those which they could report *only* if accompanied by a complaint (*requisitio*) from the victim or someone on behalf of the victim.⁴³ If the complaint were in the second category and the charge

"De Pena vulnerantis seu percucientis vel insultantis aliquem," vol. 2, pp. 689-91. On the tension in the early decades of the 14th century between the government's desire to expand control but at the same time curb the foreign judges who staffed its courts (and protect privileged citizens from those judges), see Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, pp. 297-300.

41 For the 1288 statutes see fn. 9 above. For 1335, *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 15 "De casibus in quibus dominus potestas tenetur inquirere," vol. 2, pp. 607-12, Bk. 8, Rubric 17 "De casibus in quibus dominus potestas possit inquirere," vol. 2, pp. 616-19; for 1352, ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti 11, n. 44, fols. 129v-31v; for 1357, Statuti 12 n. 45, fols. 122v-24v; for 1376, Statuti 13 n. 46 fols. 219r-21r; for 1389, Statuti 14 n. 47, fols. 293r-95r; for 1454-63, Statuti 17 n. 50, fols. 312v-15r.

42 ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti (1376) 13, n. 46, fols. 218v-19r; Statuti (1389-1453) 14, n. 47, fols. 292r-93r; Statuti (1454-63) 17, n. 50, fols. 311v-12v. The complaint was usually referred to as *ad requisitionem*, but other formulas were also used, such as *ad protestacionem* or *ad querelam*. The latter terms were used very differently in the early 14th century, for which see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 369-77, 408-18.

43 Trevor Dean notes this distinction in the 1454 statutes. Dean, "Criminal justice," p. 18. District officials were required to report homicide, robbery, kidnapping, arson, woundings with bloodshed, and blows to the face for which there was *publica vox et fama* in their local area. Other crimes required a complainant. The change actually appears earlier in the late 14th century statutes: ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti (1389-1453), 14, n. 47, Bk. 8,

were not proven, the complainant was then responsible for court expenses. Property disputes belonged to the second category and indeed were the most conflictual, complex, and lengthiest of late 14th-century trials and, as noted above, featured the rare use of the *consilium sapientis*.⁴⁴ In the 1335 statutes 48 categories of crime are described as requiring that action be taken by the *podestà* with another 22 listed as those in which he could initiate an investigation, for a total of at least 70 different crimes.⁴⁵ The proportions between the two categories shifted somewhat, however, and in the 1454 statutes 55 required action by the *podestà* and 18 were in the optional category.

In general, a series of changes in the 14th century made inquisition trials more streamlined and criminal justice more removed from the emphasis on negotiation and reconciliation that marked accusation procedure. By means of the *licentia*, the imputed granted permission to the judge to proceed, after the imputed's initial appearance in court, through all stages of the trial, including interrogation of witnesses and up to final sentencing, without any further appearance in court of the imputed.⁴⁶ Secondly, the investigative function of the trial judge changed. In the late 13th and first half of the 14th centuries the judge, upon receiving a denunciation, sent his *miles* and one of his notaries to initiate the trial by an investigation at the scene of the crime, or even, albeit less frequently, whether the crime had occurred in the city or *contado*, went to the scene in person. This initial interrogation of witnesses took place in the presence of the *ministralis* or *massarius* and two "good men" of the urban parish or rural commune who could vouch for the integrity of the witnesses and their age (40 years or older). Many witnesses were usually involved, on average at least seven or eight but sometimes even dozens. The judge also, at least under certain circumstances, ordered a medical report in the case of serious injuries or killings. Only after completing these steps would he then proceed to issue a ban if the imputed failed to respond to the summons to court, or if the

Rubric 10 "De notificationibus mallificiorum per Ministrales vel Massarios fiendis," fols. 291r-82r.

44 For example, ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 274, fols. 106r-12r (11 August-19 October 1398).

45 *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 15 "De casibus in quibus dominus potestas tenetur inquirere," vol. 2, pp. 607-12, Bk. 8, Rubric 17 "De casibus in quibus dominus potestas possit inquirere," vol. 2, pp. 612-16.

46 The formula appears sporadically in the trial records of the 1360s and consistently beginning in 1368. ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 195, Register 4, fols. 32v-33r, 41r, 44r (September 1363). However, the formula is not found in the records of 1364 (Mazzo 200), 1365 (Mazzo 202), 1366 (Mazzo 203), or 1367 (Mazzo 204). It became an integral part of trial procedure in 1368 (Mazzo 205, Register 11).

imputed were in custody, to interrogate him or her, or if there were sufficient *indicia* (circumstantial evidence), to order the torture of the imputed. This process was followed even in the case of infamous thieves and assassins.⁴⁷ The importance of interrogation at the scene of the crime is reflected in an ordinance of 1295 that permitted conviction with one witness and *publica fama* if evidence for the latter was obtained at the scene of the crime itself, in contrast to the *ordo iudiciarius* which called for two eyewitnesses.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, by mid-14th century the practice was discontinued and in addition bans were issued without interrogation of witnesses, merely on the basis of a denunciation by a local official and the failure of the imputed to appear in court. Witnesses named in the *libelli* submitted by the local officials were summoned and testified only in trials in which the imputed appeared in court and denied the charges.⁴⁹

Inquisitio became a more potent instrument in the hands of the judges, moreover, as they gained more discretion in the use of torture. Torture and brutality have long been the hallmarks of judicial violence in traditional historiography, although revisionists in the last two decades have challenged that imagery. Vallerani emphasized the infrequency of torture in the late 13th and early 14th century, but Blanshei has pointed to its relative frequency in that period when one views its use in the context of the number of trials in which the imputed was actually in custody and vulnerable to torture.⁵⁰ In the 14th and 15th centuries the trial records usually give only the fact of confessions and not how it was obtained, making a quantitative study of torture for that period impossible,⁵¹ but there is legislative and statutory evidence that torture was

47 ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 8, Register 1, fols. 25r-31v (26-27 August). For a published example, see Kantorowicz, *Albertus Gandinus*, vol. 1, pp. 203-18 for the 1299 trial of three men for theft. The one in custody was hanged, but only after nine witnesses testified against him and he was subsequently tortured. The other two were banned as public and famous thieves.

48 *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, "Ordinamenta," vol. 1, pp. 576-92.

49 Dean, "Crime and plague." However, this observation requires further research since in two works, "Getting out of jail," and "Investigating Homicide," Dean finds important evidence in the *vacchettini* documents (the notes taken by the notaries before and during the trial, some of which were later transcribed into the trial records themselves, that is, the *Libri inquisitionum et testium*), of the interrogation of witnesses during what seems to have become a kind of pre-trial stage of judicial investigation. On this issue also see Blanshei, "Criminal Trial Procedures."

50 Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, p. 68; Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 320-37.

51 Cucini found only one instance in her sample of inquisitions (in 1465) in which torture, not just a "spontaneous confession" was specified (in a case of rape). Due to a change in

applied with fewer restrictions, indicating a greater frequency and tolerance of its use and abuse. In the late 13th century citizens, especially the thousands of members of the guilds and arms societies, held special protection from torture and its use fell more heavily on marginal social groups and foreigners. In the early decades of the next century, *popolani*, despite their legal privileges, seem to have become more vulnerable to torture, as indicated by dozens of claims between 1317-26 that the judges were subjecting them illegally to torture.⁵² Provisions for the special protection of *popolani* were included in the statutes of 1335 and 1376 but disappear in 1454. Legislation in 1380, in response to complaints from officials that they were hamstrung in their prosecutory efforts, had loosened the controls against torture by permitting the judges to apply torture a second time without new *indicia* in cases of “urgency” and also against *personas viles*.⁵³ Moreover, the sanction against a judge who abused his authority to torture was reduced from 1000 pounds in the statutes from 1288 through 1357, to 500 pounds in those of 1376 and 1389, and fell to merely 100 pounds in the statutes of 1454.⁵⁴

Inquisition procedure became more frequent and stronger and torture probably more widespread, but did increased brutality accompany expansion of *inquisitio*? The answer remains obscure and the evidence does not yet support a conclusion, although Trevor Dean has posited that by the late 14th century “the more atrocious forms of punishment (burial alive, castration, blinding, amputation of tongue, lips, feet) had become rare in Bologna.”⁵⁵ On the one hand, the chronicler Pietro di Mattiolo recorded the public executions he witnessed between 1391-1421, a period considered by contemporaries and recognized by historians today as one of harsh repression, yet for those 30 years he describes only four exemplary punishments.⁵⁶ On the other hand, although Blanshei found only two examples of quartering, one in 1326 and another in

documentary practice, the use of torture becomes more clear in a register of 1495 in the *notai forensi* series. Cucini, “Législation statutaire,” vol. 1, pp. 390-91.

52 Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 371-73 and Table v.5, pp. 601-39.

53 ASB, Comune-Governo, Riformagioni e provvigioni, 286, Register 42, fols. 57rv (15 June 1380). We thank Trevor Dean for bringing this reference to our attention.

54 *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, Bk. 4, Rubric 17 “De tondolo et tormento,” vol. 1, pp. 184-85; *Lo Statuto del comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, Bk. 8, Rubric 23 “De thondollo et tormento,” vol. 2, pp. 644-49; ASB, Comune-Governo, Statuti (1352) 11, n. 44, fols. 140r-41r; (1357) 12, n. 45, fols. 131v-32r; (1376) 13, n. 46 fols. 227rv; (1389-1453) 14, n. 47 fols. 303rv; (1454-63) 17, n. 50, fols. 325r-26v.

55 Dean, “Criminal justice,” p. 27. He relies, however, on Mazzoni Toselli, *Cenno sull'antica storia*, whose quantitative data cover only 1295-1353.

56 Cantelmi, *Bologna fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, pp. 240-41.

1395, Dean found five instances between 1419-91 and Cucini found three instances in the chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata between 1452-61, and one in her condemnations sample between 1505-11, hardly a pattern of diminution in its albeit infrequent use.⁵⁷ What is clear, however, is that the continued use of exemplary harsh penalties co-existed with new policies that mitigated punishment – peace accords, poverty pleas, and reduction of penalties by one quarter if the imputed confessed.

To be sure, peace accords and poverty pleas had formed the basis for pardons and amnesties since at least the mid-13th century, with mitigation of 500-pound bans for homicide because of the culprits' poverty recorded in the *bandi* register of 1234.⁵⁸ Mitigation of penalties by peace accord appears occasionally in the records of 1338 and in the 1340s.⁵⁹ But the nature of those practices changed as they became integral parts of *inquisitio* for non-capital crimes in the second half of the 14th century, only to have their use diminish considerably in the second half of the 15th century. Unlike earlier accusation procedure, the peace accord was not brought to court to stop a trial, but to mitigate the penalty.⁶⁰ The imputed appeared in court, usually confessed to the charge, and had a procurator (but not always) who on his or her behalf presented either a peace accord (verified by a notarial document) and a poverty plea, and sometimes both, with the names of witnesses who would give evidence of the imputed's poverty. The standard for proving poverty was that

57 Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, vol. 1, pp. 307, 324, 325; Cantelmi, *Bologna fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, pp. 240-41; Dean, *Crime in Medieval Europe*, p. 63; Blanshei, "Gruesome Penalties"; ASB, Podestà, *Sententiae*, Busta 43 (1505-11). In the case from Cucini's sample (issued *in absentia*, in contrast to those found in Dalla Tuata), the culprit was to be struck in the back of the head with a mallet in order to induce putrefication and only after he died from that wound was he to be quartered.

58 For amnesties and peace accords, see Blanshei, *Politics and Justice*, pp. 459-61; Wray, "Instruments of Concord." For the 1234 *bandi* register, see Vanghi, "Il 'Liber bannitorum communis Bononie,'" pp. 42, 62-63, 69-70. A provision of 1245 allowed bans to be cancelled with presentation of a peace accord and payment of a reduced fine. Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, p. 179.

59 Four of 146 trials in a sample from 1339 have peace accords, but they rarely appear in the 1340s. ASB, Podestà, *Inquisitiones*, Mazzo 151, Registers 1-5 (1339). Blanshei, "Criminal Trial Procedures."

60 However the peace accord also had served earlier to mitigate penalties, as in 1257 when a new provision enabled a *bannitus* to have his or her ban cancelled without payment of a fine if a peace accord had been obtained from the victim. The use of the peace accord for this purpose vacillated in the 13th century between periods of leniency and severity. Blanshei, "Criminal Law and Politics," pp. 6-8; Eadem, "Crime and Law Enforcement," p. 126.

the imputed was without material goods worth more than 25 pounds, with the frequent addition that he was gravely burdened with a family and worked by the sweat of his brow to gain his daily nourishment.⁶¹ The poverty plea became a regular feature of court procedure in October 1368 in the *ad malleficia* court of the *podestà*, and the mitigation duo of peace accord and poverty plea were normal procedures in the courts of the *capitano del popolo* and *capitano delle montagne* by 1379 and 1381 respectively.⁶² However in a reverse trend, Cucini in her sample of 443 trials from the mid-15th to the early 16th century found only 15 poverty pleas (eight of which were from 1447-48) and another eight peace accords (four of which were again from 1447-48).⁶³

Dean also maintains that there was a “monetization of penalties” by the 15th century, although he notes that penalties became more severe for sex crimes and against the lower classes, especially for theft. But his point on monetization needs further research since there is a shift in the nature of the documentation that may camouflage the extent of monetary penalties in the earlier period when afflictive and monetary condemnations were recorded in separate registers. Very few registers of monetary penalties are extant and they have yet to be analyzed.⁶⁴ Moreover, the 1454 statutes set a limitation on the practice that had been in place since the 13th century of permitting the killing of banned persons with impunity. This could now be done only if the monetary condemnation was 100 pounds or more.⁶⁵ However, the harshness of

61 For mitigation because of poverty in the mid-13th century statutes, see *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, vol. 1, Bk. 3, Rubric 11 “Quod illi qui non solvunt penas constitutas ponantur in bano,” p. 355. For the 25-pound figure, see, for example, ASB, Capitano del Popolo, Giudici del Capitano, Register 825, fols. 28r-33v (May-June 1386).

62 In the *podestà*'s court in the first semester of 1368, in six extant registers with 168 trials, there are 20 trials with poverty pleas (12 per cent) and (in some cases in the same trial) 60 peace accords (36.3 per cent). ASB, Podestà, Inquisitiones, Mazzo 206, Registers 1, 4, 6-8, 10. The policy was the innovation of the new papal legate, possibly in an effort to ameliorate the infamous harshness of his predecessor. Trevor Dean hypothesized that the poverty plea was rare before 1440 but also noted that more research on this practice was needed. Dean, “Criminal justice,” p. 29.

63 Cucini, “Législation statutaire,” vol. 1, pp. 404-05.

64 Dean, “Criminal justice,” p. 27 and Idem, *Crime and Justice* pp. 198-99 for a decline in whippings from 11 per cent in his mid-14th century sample to 3 per cent in his mid-15th century sample. Five collections of unanalyzed *condanne pecuniarie* have survived in the Accusationes series from 1287, 1290, 1293-94, 1297. The 1454 statutes call for pecuniary penalties for a clear majority of crimes, but unknown is the proportion of those convicted who could not pay their fines and suffered bodily punishments as a consequence. Cucini, “Législation statutaire,” vol. 1, pp. 209-12, 492.

65 Cucini, “Législation statutaire,” vol. 1, pp. 201, 207.

penalties retained and perhaps increased its class bias. In 1353 a person who could not pay a monetary condemnation or provide *fideiussores* was to be imprisoned and if still unable to pay within ten days, was to be beaten through the streets and then have his ears pierced.⁶⁶ The 1454 statutes call for *contadini* who wounded their citizen-patrons to be hanged and include a new practice of systematically introducing torture into penology – those who could not pay their monetary penalties were to receive five pulls of the rope (the notorious *strappado*).⁶⁷ Nor does incarceration seem to have played a significant role in ameliorating penalties. Trevor Dean's analysis of those held in prison in a 12-month period in 1438-39 shows that those held for crimes were a minority, only about one-sixth of the total of 350 persons in custody.⁶⁸ Finally, those upon whom corporal or capital punishment was inflicted most heavily remained from the late 13th to the 16th century those who were foreigners (that is, non-*bolognesi*), *contadini*, and those who were deemed *personas viles* or the marginals of society.⁶⁹ Were more or fewer capital penalties inflicted in the late 15th and 16th centuries than in the late 13th and early 14th centuries? Postulating such a question is extremely precarious, albeit crucial to the issue of judicial violence, since it requires comparing sample figures over time and within the context of largely conjectural demographic data. At this point only a hypothesis can be ventured for future research. Vallerani's sample of corporal and capital penalties (executed sentences, not bans) from six years between 1292-1317 yields 85 capital sentences and 40 corporal sentences. A set of condemnations from 8 June 1351-18 May 1353 analyzed by Blanshei (a nearly

66 ASB, Podestà, Sententiae 20, Register 61.

67 Vestrucci, "Un confronto tra gli statuti criminali," pp. 48-49; R. Pini, *Le giustizie dipinte*, pp. 16-36; Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 1, p. 470, for a provision on the *strappado* as a punishment from 1507; also Niccoli, "Rituals of Youth."

68 Dean, "Getting out of jail." However, Dean also notes that the very few persons imprisoned during this period who then received corporal or capital punishment indicates the "small role that physical punishment played in the penal economy in later medieval Italy." His documentation is based on ASB, Comune-Governo, Soprastante alle prigioni. Also see Geltner, *The Medieval Prison*.

69 Blanshei, "Crime and Law Enforcement," pp. 122-23. An exception to this pattern can be found in the mid-14th century during the militarization of Bologna under the foreign domination of the Visconti. In that period, the presence of foreign mercenaries looms largely in the trial records and in the condemnation records. For inquisition trials, see the sample of over 50 cases from 1351 compiled by Dean, *Crime and Justice*, p. 37, and the 104 condemnations from 8 June 1351 through 18 May 1353, ASB, Podestà, Sententiae 20, Register 61. For the predominance of the poor in prosecution patterns in the 16th century, see Gheza Fabbri, *L'organizzazione del lavoro*, p. 19 and Eadem, "L'organizzazione del lavoro. Corporazioni e gruppi," pp. 668-69, 721.

complete set of sentences) contains 65 capital sentences for that two-year period. In the 1410s and 1420s nine to 13 persons were executed annually. The population was nearly half its late 13th century size which would indicate that capital punishment had declined faster than the population. Cucini's sample of penalties from the *Sententiae* records between 1468-1511, when the population was comparable to that of the late 13th century, yields 23 capital sentences and 20 corporal sentences, a finding that suggests executions and bodily punishments may have continued to decline in the late 15th century.⁷⁰

Bolognese criminal justice as portrayed thus far in this essay would seem to have been an exclusively masculine one, but women as well as men appear of course in the trial and condemnations records, not only as victims, particularly of domestic abuse, but as litigators in property disputes, as perpetrators of violent crimes, and as key figures in marital, inter-class and political conflicts, subjects which have been analyzed in a series of works by Carol Lansing for the Duecento and Trevor Dean for the mid-14th to the mid-15th century.⁷¹ Sara Cucini's current research also shows there were distinctive aspects in the nature of women's roles in violence as perceived by the courts and how this affected the reporting of crime by women. The imbalance between women and men in criminal court records has long been recognized but the proportion of women imputed in Cucini's sample of trials (1445-1512) is particularly low (3.28 per cent), contrasting sharply with Matteo Magnani's data for Turin and that of Samuel Cohn for Florence.⁷² Disaggregating her data into typologies of crime by urban/*contado* categories, Cucini finds that crime by women in the *contado* was significantly under-reported, with such crimes reaching the courts only in cases that could not be ignored because of their exceptional

70 Vallerani, "Sfere di giustizia," p. 315. ASB, Podestà, *Sententiae* 20, Register 61 (1351-53). The bound set of loose folios appears complete, which would make it an almost unique document of its type in its integrity, but comparison with the extant inquisitions from that period shows that at least one capital sentence was not included or was lost in the bound set. For the 1420s-40s data, see Terpstra, "Theory into Practice," p. 121. For the 1468-1511 data, see Cucini, "Législation statutaire," vol. 1, p. 394. This comparison of data can be considered only as impressionistic, not as offering a conclusion, given the varied incompleteness of the extant sources and the uncertainty in the later data set that the sentences were actually carried out.

71 Lansing, "Concubines, Lovers and Prostitutes"; Eadem, "Conflicts over Gender"; Eadem, "*Donna con donna?*"; Eadem, "Gender and civic authority"; Eadem, "Girls in trouble"; Eadem, "Poisoned Relations." Dean, "Domestic violence"; Idem, "Fathers and daughters"; Idem, "Gender and insult"; Idem, "Theft and gender." Also see Lett, "Genre, enfance et violence."

72 Magnani, "I conflitti dei governati," p. 454; Cohn, "Women in the Streets," pp. 26-27.

fama. Moreover, when comparing the proportions of violent to non-violent crime by urban men and women, she finds the proportions exactly the same between the two categories for women but greatly different for men (72.57 per cent versus 24.3 per cent). She postulates that these data reflect not the non-violence of women but rather that minor violence by women was again a phenomenon undervalued and under-reported unless it fit the stereotypes of female violence – poisoning, infanticide, and servant-killers of their masters' children.⁷³ Comparable data for earlier periods is needed in this area as well.

Between the mid-13th and early 16th century, despite the shift from accusation to inquisition procedure, criminal justice in Bologna remained generally within a framework of practices established in the late 13th century. Whether under republican or signorial regimes, the period was characterized by an *iter* based on the solemnities of due process, yet interrupted frequently by extraordinary tribunals, petitions, and supplications that resulted in grants of summary justice or clemency and an interference by the executive officials that eroded trust in the criminal courts.⁷⁴ In the late 13th century the *podestà* Corso Donati lamented his inability to enforce the law because malefactors enjoyed a politically privileged position, and in the 1440s contemporary and later chroniclers described the lawlessness of men who were protected by their adherence to the Bentivoglio faction.⁷⁵ But substantive change did come gradually after the papacy gained effective control of Bologna in 1506. Julius II was determined to put an end to the privileges and conflicts of the elite classes and to accomplish this he sought to remove their influence over the criminal and civil courts.

The first decade of the 16th century saw the podestarial courts remain active, even after the pope confirmed in 1512 his exclusive right to the election of the *podestà*. However, in 1523 Clement VII officially granted the papal legate Innocenzo Cybo the power to take charge of any and all cases litigated in the podestarial courts. The new Bolognese Senate which had replaced the *Sedici* opposed such a loss of its control of criminal justice, and proposed an alternative plan that would have established a collegial tribunal composed of judges named by the Senate with competence both in civil and criminal cases. That

73 Cucini, "La violenza al femminile."

74 Blanshei, "Homicide in a Culture of Hatred," for the impact of mistrust and illegitimacy on criminal justice.

75 ASB, Comune-Governo, Riformagioni del Consiglio del Popolo 1, fol. 32v (12 August 1288), also cited in Vallerani, *Medieval Public Justice*, p. 278. Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*, pp. 90-91; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 107, 116, 129, 130, also cited in Dean, "Criminal Justice," p. 25.

plan was only partially accepted by the papal authorities, who authorized creation of a tribunal, the *Rota*, composed of five non-Bolognese judges chosen by the Senate with exclusive competence in the civil sphere.⁷⁶ Criminal justice, however, remained within the purview of the Holy See, as an essential means of controlling public order and the sanctioning of political crimes.⁷⁷ By 1535 a new criminal court was created, the *Tribunale del Torrione* (the name was derived from the great tower of the Palazzo Pubblico which held the prisons and in which the hearing of criminal cases took place). This tribunal was managed by an *auditore*, who was part of the legatine entourage and who was responsible for sanctioning all cases in criminal justice, but the papacy's progress in achieving a judicial monopoly was a slow one, accomplished only at the end of the 17th century, when it also reined in the violence of the Bolognese nobles.⁷⁸

All trials in the *Torrione* followed inquisition procedure and were initiated by denunciations from *ministrals* and *massari* and by complaints (*querele*) from aggrieved parties, but the *auditore* was not able to proceed *ex officio* on the basis of *publica fama* of the crime, except in the case of *crimina atrociora* and for crimes specifically designated in the legatine *Constitutiones* that were promulgated in 1556 to govern *Torrione* procedures and financing.⁷⁹ All imputed persons were required to have a procurator and for the poor who could not afford one Cybo in 1536 established the office of the procurator of the poor.⁸⁰ The *auditore* was assisted by two *sottoauditori* and a chancery of eight notaries, one of whom was designated the *caponotaio*. The notaries, who held office for two years, gained a reputation for corruption and in an effort to curb their abuses, the *caponotaio* (who appointed the other notaries) was placed in 1563 under the control of the Bolognese *Monte di Pietà*.⁸¹ The *auditore* and his judges, unlike his podestarial counterparts who served on a six-month rotating basis, held office indefinitely, and could serve long terms, thereby becoming

76 Angelozzi and Casanova, *La giustizia criminale in una città di antico regime*, pp. 21-31.

77 Di Zio, "Il Tribunale del Torrione," p. 335; Eadem, "Il tribunale criminale di Bologna nel sec. XVI."

78 Angelozzi and Casanova, *La nobiltà disciplinata*.

79 ASB, Assunteria del Torrione, Bandi e Stampe, *Constitutiones Turrone Bononie* (1566).

80 The advocate of the poor was officially created by Clement VIII in 1599, although a similar figure is already mentioned in the *matricula* of the *Collegio dei dottori, giudici e avvocati di Bologna*, redicated at the end of the 14th century, for which see *Gli statuti del collegio dei dottori*, p. 13, and in the ordinances of the *frati gaudenti*, as cited by Di Zio, "Il Tribunale del Torrione," p. 346.

81 Di Zio, "Il tribunale del Torrione," pp. 339-40; Angelozzi and Casanova, *La giustizia criminale in una città di antico regime*, pp. 36-40.

deeply knowledgeable and invested in Bolognese life, both in city and *contado*.⁸² Despite the *Torrone*'s autocratic reputation (a reputation challenged by Giancarlo Angelozzi),⁸³ and although only inquisition procedure was followed in the court, Colin Rose argues that the court succeeded in absorbing the role of arbitrator that accusation procedure had played in the late 13th century podestarial system. A series of reforms were enacted in the 1590s to increase transparency in the notaries' interactions with the public and to curb bribery by advertising a set of strictly regulated fees for the services of notaries and *sbirri* (the latter performed policing and investigative functions). Analyzing a sample of homicide trials from the 17th century, together with trials for assault, private warfare and "accompanying administrative materials," Rose investigates each stage of inquisition procedure and maintains that "its usefulness in finding the 'truth' of a crime actually made it more useful than accusation procedure in arbitrating conflicts, as opposed to punishing them." The courts once again became an attractive option for conflict resolution, indeed an expanded one, as it drew in *contadini* who earlier might have turned to feudal nobles for arbitration.⁸⁴ Rose also maintains that earlier spikes of executions for political crime (such as those Cucini found for 15th-century Bologna), and those that occurred early in the 16th century and again in the 1580s, disappear with the consolidation of papal power. In the early 16th century the papal legates had used the *podestà*'s court to execute political opponents by summary justice, but by the late 16th century the death penalty, especially for political crime, had declined. Between 1540-1600, 917 men and women were executed, for an annual average of 15.3, but between 1600-1700, 556 were executed with an average of 5.5 per year.⁸⁵

Yet there are also striking similarities between late medieval podestarial criminal justice and the system of the *Torrone* in the 16th and 17th centuries. Punitive incarceration remained rare, corporal punishment was still used for minor quarrels and disputes (but mutilation and maiming were limited to heresy and other crimes of deviant behavior). The dominant punishment for minor crime was pecuniary with broad discretion left to the judge, permitting him to calibrate the punishment to the culprit's socioeconomic resources and encourage social reintegration of the criminal. Finally, the banning of those

82 Rose, "The Tribunale."

83 Angelozzi, "I grandi tribunali di Antico regime."

84 Rose, "The Tribunale."

85 Terpstra, "Theory into Practice," p. 123, also cited by Rose, "The Tribunale." In 1351-53, a period with a much lower population (approximately half that of the 16th century), 65 persons were executed over that two-year period, as noted above with reference in fn. 70.

who were contumacious, that is, those who failed to respond to the summons to court, remained prevalent as it was in the podestarial system, as did the use of the peace accord as a means of bringing the contumacious offender back into society. Social control through pecuniary punishment and peace-making existed together with summary justice and inquisition power and combined to increase judicial authority into all areas of the legatine territory. The practices and procedures of criminal justice remained largely the same, but by the end of the 16th century constituted more effective and powerful instruments of coercion and reconciliation.⁸⁶

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86 Rose stresses that the success of the *Torrone* system lies in its providing "a forum for the public, not private, resolution of disputes that involved entire communities alongside the victims, criminals and the central court," a system greatly dependent upon an evolved "complex informational apparatus," the intensive interviewing of witnesses, and ultimately the enforcement of peace upon a violent nobility. Rose, "The Tribunale."

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The Church, Civic Religion, and Civic Identity

Gabriella Zarri

Two specific historiographical coordinates shape this essay: first, a periodization that, while privileging the Quattrocento, recognizes the *longue durée* of the phenomena examined, and second, a concept of “civic religion” in accord with the definition of André Vauchez as “the entirety of religious phenomena – cultic, devotional, and institutional – in which civil power plays a determining role, principally through the action of local and municipal authorities [...] the problem that lies at the heart of the concept of civic religion is the appropriation of values inherent to religious life by urban authorities for the purposes of legitimization, celebration and public well-being.”¹

During the Nanterre conference in 1993 at which Vauchez articulated this concept, and in agreement with Vauchez, Pierre Kerbrat portrayed the 12th-century traditions concerning Saint Petronius and Saint Florian and that of Saint Dominic in the 13th century, as a kind of “protohistory” of the Bolognese civic cult.² Numerous scholars have, in fact, researched civic religion in Bologna, using a variety of sources, in particular the hagiographical lives of Saint Petronius and the protomartyrs Saints Vitalis and Agricola, written in the 12th century. A brief overview of these studies confirms that the origins of “civic religion” in Bologna date to the second half of the 12th century.

Unlike what occurred in many other cities in northern Italy, during Late Antiquity and the Carolingian period the literary genre of the *laudes civitatum* did not thrive in Bologna, which Antonio Ivan Pini attributed to the initial diffidence and hostility between commune and *studium*, institutions of divergent ideological and political beliefs. The interests of the former were particularistic and local; those of the latter were international and universal.³ Instead, religious writings and hagiographical texts flourished and these writ-

1 Vauchez, “Introduction,” pp. 1-2. This concept, a modern construct, has been richly developed in Italian Renaissance studies by Anglo-American historians, such as Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, pp. 240-70; Muir, *Civic Ritual*; Trexler, *Public Life*. For an overview of the concept, see Terpstra, “Civic Religion.”

2 Kerbrat, “Corps des saints,” p. 171. On the cult of Saint Florian in Bologna see R. Pini, “Ascesa, trionfo e oblio.”

3 Pini, “Origine e testimonianze,” pp. 194-95.

ings transmitted an embryonic sense of civic conscience that served as the foundation on which a deeply-rooted religious tradition was to grow. Key to the creation of a civic identity was the cult of Saint Petronius, patron saint of Bologna, and a central moment in that development occurred in 1141 with the discovery of the tomb of the saint, eighth bishop of Bologna, complete with numerous other relics, in the Benedictine basilica of Santo Stefano.

Reliable sources attest to the historical figure of the Bolognese bishop who held the episcopal see from 431 to 449/50. According to the *De Viris Illustribus* of Gennadius of Marseille (d. c.496), he belonged to a wealthy family from Roman Gaul and was an erudite man who led a saintly life. He probably studied in a monastery, after which he embraced the priesthood and became consecrated as bishop. Nothing is known of his episcopal activity and his memory was reactivated only with discovery of his tomb in 1141. A few decades later, a life of this ancient bishop was composed within the Benedictine community which is extant in three versions: two Latin texts from the 12th century and one vernacular text from the 13th century, which repeats the story of the first two versions and adds new elements to it.

The entirely legendary life attributed to Saint Petronius in the Latin texts creates Greek origins and a kinship to the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II, who supposedly sent him to the pope in Rome on a question of heresy. On his arrival in Rome, he was appointed bishop of Bologna by Celestine I. Petronius found the city in ruins and strove to rebuild it, in particular the church of Santo Stefano, where he was later buried.

A political interpretation of Petronius's life is already present in the Latin *vitae*. He is portrayed as calling upon the *bolognesi* to fight against Barbarossa, who in the Diet of Roncaglia (1158) had claimed possession of the *regalie* which the communes had used in order to establish their autonomy, and who in 1163 had ordered demolition of the city's walls. This interpretation is further accentuated in the vernacular *vita* composed in the last quarter of the 13th century. In this version, Petronius as bishop of Bologna made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, taking numerous relics with him. On his return from the Holy Land he passed through Constantinople where he obtained many privileges for Bologna from Theodosius II: the right to reconstruct the city, a guarantee of perpetual civic autonomy, protection from foreigners, and authorization of the *studium*. Thus was established the myth of the bishop as the reconstructor of the destroyed *Bononia* and the guarantor of its civic freedom.

Antonio Ivan Pini asserts that the vernacular *vita* of Petronius was composed in a period of crisis for the Bolognese *studium*, when it was threatened by the policies of the emperor Frederick II who in 1266 revoked in perpetuity the right of the city to have a *studium*. Intervention by Pope Honorius III

prevented the revocation from being enacted, however that dangerous episode led to relations between the commune and the *studium* finally reaching a period of détente. It was in this context that the famous document, the “Theodosian Privilege,” was drafted, a false diploma that attributed foundation of the Bolognese *studium* to the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II.⁴

The collaborative climate and the communality of interests between the commune and the *studium* that developed in Bologna in the second half of the 13th century constitute, according to Lorenzo Paolini, the basis for the “invention” of Bolognese identity, for the construction of a civic conscience that permitted the identification of a shared patron saint.⁵ Petronius began his ascent over other saints venerated in the community: Saint Peter, to whom the cathedral church was dedicated and who was the expression of episcopal power; Saint Proculus, the soldier venerated in the eponymous Benedictine monastery that was the competitor of the basilica of Santo Stefano⁶; and also Saints Vitalis and Agricola, the Bolognese protomartyrs defined in a Stefanian *Leggendario* of the 12th century as “sancti doctores.”

Lorenzo Paolini notes the long interval between the time of the composition of the *vitae* of Petronius in Latin and early expressions of direct participation promoting the civic cult of the saint, and interprets it as a consequence of the poor relations between the bishop and the city, and between the *studium* and the commune in the first half of the 13th century. Once these conflicts healed, a continuous series of provisions aimed at spreading the cult of the saint began, reaching the assumption of Petronius among the *defensores* of the city in the anti-magnate legislation of the *Ordinamenti sacri e sacratissimi* (1282-84). Following centuries of silence concerning the ancient Bolognese bishop, the reactivation of his cult unfolded, again according to Paolini, in three consecutive and distinct phases: from 1180 to the end of the 12th century; from 1299, the year in which the city's standard with images of Petronius and Ambrose was created, to 1310, the year in which celebration of the feast of the saint spread to all churches of the city and diocese; and finally the period of the popular government that began in 1376, the year in which the commune commissioned a valuable reliquary for the head of Saint Petronius, established a fair, and initiated construction of the basilica of San Petronio.⁷

Other important features of civic religion in the late medieval period, in addition to the hagiographical sources, include events and initiatives con-

4 Pini, “Origine e testimonianze,” pp. 202-17. Also see Cucini, “L’esprit ‘national’”

5 Paolini, “Chiesa, Città e Studio.”

6 Pini, “Un’agiografia ‘militante’”

7 Paolini, “Un patrono condiviso.”

nected to the veneration of holy relics, the cult of the Virgin Mary, and the organization of processions and public devotions. Of the various aspects of Bolognese religion in the Quattrocento, this essay focuses on those connected with the cult of Saint Petronius; the church of Santo Stefano (also called *Sancta Jerusalem*) which configures the Petronian city as a new Jerusalem; the veneration of the Madonna of San Luca; and the birth of the cult of Caterina de' Vigri, an Observant Clare who died in a state of holiness and whose incorrupt body was displayed to the faithful as a relic.

Petronian *Libertas*

Shortly after the death of Cardinal Gil Alvarez Carillo de Albornoz, who had returned Bologna to the jurisdiction of the Papal State, the city rebelled against papal domination and established the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* in 1376, characterized by a return to the structures of government and a political autonomy similar to what had been in place in the early decades of the 14th century.⁸ In this process of regaining freedom, the blazon of the *popolo* – the word *libertas* written in gold on a blue background – appeared on the city's coat of arms alongside the emblem of the commune, a red cross in a silver field that, together with the front-facing lion's head on the upper portion, constituted the principal element of the Bolognese insignia. In the same context, in 1390, the commune of Bologna decided to erect a basilica to the patron saint of the city, the 5th-century bishop Petronius whom a purely medieval tradition had made the symbol for the city's refoundation and a vigilant guardian of its liberty.

When construction on the grand basilica that was to represent the supremacy of civic religion over episcopal and papal power began, real control of the city was in the hands of a group of aristocratic families divided by factional conflicts. Political power itself was limited, since it was constrained both by the necessary reconciliation with the church, which took place in 1377 with acknowledgment of the city's dependency on the pope and establishment of a papal vicariate, and by alliance with the Florentine Republic, which had provided assistance in the conflict against the Visconti and the Church. Nevertheless, the *popolare* government brought about important institutional changes, some of which endured. An example of such change can be seen in the establishment of the *Riformatori dello stato di libertà*, an institution in

8 On the historical context of the church in Bologna from the 14th to the 15th century see Vasina, "Chiesa e comunità," pp. 143-83.

which was concentrated effective government of the city and which also served as an instrument through which the Bentivoglio family *de facto* exercised a *signoria* over the city during the Quattrocento.⁹

Even in this context of fragile political balance and the limited power of the government established in 1376, the erection of the basilica of San Petronio can nonetheless be considered a turning point in the history of the local Church and the most important expression of Bolognese civic religion.¹⁰ The long period of the papacy's political weakness from the Great Schism initiated in 1377 which ended only in 1417 with the election of Pope Martin V, enabled the city to launch initiatives aimed at obstructing the progressive centralization of power which had been carried out by the Roman court during the 14th century. What generated the greatest discontent in Bologna and other urban centers was the transfer to the pontiff of the election of bishops and the naming of holders of major benefices, thus stripping the communities of their ancient prerogatives of participation in episcopal and parochial elections. The contrast between the elevated patronal church of San Petronio and the cathedral church of San Pietro, therefore, not only relates to the conflict between the city and the bishop at an urban level, but is first and foremost engraved within the confrontation-clash with the Church in Rome as a dual entity of spiritual and temporal power.

Within this setting of renewed civic autonomy, erection of the Petronian basilica was intended to express the civic sense, in addition to the faith, of the *bolognesi*, who had to finance the construction of this temple of liberty with their own resources. To achieve this aim, the architectural plans envisaged an elegant chamber with three naves flanked with lateral chapels that were to be sold to the wealthiest citizens at a very high price, in order to contribute to the overall costs. The first chapel on the left was reserved for the *Dieci di balia*, the magistracy that represented the executive power of the city's government, which had tasked itself with identifying organizations and individuals to whom to grant the chapels in *jus patronatus*, assigning them at the established price, with the duty of erecting and furnishing an altar, and endowing an income for a rector who would celebrate mass every day of the year.¹¹

9 On the institutional changes that took place in Bologna see Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, and the essays in this volume by Giorgio Tamba and Tommaso Duranti.

10 Among the numerous studies on the basilica of San Petronio and the cult of the patron saint, see Fanti and Lenzi, *Una basilica per una città*, and *Petronio e Bologna*.

11 Fanti, *La Fabbrica di San Petronio*; Pini, "Tra orgoglio civico e 'status symbol'!"

Opposition between the cathedral church and the church of the commune was not exclusive to Bologna,¹² however, it acquired special significance in this city given the particular condition of the civic government, which was divided between aspirations of autonomy and subjection to the Papal State. Before becoming pacified with a *governo misto*, Bologna alternated between three centers of power, each of which elected a cultic center as a symbol representative of its own power and authority: the basilica of San Petronio for the commune; the cathedral of San Pietro for the bishop and the power of the Church *in spiritualibus*; the basilica of Santo Stefano for the cardinal legates from the end of the Quattrocento to the early Cinquecento. During the *signoria* of the Bentivoglio, other places of worship representative of the dominant family's supremacy, such as the Oratory of Santa Cecilia at San Giacomo Maggiore, were elevated to the status of symbols of the thaumaturgic and intercessory power of the saints or sacred image. Thus new civic spaces were created, endowed with civic significance.

Following the brief episcopacy of the Dominican Rolando da Imola, designated by Rome in 1390, the civic government obtained appointment of the Benedictine Bartolomeo Raimondi, who occupied the episcopal see from 1392 until 1406. After celebrating the first mass in the Petronian basilica, he set about reactivating pastoral care, which had long been neglected, and began a renovation of the cathedral of San Pietro.¹³ He had an elegant portico constructed in the façade and a new sacristy, and furthermore decided to construct at his own expense a new vault for the church itself. These works of restoration and expansion of the cathedral were also favored by the good relations established with the canonical chapter of San Pietro,¹⁴ and in particular with the archdeacon,¹⁵ Baldassarre Cossa, originally from Naples and appointed cardinal in 1402 and later legate of the Romagna. A powerful and fearsome man, Cossa opposed Gregory XII's design of naming his own nephew, Antonio Correr, as successor to Bishop Raimondi. For six years the episcopacy of Bologna was purely nominal as the archdeacon blocked the elected bishop from taking possession of the diocese. Only in 1412, following a series of events centering around Baldassarre Cossa, elected antipope in a Council that he himself convoked, and following the establishment of an oligarchic government, was agreement reached on the appointment of a new bishop. First, with

12 Ronzani, "Chiesa del comune."

13 Fanti, "La cattedrale di San Pietro," p. 32; Terra, *Domus Episcopi*.

14 On the families holding canonries in Bologna see DeSilva, "Ecclesiastical dynasticism."

15 On the importance of the archdeacon see Paolini, "La figura dell'Arcidiacono"; Idem, "L'evoluzione di una funzione ecclesiastica."

the Benedictine Giovanni di Michele (1412-17) and then with the Carthusian Niccolò Albergati (1417-43), the civic government obtained appointment of their favored bishops who, while not putting themselves into an antagonistic relationship with the city, continued the restructuring work at the cathedral and the reactivation of pastoral care.

Niccolò Albergati reformed the monasteries and confraternities and strove to pacify the urban factions, however he did not succeed in mediating the numerous rebellions against the government of the Church.¹⁶ Indeed, in an overthrow of the government in which the Zambeccari faction prevailed, another bishop was elected. Albergati then entered into the service of the papacy and concluded a number of diplomatic actions in favor of the Holy See.¹⁷ When he was finally reinstated in his episcopal role, he undertook a visit to the cathedral.¹⁸ To carry out his various political and diplomatic duties, he availed himself of secretaries of great cultural and moral strength, two of whom were to become popes – Pius II and Nicholas V. It was the latter who successfully concluded the negotiations with the city of Bologna that Albergati had not been able to achieve, and with the *capitoli* of 1447 a relationship between the Bolognese government and the Holy See was established that defined the limits of civic autonomy and set the terms of collaboration between the *Sedici Riformatori*, representative body of local autonomy, and the legate, representative of papal sovereignty.

The *capitoli* of Nicholas V ended the conflict, if not the competition, between the episcopal church and the civic basilica. However, the oligarchic government dominated by the Bentivoglio which gained ascendancy after 1447 was opposed by the Church with the imposition of foreign bishops and legates of great authority. In great contrast to the first half of the Quattrocento when the city was able to obtain Bolognese prelates favored by the government in power, in the second half of the century there was a succession of bishops from powerful Italian families such as the Gonzaga, the Della Rovere, and the Medici, who frequently and over many years held episcopal office concurrently with the role of legate, as a safeguard of the renewed recognition of papal power over Bolognese territory, already bent under the “tyranny” of the Bentivoglio.

Meanwhile, construction of the Petronian basilica continued, and with the end of heated antagonism against the papal government, the project gained the presence of two of the major guilds – the notaries and the butchers,

16 Still indispensable is De Töth, *Il beato cardinale Nicolò Albergati*; also see Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 14-83.

17 Bertuzzi, “Le legazioni in Europa.”

18 Parmeggiani, *Il vescovo e il Capitolo*.

traditionally Guelf, each of which acquired one of the chapels.¹⁹ The presence of exponents of civic government in the basilica was concentrated in the chapel of the *Dieci di balia* and in the chapels reserved for the most important guilds; all the other chapels were bought by Bolognese families. The Bentivoglio family was not among the purchasers; they preferred to reserve their patronage for places that were easier to subject to their influence.²⁰ Their first place of choice was the church of San Giacomo degli Eremitani (San Giacomo Maggiore), where the family already had acquired a chapel and a sepulcher. This was followed by their patronage of Santa Maria della Misericordia, the new church of Observant Augustinians in Porta Castiglione, whose chapels were allocated to the Bentivoglio family and were decorated with important paintings;²¹ then their patronage of the new church of the Annunziata of the Observant Franciscans, and of the Clarissan monastery of Corpus Domini. They took particular care over the reactivation of the cult of Saint Cecilia, as titular of the Augustinian church whose jurisdiction included the expansion and decoration of Giovanni II's palace, his *Domus Magna*. The Augustinians held a precious relic of Saint Cecilia, her entire hand, which began to be carried in religious processions. The small parish church was completely restructured following the works undertaken in the chapel of the Bentivoglio in San Giacomo. In 1506, following a terrible earthquake that damaged part of the Augustinian church as well, the cycle of frescoes for the Oratory of Santa Cecilia was commissioned depicting the life of the saint by painters who had worked for the dominant family: Francesco Francia, Lorenzo Costa, and Amico Aspertini.²² Nor was there any lack of activity by the Bentivoglio aimed at renewing or promoting the devotional images of Mary that were believed to be miraculous, such as the Madonna di Galliera and Santa Maria del Baraccano.²³

Bologna: a Marian City

In medieval Bologna, as in other Italian cities, the cult of the Virgin Mary was notably driven by the theology expounded by various religious orders, the literary production of treatises and eulogies, preaching, and the creation of sacred

19 Tura, "I giustipatronati pubblici."

20 Pini, "Tra orgoglio civico e 'status symbol'," p. 288.

21 Poli, *La chiesa di Santa Maria*.

22 Volpe, *Il tempio di San Giacomo Maggiore*.

23 Cavalca, *La pala d'altare*, pp. 15-45; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 205-25, and his essay in this volume.

images. In Bologna the rich and varied undertaking of paintings attributed to Lippo di Dalmasio (between 1389-c.1410) attests to the extensive devotion to the Virgin Mary since the Trecento; it was, however, over the course of the 15th century that the city made the Madonna its patron, preserving the icon of San Luca in a sanctuary on a hill overlooking the city, called Monte della Guardia. At the same time, the city reactivated collective rites of civic inspiration towards miraculous images.²⁴

Civic interest in the image of the Madonna di San Luca probably has its origins in a ritual initiated by the confraternity known as dei Trentatrè which was established during the episcopacy of Cardinal Albergati. This confraternity was essentially devotional in purpose and was intended to promote commemoration of the passion of Christ and the sanctity of the Virgin. The confraternity organized a public ritual of notable significance: every first Sunday of the month the brothers, with their heads under hooded mantles and their feet bare, undertook a pilgrimage from the Porta Saragozza to the Madonna di San Luca, carrying a cross on their shoulders. At the end of this penitential journey, on the Monte della Guardia they celebrated mass in honor of the Virgin.²⁵

Perhaps it was this dark and Byzantinesque renewed collective fervor towards the Madonna that reignited devotion to the most venerated sacred image of the *bolognesi* and convinced Graziolo Accarisi, Bolognese jurist and *anziano del popolo*, to propose a very successful initiative in 1433: a procession carrying the sacred image from the Monte della Guardia into the city to implore an end to the rain. This initiative, inspired by an analogous Florentine tradition which brought the Madonna dell'Impruneta into the heart of the city, had the desired effect. As soon as the image crossed the gate at the center of the city, the rainfall ceased and Bologna, wishing to honor the Virgin, established the tradition of an annual procession of the image inside the city walls. The brothers of the Compagnia dei battuti di Santa Maria della Morte, who had organized the first procession, were tasked with organizing the annual descent of the Madonna di San Luca, which took place at first in July and later in the days preceding the Ascension, a time dedicated to minor rogations.²⁶ The cult of the Madonna of San Luca, which had already been renewed with the first entrance ceremony, took on a more complex meaning when in 1459 Accarisi wrote a *cronachetta* on the origin of the Marian image and its arrival in Bologna.

24 Johnson, *Monastic Women*.

25 De Töth, *Il beato cardinale Nicolò Albergati*, vol. 1, pp. 276-77.

26 On the role of the confraternity Santa Maria della Morte, see Terpstra, *The Art of Executing Well*.

The narrative attributes transport of the ancient image, which had its origin in Constantinople, to a Greek pilgrim who believed it had been painted by Saint Luke. The image had been held in the church of Santa Sofia with some writing that addressed it to an unknown Monte della Guardia. When the pilgrim arrived in Bologna, he learned that not far from the city walls there was a hill known as Monte della Guardia on the summit of which there was a small sanctuary in which a few religious women lived a life of penitence. In this way the precious Byzantine panel found its definitive location on the Monte della Guardia to which it was originally destined and the pilgrim entrusted it to the holy women who committed themselves to safeguard it forever. In fact, the small community of recluses soon burgeoned with new sisters as a result of this precious charge and was transformed into a monastery following the Augustinian rule and Dominican constitutions. The nuns welcomed pilgrims, collected donations for grace received, and adorned the image of the Madonna with a sumptuous crown of artificial flowers.²⁷ Serious problems arose following the Council of Trent, when all female monasteries were compelled to become cloistered, leading to efforts to transfer the illustrious privilege of safe-keeping the image, which had been held by the Dominican nuns for at least three centuries, to others.

Indeed, the nuns' observance of strict cloistering would have prevented them from entering the sanctuary to look after or clean the icon and the church itself. From the end of the Cinquecento and the early decades of the 17th century, long negotiations took place, as senate documents attest, between the Bolognese ambassador in Rome, tasked with asking for the nuns' exemption from strict cloistering, and the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, which was created to oversee the observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the pontiffs themselves. The Bolognese senate finally emerged victorious: the nuns could continue to take care of the image. To this end they were allowed to keep a key to the chapel in which the image was kept, while another key was given by the senate to the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita. The civic character of the cult was therefore institutionally defined as was the central role in civic devotion held by the Dominican nuns of San Mattia, to which the nuns in the hermitage of San Luca belonged. The earliest histories of the Marian sanctuary were written by the Dominican Leandro Alberti in the early 16th century and by a nun from San Mattia in two works, from 1575 and 1617.²⁸

27 Fanti, "La Leggenda della Madonna," with a vast bibliography.

28 Malvasia, *Writings on the Sisters of San Luca*.

During the episcopacy of Filippo Calandrini of Sarzana and the legation of Cardinal Bessarion (1450-55),²⁹ certain events in Bologna help explain what inspired the writing of Graziolo Accarisi on the sanctuary of San Luca in 1459. At that time civic religion was polarized concerning places of worship. Bologna's liberation from foreign *signorie* primarily occurred in 1443 with Annibale Bentivoglio's victory over Francesco Piccinino, a victory that the city commemorated with an annual procession to a small Marian sanctuary called Santa Maria del Monte, located on the road that led to the convent of the Observant Friars Minor, which had been constructed a few years earlier. In that sanctuary, whose building and frescoes go back to the 12th century, a more recent thaumaturgic image was venerated, to whose intercession the *bolognesi* attributed their victory against the Milanese. Thus, every year on 14 August, the *bolognesi* took part in a solemn procession to thank the Madonna whom they named Madonna della Vittoria. Even Cardinal legate Bessarion showed his appreciation for the small sanctuary and wanted to add a chapel dedicated to San Benedetto adjacent to the existing church, further accentuating the civic character of that place of worship which had so recently recaptured the attention of the *bolognesi*.³⁰ Very little is known about the origins of the church. This lacuna was filled, a few years later, by the indefatigable jurist Graziolo Accarisi, who, in his narrative of 1459, while recounting the story of the origins of the Madonna di San Luca, also addressed the foundation of the sanctuary of the Madonna del Monte. Accarisi deposited his narrative in the public archive so as to emphasize the civic value that the city ought to attribute to the two images, which were considered patrons of the city.³¹

Why did so many years pass between the Madonna di San Luca's first descent into the city in 1433 and the composition in 1459 by Accarisi of a story that narrated the origins of the image? During that interval the Turkish conquest of Constantinople took place in 1453. At the time of that rupture in relations between the East and the Holy Land, Bologna acquired a distinctive role not only as the custodian of an image from Constantinople that was attributed to the apostle Luke, but also as the depositary of one of the oldest topographic reconstructions of *sancta Jerusalem* – the sanctuary of Santo Stefano – whose political and religious centrality was renewed over the course of the century.³² In the 1450s, the “historical” foundations of Bolognese civic

29 *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*.

30 Nikolajevic, Bergonzoni and Bocchi, *Arte romanica*.

31 Fanti, “La Leggenda della Madonna,” p. 76.

32 There are numerous historical and architectural studies of Santo Stefano. The most recent with bibliography is Borghi, *In viaggio verso la Terra Santa. 7 Colonne e 7 Chiese* remains a fundamental text.

religion were laid, which, in turn, led the way to the reactivation of the Santo Stefano complex as a pilgrimage destination to a “city of Jerusalem” still accessible to the faithful.

The number of *loca sacra* bestowed with an intercessory value in favor of Bologna gradually increased from the period of the Bentivoglio domination to that of the first senatorial government, as evidenced in a singular document produced by the Bolognese painter Francesco Cavazzoni. In 1603 he undertook a census of all the Marian images in Bologna, reproducing their features and indicating the geographical locations of the images and their histories.³³ The Bentivoglio had reactivated the cult of the Madonna del Baraccano who was shown to be miraculous because she permitted the dominant family to resist the assault of its enemies, as did the Madonna di Galliera whose *ex voto* offerings featured reproductions of the portraits of those who benefitted from her intercession, and the Bolognese senate later decreed that Marian images were to be placed in the communal palazzo and that those in places representative of civic authority were to be honored publicly.³⁴

In 1478 the *anziani* commissioned Nicolò dell'Arca to create a sculpture of the Madonna to be placed on the façade of the communal palazzo. On the design of the Madonna del palazzo “in foro,” Francesco Cavazzoni notes in his sketch book that the image was asked for by the city’s governors in order to inspire the populace to devotion. Completion of the work was followed by the order to light two torches before the Virgin every evening at sunset and to ring the bell three times to attract the attention of passersby. On hearing this signal everyone was to kneel three times to render homage to the Mother of God. Cavazzoni attests that the ceremony was observed in his lifetime and that the image was proven to be miraculous by the presence of various *ex voto*.³⁵

The popular cult of the Virgin Mary can also be seen in another order issued by the senate following a miracle that occurred at a Marian image placed under the main portico (*voltone*) of the Palazzo del Podestà: it was a simple figure placed there perhaps through popular piety. In 1515, at the meeting held in Bologna between Pope Leo X and Francis I of France, one of the palace guards passing underneath the *voltone* urinated directly onto the pillar to which the icon was affixed. He was immediately stricken with a mortal illness. Repenting for his offence to the Virgin, the guard beseeched the Madonna for mercy and was immediately healed, to the astonishment of all who witnessed the event.

33 For an examination of the document with exclusive reference to the images, see Varese, *Francesco Cavazzoni*.

34 Rousakis, “From Image of Devotion.”

35 Zarri, *Bologna Marian City*.

The image was called the Madonna del Popolo and was designated to intercede on behalf of all believers who appealed to her. A large quantity of alms was immediately gathered in order to construct a chapel and the senate assumed responsibility for its maintenance. Each Saturday senatorial trumpeters came to the chapel to honor the image by playing a fanfare and reciting the *Angelus Domini* three times.

The number and location of the Marian images in Bologna is too extensive to list here, but it must be noted that public ritual was flanked by the methodical actions of the confraternities which, in making themselves conduits for popular devotion, honored each and every miraculous image. Especially during the Counter Reformation, oratories dedicated to a miraculous Marian image sprang up in each of the city's quarters; and each of these oratories was managed by a confraternity, sometimes created specifically for this task. The religious authorities also contributed to supporting "civic religion" by directing the city's devotion specifically towards the Virgin Mary. It was, in fact, Bishop Alfonso Paleotti who ordered construction, in the *selciata* of San Francesco, of the column named for the Immaculate Conception, thereby dedicating the city of Bologna to the Madonna.

The *Sancta Jerusalem*

A *Sancta Jerusalem* in Bologna is mentioned beginning in the 7th and 8th centuries, with reference to a place dedicated to remembrance of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, not necessarily a topographic reproduction of holy places. Later the Santo Stefano complex began to evolve towards an increasingly evident symbolism of Jerusalem, to the point of distinguishing a desire to reproduce these holy places in Bologna in order to seek the indulgences connected with the *peregrinatio poenitentialis*.

Clear evidence for this development is found in the 12th-century legend of Saint Petronius that attributed both the foundation of this sanctuary and the re-establishment of the city following the Germanic invasion to Petronius. Detailed studies on the Santo Stefano Jerusalem as described in the legend, noted above, document that the Benedictine monk who amplified the text had seen and made references to places within the Holy Land following the design given to them by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus (c.1048-1140), and not according to the reconstruction offered by the crusaders in 1140-49.³⁶ In the version of the *Vita sancti Petronii*, the Bolognese *Jerusalem* was composed of a

36 Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano," and Idem, "Santo Stefano e Gerusalemme."

sepulcher, a copy of the original in Jerusalem, an atrium and a place of Calvary or Golgotha. Close by was the church of San Giovanni in Monte Oliveto, which was reminiscent of the circular atrium of the place of the ascension (Anastasis). The depression between Santo Stefano and San Giovanni in Monte was designed as a Valley of Jehoshaphat, in which a small church dedicated to Saint Tecla was erected.³⁷

In the first half of the 15th century, following a period of renewed interest in the Santo Stefano sanctuary as the alleged location of the tomb of the apostle Peter, the complex of seven churches began to lose importance. It continued, however, to play an important civic role. Above all, the abbatial complex was integrated into the ceremonial route that the new bishops had to follow on the day of their solemn ingress into Bologna. On entering the city from the Santo Stefano gate, the bishop and his entourage stopped first in the ancient abbey, where the prelate fulfilled the duty of a penitential visit and from where, barefooted, he continued on his way towards the cathedral, following the tradition of other solemn episcopal entries.³⁸ Furthermore, as evident at the beginning of the 16th century, the Easter liturgy stipulated that the Procession of Palms depart from the church of Santo Stefano, then proceed to San Giovanni in Monte and from there to the basilica of San Petronio.

The ritualistic and liturgical function of the Santo Stefano complex attests to the centrality of the sanctuary in the religious tradition of the city, however this did not prevent high-ranking prelates from seeking possession of the abbey's abundant income. Indeed, in 1447, Nicholas V granted the monastery *in commendam* (transfer of the benefice to the custody of a patron who secured a portion of the abbey's revenues without performing the duties of abbot), and the Benedictine monks were replaced with secular priests.³⁹ Later the abbey was given *in commendam* to prelates who also held the position of legate or bishop of the city. Only at the end of the 15th century did the Bolognese *Sancta Jerusalem* regain a significant role in religious and civic life.

In 1493 Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of Bologna (1483-1502) and commendator of the abbey, later Pope Julius II, reactivated pastoral care by sponsoring the arrival of Celestine monks;⁴⁰ however, he did not relinquish the *commendam*. In the early decades of the 16th century both Giovanni de' Medici and

37 Fanti, "I luoghi e gli edifici."

38 The description of the solemn entrance of new bishops into Bologna is in Patricelli, *Cronica della misteriosa et devota chiesa*, p. 53. For the Florentine ceremony, see Zarri, *Recinti. Donne, clausura e matrimonio*, pp. 316-46.

39 Petracchi, *Della Insigne Abbaziale Basilica*.

40 Petracchi, *Della Insigne Abbaziale Basilica*, pp. 63-70.

Giulio de' Medici were invested with the abbey (later they were pontiffs as Leo x and Clement vii respectively). Just like Della Rovere, these two members of the Medici family benefitted from the income of Santo Stefano and also held the office of cardinal legate of Bologna.

At the beginning of the 16th century the cultural and symbolic role of the abbey received further impetus from political events. In 1506 the Bentivoglio were expelled from the city by papal troops and French allies of the Papal State. Although the early actions of the pope were directed towards isolating and expelling the followers of the Bentivoglio and broadening the previous oligarchy that had supported the dominant family, the years immediately following papal restoration were dominated by a bitter factional conflict, fought with political and symbolic weapons. Within the context of the affirmation of papal power, the two most representative sites of civic power were seized: the Palazzo Pubblico and the basilica of San Petronio, on whose façades Julius ii ordered papal busts to be mounted, decorated with tiaras, the symbol of the triple power of the pope. One of these busts, which was later destroyed by the Bentivoglio in their short-lived return to the city, was sculpted by Michelangelo. For their part, their adversaries raised the threat of a council against the Church and several of the Bolognese cardinals participated in the schismatic Council of Pisa-Milan.

Events concerning Bologna and the role of the Medici between the early 16th century and 1525 became firmly entwined with the revival of the symbolic value of the Bolognese *Jerusalem* and with the fame of the devout Elena Duglioli, who commissioned a famous painting by Raphael, known as *The Ecstasy of Saint Cecilia*.⁴¹ Elena Duglioli, wife of a notary, was an advocate of the spirituality of the regular canons of San Giovanni in Monte, in whose parish she and her family lived and in whose guidance she had placed her trust.

In 1476 Sixtus iv had conferred ample indulgences and privileges on the Bolognese Church. From that moment Bologna was newly introduced into the pilgrim route that brought revenue to the city, through a symbolic visit to the holy places and the indulgences of Jerusalem, since that city, under Turkish dominion, was difficult to reach. The first printed guide book to the *Sancta Jerusalem* was released in 1520, written by a Celestine monk, Nicola Gargano.⁴² Elena Duglioli is mentioned in this guide, which is important contemporary evidence of the charismatic role undertaken by her from 1506 to 1521 (the year of her death), in support of the papal legation at the time of the difficult

41 Concerning historical aspects and the iconography of the painting, see *Indagini per un dipinto*, and Bernardini, Zarri and Emiliani, *L'Estasi di Santa Cecilia*.

42 Gargano, *Devotione indulgentie et cose mirabile*.

passage from the Bentivoglio *signoria* to subjection to the Papal State. It is during this period that the history of the city and the Bolognese *Jerusalem* become interwoven with the Medici legates and commendators and the Florentines who were present in Bologna, especially, the Pucci bankers.⁴³ Moreover, as identified in an earlier work, certain aspects of this political transition were in response to a pressing demand for a broadening of power to the emerging professional classes, from the guilds and the *doctores* of the *studium*,⁴⁴ an argument confirmed by later research.⁴⁵ During this process, to aid in establishment of its political authority, the new regime made use of symbolic elements, drawn from the traditional baggage of artistic commissions, of *popolare*, prophetic, and thaumaturgic religion, selecting places of worship to serve as alternatives to those linked to the preceding *signoria*. Within this complex system of delegitimation of churches and monasteries important to the memory of the Bentivoglio and to the empowerment of new devotions, the church of San Giovanni in Monte and the abbey of Santo Stefano assumed and maintained a central role. Indeed, the chapel of Saint Cecilia supported by Elena Duglioli in San Giovanni in Monte doubtless was intended to contrast with the Bentivoglio church in Strada San Donato. Elena's devotion to the saint had been awakened by the gift of a relic from the legate Francesco Alidosi, cardinal of Santa Cecilia, who respected her as a holy woman and wanted to designate her as protector of the legation and the new papal power immediately after the expulsion of the Bentivoglio. The chapel of Saint Cecilia in San Giovanni in Monte, embellished with Raphael's painting, was intended to surpass the Oratory of Santa Cecilia decorated with frescoes by painters loyal to the Bentivoglio, as the holy buildings that comprised the complex of the *Sancta Jerusalem* were to symbolically represent the places consecrated to legatine and papal power.

From contemporary chronicles, it is possible to glean the topography of places representing the power of the pope and his supporters. One of these is the church of San Giovanni in Monte, which was chosen on 21 February 1507 for the reading of the accords between the pope and the civic magistrates, as a final official act undertaken by Julius II immediately prior to his departure for Rome following his months in Bologna after the expulsion of the Bentivoglio. As noted above, another significant place was the abbey of Santo Stefano which, held *in commendam* by Giovanni de' Medici, featured in the geography of the raids that the Bentivoglio executed in May 1512 during their temporary

43 For more on this topic, see Zarri, "I Medici."

44 Zarri, *L'altra Cecilia*.

45 De Benedictis, "Identità politica."

return to Bologna.⁴⁶ The abbey of Santo Stefano, a symbolic place par excellence, assumed a political role in the first half of the Cinquecento. By affixing his own family coat of arms onto "Pilate's basin" in the courtyard facing the Holy Sepulcher,⁴⁷ Giovanni de' Medici left evidence of his brief yet intense sojourn in Bologna as commendator of Santo Stefano and papal legate. In reality, the legacy of his stay was not entrusted to political actions⁴⁸ as much as to religious commissions: first, the renovation of Pilate's basin, and, second, his doubtless intervention in the commission to Raphael for the painting of Saint Cecilia, which arrived at San Giovanni in Monte c.1515, when Giovanni de' Medici had already become Leo x.

A "Perfect Square": the Monastery of Corpus Domini and Caterina de' Vigri

"For its Holiness, its Poverty, its numbers, its procession, and its construction, this monastery is held among the best of Italy, though only a third of a mile long; it is a perfect square; it counts many blessed women; it has no possessions, and they number around 250, founded by the Blessed Caterina de' Vigri of Bologna on 13 November 1456."⁴⁹ Thus wrote Antonio di Paolo Masini, author of *Bologna Perlustrata* (1666), referring to the figure of the perfect square indirectly cited in Apocalypse 21. 16, which describes with the same image the ideal city, the celestial Jerusalem. In the 17th century, the monastery of Corpus Domini of the Observant Poor Clares still enjoyed the fame of holiness that it had gained in the period of its foundation under the patronage of the Bentivoglio family and that had continued over the following centuries though the constant patronage of the civic government. But what distinguished this monastery from the other 27 cloistered institutes that existed in Bologna in the 17th century?⁵⁰ The incorrupt body of Caterina de' Vigri displayed as a relic in a chapel of the external church of Corpus Domini constituted for the *bolognesi* and for foreign visitors a source of thaumaturgic power and

46 Penuti, "Diario bolognese"; Zarri, "Storia di una committenza."

47 7 *Colonne e 7 Chiese*, p. 86.

48 On the imprisonment of the Medici and the Bolognese situation in 1512, see Rubello, "Il Cardinale prigioniero."

49 "Questo monastero di Santità, di Povertà, di numero, di circuito e di fabrica è tenuto de' primi d'Italia, imperoché circonda un terzo di miglio; è quadrato perfetto; numera molte beate; non possiede cosa alcuna, e di numero saranno circa 250, fondato dalla Beata Caterina Vigri da Bologna a dì 13 novembre 1456." Masini, *Bologna Perlustrata*, p. 118.

50 Johnson, *Monastic Women*, and Zarri, *Recinti. Donne, clausura e matrimonio*.

represented visible testimony to the holiness of the nuns. It is not possible, however, to separate the reputation for sanctity of the Corpus Domini monastery from this equally rooted cult visibly expressed in the reliquary chapel. Framed behind glass by a canopy and seated on a baroque throne, the incorrupt body of the nun, dressed in her religious habit, can still be seen today, with a book placed under her hand, in the act of teaching and inviting bystanders to prayer and meditation. Encircled by a breviary and other devout works that she herself had written and illuminated, accompanied by the ancient viola on which she had sung lauds and hymns together with the sisters in her order, the tiny and blackened figure upon whom the *bolognesi* called for grace, rapidly became one of the city's glories.

Although foundation of the monastery of the Poor Clares of Corpus Domini in 1456 was independent of civic or episcopal initiatives, its form of religious faith and municipal sentiment can be described as what has come to be defined as civic religion. Bolognese on her mother's side but with a Ferrarese father, Caterina de' Vigri lived for a long time in Ferrara, where she took her religious vows. Well-known for her culture and sanctity, she was invited by Friar Marco Fantuzzi, of the Observant Franciscan monastery of San Paolo in Monte and many times vicar general of the Order, to found a community of Poor Clares in Bologna – Franciscans who observed the strictest rules of Saint Clare and lived in cloistered poverty.⁵¹ From its very establishment the monastery of Corpus Domini distinguished itself for the devout life of its followers, but the holy death that took place in 1463 and the incorruption of the body of Caterina de' Vigri, in addition to her miraculous power, soon made the convent of the Poor Clares one of the most significant focal points of civic religion. In the 16th century, the city itself assumed its patronage in canonical recognition of the holiness of the nun and her subsequent elevation to the position of copatron of Bologna.⁵² From the Quattrocento Caterina de' Vigri was popularly called *beata* and later was known as *la Santa* in Bologna.

Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti, author of novellas and eulogies of illustrious women in the service of the Bentivoglio and the Este families,⁵³ composed the first biography of the nun, placing her among the noble princesses of her time, whose lives formed a crown of ideal portraits offered by the author to Ginevra Sforza, wife of Giovanni II Bentivoglio. The monastery, which two daughters of the *signore* joined as nuns, thus entered into the circuit of places

51 Bartoli, *Caterina la santa*; Leonardi, *Caterina Vigri*; Spanò and Graziani, "Caterina de' Vigri."

52 Spanò, "La città e la santa."

53 James, *Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*.

of worship esteemed by the Bentivoglio *signoria*, but was viewed as owned by the whole city. Princes and princesses, kings and popes who visited Bologna included the saint's chapel among the notable places to visit. Either the queen of Naples or Ippolita Sforza (two traditions exist) donated a crown with which to embellish the relic, which had been covered with a brocade garment at the wish of the bishop of Bologna. It is in this regal pose, with the crown, the garment of brown brocade, book in hand, that the Master of the Baroncelli Portraits, of the Memling circle, painted Caterina, with donors from the noble Bolognese family of the Loiani.⁵⁴

The first canonical recognition of sanctity bestowed on Vigri was in 1524 by Clement VII who, as a former legate of Bologna, might have taken action because of her popular fame as a *beata*. In successive years, however, it was the city that sustained the costs of bringing about her canonization. The monastery was in fact extremely poor, nor did the Franciscan Order consider direct intervention its duty. Patronage by the city provides clear evidence of the civic significance that the cult of Caterina de' Vigri had gained by that time in Bologna.

As usual, the journey to canonization was a long one, prolonged by serious alterations in the procedures of canonization that followed the Protestant Reform.⁵⁵ Serried criticism of the cult of saints had led the Roman Church to slow the authorization of cults and to radically reform canonical praxis beginning with a concept of sanctity that privileged heroic virtue and placed prophecy, revelation, and miracles in second place. The canonical processes for the sanctification of Caterina de' Vigri that took place in the Seicento were a manifestation of the endurance of the popular and civic cult of Vigri over the centuries.⁵⁶ Moreover, as the above-quoted passage by Masini attests, the holiness of the Corpus Domini was not limited to the figure of the *Santa*, but extended to other sisters within the order, many of whom were worthy of being recorded among the illustrious women who conferred fame on the monastery both for its holiness and for its culture.

54 On the iconography of Caterina Vigri, see Graziani, "L'iconografia di Caterina Vigri."

55 For a discussion of the effects of reform movements on the convents of Bologna, see Monson, *Disembodied Voices*.

56 *Il processo di canonizzazione*.

From Civic Religion to Civic Ritual

The creation of hagiographical legends and identification of patrons in civic religion could be considered completed by the 1530s.⁵⁷ The same could be said for the establishment of places of worship assigned to the expression of civic power, such as the basilica of San Petronio, or to episcopal power, such as the basilica of San Pietro. In addition, political and ecclesiastical conditions that resulted in the stabilization of a *governo misto* in mid-Cinquecento, and the progressive assumption of pastoral care by the bishop, led to abandonment of the original design for the basilica of San Petronio and a clear reshaping of the project, while reconstruction of the basilica of San Pietro, initiated by Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, was to be consistently pursued until its completion in the early 18th century. Nor were there alternative sacred spaces to those that had been previously chosen as an expression of civic religion.⁵⁸ Elements of conflict continued between the religious orders and the episcopal government as well as iconoclastic actions, the theft of relics, and disdain towards civic religion. However, the latter remained for the most part expressions of individual dissent, or proved to be surmountable within the setting of popular progressive participation in the management of the sacred. A flood of relics from Rome beginning in the last quarter of the Cinquecento progressively augmented rituals and patronal celebrations in individual churches. The thaumaturgical manifestation of various sacred images multiplied the number of devotional confraternities attached to these cults; the greater number of monks and nuns contributed to expanding civic spaces dedicated to the sacred; and the real motivation of that increase was ably masked with references to the deeply-rooted concept of civic religion. Female monasteries became “holy cloisters” that were destined to protect the city⁵⁹ and the patronal celebrations organized by the confraternities provided the occasion for processions to pass through the city streets in a daily ritual that Antonio di Paolo Masini ably described and documented in his *Bologna Perlustrata*, a portrayal of Bologna as a purposely religious city, committed to enlightening the world.

57 Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*.

58 See the essays by Klebanoff, “Sacred magnificence,” and Thurber, “Architecture and civic identity.”

59 Zarri, “Recinti sacri. Sito e forma dei monasteri”; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 217–25.

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Confraternities and Civil Society

Nicholas Terpstra

When confraternities emerged and multiplied in the communal struggles of the 13th century, they designated themselves as “spiritual companies” parallel to Bologna’s artisanal companies (guilds) and military companies (militias or armed societies). This self-conscious insertion of confraternities into the local communal social order underscored that both individually and collectively they never saw themselves as “purely” devotional groups, mendicant auxiliaries, or practical burial societies, but as necessary constituents of Bolognese civil society. Members preserved this rhetoric, identity, and task over the following three centuries, working most actively in the areas of institutional charity and civic cult, and expanding most rapidly in the 15th and 16th centuries. In this latter period, the spiritual companies multiplied in numbers and members, became diffused widely throughout the city, and opened or operated many new institutional charities for the sick and marginal, and also many religious shrines. Behind their rising numbers lies a more complex picture of how confraternities negotiated the politics of gender, class, republicanism, and devotion through those two centuries – both how they expressed and participated in the changes in these areas, but also how these politics fundamentally reshaped the confraternities themselves. Although their numbers and profile increased dramatically, their influence steadily declined, and by the 17th century confraternities played a less constructive and constituent role in Bolognese civil society than they had during the communal period. This essay reviews how confraternal engagement in civil society was shaped around civic religion, gender, and charity, before turning to consider how issues of archives and sources complicate research into these themes.

Civic Religion and Civil Society

Investigating confraternities and civil society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance requires first looking at civic religion, since it was the local cult which provided confraternities with much of the legitimacy for the role they performed in civil society. But that is itself problematic. So much of ecclesiastical religion focused around intercession, and civic religion had both

ecclesiastical forms (which privileged clerical structures and personnel) and lay forms (which often aimed to circumvent those social forms, while necessarily working closely with them). Gabriella Zarri has written extensively on the Bolognese church and civic religion, with attention to the shaping of a local civic cult around four resonant ecclesiastical spaces: the civic basilica of San Petronio on Piazza Maggiore in the city center where sons of the local patriciate constituted the community of canons; the convent of Corpus Domini where the daughters of that same elite joined Caterina de' Vigri in forming a community of Poor Clares; the Benedictine complex of Santo Stefano, which was shaped as Bologna's *sancta Jerusalem*; and the hill-top sanctuary of the Madonna of San Luca just south of the city, which had no single community of clerical superintendants and was perhaps the most contested of all as a result.¹ The first three sites marked critical fixed points of the space within the city walls, while the fourth was positioned outside and high above those walls, yet was home to an icon which regularly entered into and travelled the streets of that circumscribed space.

Basilica, monastery, convent, shrine. As distinct places, spaces, and institutions, these four points of the ecclesiastical compass were the geographical and social reference points for Bolognese local religion in its clerical and intercessory dimension. When we look at lay religion, it is important to also note some absences. None of these four sites had a resident confraternity dedicated to the place or devotion. Notably, Bologna never had a Compagnia di San Petronio, nor any company dedicated to Santo Stefano or the Madonna di San Luca, and its later Corpus Domini confraternities emerged as part of 16th-century peninsular devotional movements and not around this very important convent. In what must have been a tacit recognition of their resonant centrality to the local cult, these four reference points remained the common possession of all rather than the particular charge of a single group of laity. This allowed a number of confraternities to fashion their public presence around some of them, and the Madonna di San Luca in particular, especially from the later 14th century.

The civic religion that grew up around these four ecclesiastical sites was local not only in its geography, but also its history. Zarri notes that San Petronio, Corpus Domini, and the Madonna di San Luca all emerged in the century following establishment of the popular regime in 1376. Each reflected in ecclesiastical terms the efforts of that popular regime and the local patriciate to take distance from the papal overlords and to take responsibility for local cultic life. Their structures, communities, and rituals evoked a confident view

1 Zarri, "Chiesa, religione, società," pp. 916-23, and see her essay in this volume.

of Bologna's place in sacred history that extended back to the time of Petronius and his reworking of Santo Stefano, and that moved forward in a chronicle of challenges, crises, and religious revivals which each left some trace on the city's social, institutional, and spiritual fabric. The roughly two centuries following emergence of the popular regime constitute a distinct stage in the city's civic religion. Through the first century, it developed a localism marked by tensions with – and sometimes opposition to – the curial center. Through the second century, this gap closed significantly and Bologna's local religion moved into closer alignment with a more distinctly Roman catholicism.

These moves in civic religion mirrored the developments in Bologna's civic politics. In the two decades following 1376, the popular regime and patriciate developed the governing bodies that aimed to minimize if not entirely eliminate the effects of Rome's temporal sovereignty: 26 masters of the guilds (*massari delle arti*), 16 standard-bearers of the people (*gonfalonieri del popolo*), and 16 elders (*anziani*). These elected bodies oversaw economic life, defense, and legislation and daily governance. The individual magistrates were elected to short terms, and represented either an economic activity (the masters of the guilds) or a city quarter (the standard-bearers and the elders). By 1394, the strong lobbying of Bologna's patricians resulted in establishment of a fourth body, the 16 Reformers (*Sedici Riformatori dello stato di libertà*), who were formally elected by the masters and the elders, but whose life-terms and evolving practice of family succession soon turned them into the dominant oligarchical body that grew to supplant the others. In a slow, uneven, but inevitable development, the 16 *Riformatori* were expanded to the 21-member *Reggimento* by Paul II in 1466, and then to the 40-member *Senato* by Leo X in the 1510s. In the 1550s they organized themselves into a series of eight major administrative congregations called *Assunterie* to oversee everything from food supply, defense, coinage, the university, the silk industry, and construction. This effectively completed their takeover of local government and reduced the other communal bodies to a purely decorative role as ritual actors in the local theater of politics.²

The papacy's disarray through the later 14th century allowed the communal government to establish itself, while the strategic interventions of later popes facilitated its marginalization by the oligarchical *Sedici-Reggimento-Senato*.³ Papal monarchs from Nicholas V through Julius II to Sixtus V who were intent

2 De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 107-64, 187-92, 198-201; Robertson, *Tyranny under the Mantle*, pp. 31-65, 169-202; Carboni, "Public Debt"; Guenzi, "Politica ed economia."

3 On the fundamental continuity between these three bodies, and the use of these three terms to designate the three distinct stages: Fasoli, "Bologna nell'età medievale," pp. 188-89.

on mastering Italian power politics knew that mastering Bolognese civic politics was a necessary first step to controlling the Papal State and the peninsula, and skillfully played on internal divisions to achieve this goal. The Council of Trent was critical to this process on the ecclesiastical side, though it should never be seen as a purely external force. The most influential Tridentine ecclesiastics in Bologna were themselves *bolognesi*, particularly Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti and Pope Gregory XIII. Both had tense relations with Bolognese political authorities – and indeed with each other – and both used political means to gain religious goals and vice versa.

This brief digression into the dynamics of local and papal politics is a necessary context for the larger issues around confraternities, civic religion, and civil society. Confraternities grew in number, memberships, and activity under the communal regime, to the point that there were dozens by the end of the Bentivoglio signory in 1506, gathering roughly 20 per cent of the urban adult population.⁴ Growth accelerated from the later 16th century when the senatorial oligarchy was more firmly in control. Their public spaces and devotions through the earlier period were marked by efforts to craft a lay-directed civic religion that was consonant with communal values while being woven around local sites and traditions. In their cultic, charitable, and social activities, they self-consciously promoted the *corpus christianum* and *bono communi*, though of course they often differed radically in how they defined and fulfilled it.⁵ Their internal administrations reflected local civil-social developments both in their early embrace of broad geographically-based memberships and elected administrative councils whose members served short terms, and also in the later shift towards more limited and selective memberships and more hierarchical administrative councils. The anti-papal element evident in some of the new devotions of the communal period fades as 16th-century devotions follow ecclesiastical reform movements, take up ecclesiastical tools like indulgences and privileges, and find themselves subject to episcopal visitations and regulations.

Shrines and processions were the critical currency of civic religion in Bologna's communal period, and for good reason. Both put laity in the role of patron-suppliants, with robes, properties, and actions that allowed them to move to center stage while bypassing the awkward reality that it was ordained

4 For a broader overview of Bolognese confraternities: Fanti, *Confraternite e città*; Idem, "Confraternite e istituzioni di assistenza"; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*.

5 See two recent essay collections for comparative treatment of the theme across Europe: Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene, *De bono communi*; Eckstein and Terpstra, *Sociability and its Discontents*.

clergy who were the real intercessory agents in Catholicism. Thirteen major shrine cults emerged in this period, seven within the circuit of the city walls, four on public buildings or bridges in the city, and two on the summits of hills that bounded Bologna to the south.⁶ Lay *bolognesi* in their confraternities were critical to the expansion of each, though never without clerical support, and that of Bishop Niccolò Albergati (bishop from 1417-43) in particular. The example of the Madonna di San Luca shows how laity and clergy worked together. Albergati realized the potential of the Madonna di San Luca, and recruited the confraternity of the Trentatré to clean up its derelict site, and the confraternity of Santa Maria della Morte to undertake the first procession of the icon into the city in 1433. The *confratelli* of the Morte would be the chief lay custodians of the cult over the coming centuries, gaining considerable status as a result, and defending their rights vociferously against local clergy. They brought the Madonna into the city during times of crisis and eventually for a three-day visit at every rogation tide, processing with her to Santo Stefano, San Petronio, and a host of other churches, shrines, confraternities, and public buildings. Yet each evening of these three days, the Morte *confratelli* returned the Madonna to the altar of their own confraternal chapel. Their central role in these processions of the Madonna di San Luca, together with their major hospital adjacent to San Petronio, and their work assisting prisoners and comforting those condemned to death gave the *confratelli* of Santa Maria della Morte an unparalleled public profile as chief lay liturgists of the civic-religious cult, and fed a marked ennobling of the membership from the mid-15th century.

Bologna's communal civic religion connected resonant ecclesiastical sites and the lay spiritual companies by means of major processions and institutional charity. Examples multiplied through the 15th century. A key one is the confraternity of Santa Maria degli Angeli, established in 1450 as a merger of four groups to run a newly-opened eponymous foundling home. The home may have been inspired by Florence's Ospedale degli Innocenti, which had opened only six years earlier. The Angeli confraternity underscored and localized the Florentine inspiration when it began an annual procession on the Feast day of the Holy Innocents (December 28). It dressed some of the young foundlings in white robes and wings to pose as angels, and the men of the confraternity then led them through the streets of the city to Santo Stefano, where they honored relics of the Holy Innocents slain by order of King Herod. The Compagnia dei Lombardi, a cross between an armed and spiritual company, was the only lay company to have its quarters within Santo Stefano, and in 1494

6 Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 205-16.

it would be forcibly merged into Santa Maria degli Angeli as that confraternity, by then heavily patronized by the Bentivoglio family, was struggling to find funds to pay for the monumental foundling home that it was constructing.

The *confratelli* and their juvenile angels set out from the main doors of a foundling home that occupied a prominent city block. It faced onto Via San Mamolo, Bologna's major north-south ceremonial route and a realignment of the *cardus* of ancient Roman *Bononia* (Via Emilia was the *decumanus*). To the rear was the ancient *cardus* itself (Via Val d'Aposa), and the entrance to the convent of Corpus Domini over the road. The central location underscored the foundling home's place in local charity and civic religion. Children looking from the windows or portico of the foundling home to San Mamolo would have witnessed many religious processions, including that of the Madonna della Vittoria, a major event which the *anziani* declared to mark Bologna's victory over Milanese armies on 14 August 1443. Before the battle, the brothers of the Compagnia della Morte had brought the Madonna di San Luca into the city and paraded her around – the first time that she had been brought into the city to guard against threats by human enemies rather than by storms, droughts, famines, and other natural threats. After the victory, the *anziani* decreed anniversary celebrations in which members of the armed, artisanal, and spiritual Companies, together with communal magistrates, moved out of the Palazzo Comunale, up Via San Mamolo and out the eponymous gate up the hill to the shrine of the Madonna della Vittoria.

With this remarkable procession, the largest city in the Papal State marked a military victory that jeopardized papal control over it. The Feast of the Madonna della Vittoria symbolized how Bologna's civic religion – like that of Venice – could weave the lay and the clerical together in a way that privileged the local and bypassed Rome. The communal government and spiritual companies took tools created or promoted by Bishop Albergati – who had died just three months before the August 1443 battle – and used them to advance a civic religion which emphasized that Bologna's cult and politics were not subject to the papal masters whom Albergati had served. Doing this effectively required having lay religious groups that fulfilled significant cultic and charitable functions, including some that positioned themselves as civic liturgists with some of the key ecclesiastical sites of the city. In Bologna, as in Venice, confraternities fulfilled precisely that function.

Confraternal devotional agency would become more troubling to ecclesiastical officials over time, and they made various efforts to supplant the lay liturgists. The Compagnia della Morte had to fight continually to maintain its custodianship of the main rogation processions of the Madonna di San Luca. Episcopal visits eliminated lay-directed practices and priorities – like lay

preaching, Bible possession, and an emphasis on mutual assistance – in a number of confraternities, like the *Compagnia dei Poveri* examined below. Yet by the late 16th century more savvy papal authorities realized that spiritual gifts were more effective than spiritual penalties as a means of co-opting confraternities, particularly when their membership was shifting from artisans to an ennobled class that was ever on the hunt for status-boosting privileges, honors, and connections.

We can trace these shifting social politics of devotion by examining changes to chapel decoration in the elite Confraternity of the Madonna della Consolazione, detta della Cintura. The Bentivoglio-sponsored group emerged in 1495 in a chapel just inside the main doors of the Augustinian church of San Giacomo. It declined rapidly after the family's fall in 1506, but then revived when Gregory XIII joined the brotherhood, endowed it with indulgences, and raised it to archconfraternal status in 1575. The chapel's famous 15th-century narrative fresco of the *Adoration of the Magi*, which celebrated the confraternity's connection to the Augustinians, was then completely covered over with an elaborate frame that left only the Virgin and Child visible. The Madonna was crowned in 1600, and so effectively turned into a devotional icon whose spiritual resonance came not from local associations but from the strategic favors of a series of popes in Rome.⁷

Successive pontiffs followed this strategy. Most 16th-century popes amply enriched the spiritual treasuries of spiritual companies with plenary indulgences, though of course they did this across Christendom. In Bologna, Julius II and Leo X brought Santa Maria del Baraccano, which for a century had been the leading company associated with the Bentivoglio, closer to Rome with strategic visits and spiritual benefits. Gregory XIII and Sixtus V and other later 16th-century popes successfully drew many of the older communal brotherhoods like Santa Maria della Vita (the city's oldest), Santa Maria della Morte, Buon Gesù, the Madonna della Consolazione, Santi Sebastiano e Rocco, and Santa Maria Maddalena more closely into Rome's orbit with archconfraternal status. This promotion secured their primacy over other local confraternities, but did so by violating a traditional local protocol that ranked older over newer companies. In 1576, Gregory XIII gave Santa Maria della Morte the privilege of releasing one prisoner annually from jail, and in 1604 Clement VIII extended the same privilege to the *Compagnia dei Poveri*.⁸ Finally, a series of civic and specifically confraternal Marian icons was crowned through the 17th century following the Madonna della Consolazione in 1600. These included the

7 Rousakis, "From Image of Devotion."

8 Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*, p. 268.

Madonna di San Luca (1603), the Madonna del Reno (1604), Madonna del Soccorso (1612), Madonna de' Poveri (1624), Madonna del Rosario (1634), and eventually the Madonna della Vittoria.⁹

Gender, Charity, and Civil Society

Women played a larger role in Bologna's spiritual companies than they ever could in either its military or its artisanal companies, yet that role changed significantly from the medieval into the early modern period.¹⁰ The mixed gender confraternities of the 14th and early 15th century were transformed under Observant reforms of the mid-15th, and from that time single-sex sodalities expanded, with women's groups having greater or lesser degrees of self-direction under lay or clerical male supervisors. It was less a matter of the earlier spiritual companies having a conscious ideology of including women, than of the latter ones having a definite policy of excluding them. The Observant reforms built themselves around purification through exclusion, and so abandoned the default inclusivity that considered women central to civil society in favor of a deliberate exclusivity that aimed to preserve the pure devotion and community of insiders by keeping out many individuals and groups considered threatening.¹¹

From the point of view of civil society, the issue was never gender in isolation, but its relation to class and space. The mixed-gender medieval groups were collectivities organized in resistance against the same noble, patrician, and clerical overlords that the military and artisanal companies struggled against. The medieval and Renaissance armed, artisanal, and spiritual companies together represented a vision of the commune based on city quarters (as distinct from parishes, for example) where the range of professional, artisanal, merchant, and service occupations ranked between day laborers and a noble elite expressed the lay-directed civic religion. The early modern separate gender groups took a designated space within a more hierarchical order where religion was more clearly the business of the clerical profession, and where any lay devotees would have to devote far more time, money, and energy to their

9 Masini, *Bologna Perlustrata*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 93, 67, 303, 486. Masini claims that the *Cintura* was crowned in 1602, p. 96.

10 Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 116-32.

11 Sherri Franks Johnson finds that nuns in particular continued to carve out a significant role for themselves in late medieval Bologna, and that they were not systematically marginalized through the period. See Johnson, *Monastic Women*.

brotherhoods than had earlier been the case. This left working men in a more ambiguous position, since they had fewer finances or time to devote to their confraternities. Lay women faced that limitation, plus the conventional misogynist trope that the daughters of Eve were temptresses which any spiritually-attuned man ought to avoid.

Women had not taken elected supervisory roles in medieval and Renaissance spiritual companies, but it would not be accurate to say that they were either invisible or purely auxiliary. They may have been less evident in the records of officers and in the minutes of meetings, but they were fully present and sometimes even dominated in those public actions most central to the companies' civic, charitable, and cultic roles: maintaining and praying in public shrines, preparing meals and beds in hospitals, joining in processions, singing the religious songs by which the spiritual companies made their presence known in the soundscape of the city. In Bologna as across Italy, lay women gathered in communities of *bizzoche* and *pinzochere* carried out the same kinds of charitable and cultic activities.

The communal government of 1376 brought greater political power to those social groups who had constituted the artisanal, armed, and spiritual companies, and the 15th-century flowering of confraternities reflects the confident social construction of those who were now regularly moving through the commune's various magistracies. They had won and this was now their world within the city walls. They filled it with shrines, hospitals, and confraternal chapels, and the 1443 procession of the Madonna della Vittoria signaled their triumph. Yet the steady expansion of the self-perpetuating *Sedici-Reggimento-Senato*, thanks in part to its role in re-negotiating with each new pope the 1447 *capitoli* of Nicholas V which constituted Bologna's "treaty" with Rome, put the lie to their confidence.¹² Oligarchic expansion slowly eroded the power of elected communal magistracies even though it was useful and indeed necessary to keep them in place.

The oligarchical political and financial elite that coalesced around wealthy families like the Pepoli, Malvezzi, Marescotti, and the Bentivoglio found its counterpart in a new spiritual elite which was emerging in confraternities thanks to the Observant reforms. The latter would slowly transform the membership and public/civil character of confraternal life. Their more intense devotional life, including frequent attendance at Divine Office and devotional exercises like foot washing and collective flagellation was a learned and time consuming spirituality more suited to professionals and merchants than to laborers and artisans. Its conceit of the imitation of Christ was more suited to

¹² De Benedictis, *Repubblica per contratto*, pp. 86-103.

men than to women. Its emphasis on maintaining the purity of God's chosen ones fed fears of those whose actions, occupations, or very existence was impure and polluting. This increased the provisions around discipline and sometimes led to the creation of new confraternities or of exclusive subgroups of more zealous members within existing confraternities. These devotional subgroups designated themselves the *stretta* (as opposed to the *larga*) or the Compagnia dell'Oratorio (as opposed to the Compagnia dell'Ospedale). It is telling that lay *confratelli* used the spatial and locational terms "narrow" and "broad" or "Oratory" and "Hospital", while clerical reformers in religious orders used the behavioral terms "observant" and "conventual" (which originally designated the religious community in its corporate life, and not a residence). The spatial-locational referents underscored that lay confraternities saw themselves as occupying the *saeculum* while implicitly leaving the spiritual realm to clerical professionals.

Members of the *stretta* or Oratory subgroups committed themselves to maintaining the spiritual purity of their subgroup, including tighter recruitment and training of new members, far more frequent individual and group spiritual exercises, and mutual discipline and expulsion of the erring. They banned not only those who might have done immoral deeds – adulterers, murderers, and thieves – but also a broad category of those who were considered impure by definition: policemen, Jews – and above all women.

The gendering of confraternal piety was the greatest transformation of confraternal civil society in the 15th and 16th centuries, both in Bologna and beyond.¹³ The Observant spiritual elite that emerged in *stretta* and Oratory subgroups within otherwise unchanged confraternities paralleled the emergence of an exclusive oligarchical council within a communal political order that also appeared unchanged on the surface. In both cases, these elites radically redirected institutional forms and values over time. Just as the *Sedici-Reggimento-Senato* represented the camel that stuck its nose into the political tent and eventually came to occupy it and displace the original inhabitants, the Observant *stretta*-oratory confraternities represented the leading edge of confraternal institutional life, which eventually marginalized older forms and in some cases squeezed them out. And in civic religion as in civil society, the Observant reforms in spiritual companies often began in upper class confraternities that had the resources to offer more impressive processions, shrines, and public cultic life – clear signs of the right to lead. When they emerged in exist-

13 For some similar dynamics in Emilia and Milan, see Gazzini, *Confraternite e società cittadina*, pp. 157-96, 257-79.

ing large companies that ran hospitals, they gradually marginalized or even excluded female, artisanal, and laboring members over time.

Women resisted these developments. One or two artisanal confraternities like San Bernardino da Siena kept women in the broader membership, at least until episcopal visitors ordered it to stop in 1593.¹⁴ The patrician women of Santa Maria del Baraccano actively resisted their marginalization by that company's *stretta* group, though in the end unsuccessfully. The fight within that confraternity intensified after 1527 when the Baraccano transformed its pilgrims' hostel into a conservatory for adolescent girls who had been orphaned and abandoned in the wake of the famines and plagues of the mid-1520s. Over the coming two decades, this temporary expedient turned into a complete redirection of the confraternity's charitable mission. It was clear even to observant reformers that a confraternity that spent a good deal of its energy and resources on running a conservatory for adolescent girls could not do so without a number of female members to oversee day-to-day living conditions in the home. This work of cooking, changing beds, cleaning floors and nursing the sick was essentially what female members had carried out a century before when the Baraccano shelter, located just inside the Santo Stefano gate on the main route to Florence, took in travelers and pilgrims. Yet in keeping with elite social dynamics, these female members would not simply be members of a single undifferentiated spiritual company as before, but would gain a separate sisterhood of their own, with a designated space and set of rituals and devotions, and some officers operating under male oversight.¹⁵

The Baraccano women's company emerged in 1527 when the hostel first changed into a conservatory, and it attracted a considerable number of elite women. Their first set of statutes in 1548 made them the self-governing co-governors of the conservatory. A second set of statutes, issued in 1553 as part of an effort to resolve the Baraccano's long-simmering internal feud between *larga* and *stretta*, stripped the women of their self-government and consigned them more decisively under male control as little more than staff. These developments in Bolognese confraternities were an adaptation of the broader Observant drive for a gendered form of institutional purity that would carry on to Trent and beyond. Reformers pushed successfully for tighter enclosure of female convents, the transformation of Third Order communities into enclosed

¹⁴ ASB, Demaniale, San Bernardino, 8/7639, Filza 2.

¹⁵ For more background and archival references for this dispute, see Terpstra, *Abandoned Children*, pp. 236-38.

residential groups, and the elimination or claustration of older communities of *bizzoche* and *pinzochere*.¹⁶

Other confraternities followed this path of establishing separate subgroups for women in the 1550s and 1560s, including Santa Maria della Pietà (1547), Santissimo Crocifisso del Cestello (1549), Santa Croce (1552), and Buon Gesù (1569). In most cases their defining activity was charity, and particularly institutional charity offered to the needy girls and women of the city. This continued as Bologna moved through the 1560s and 1570s towards a more comprehensive system of social charity organized as the Opera Pia dei Poveri Mendicanti that aimed to concentrate the local poor in the Casa di Santa Maria della Misericordia, a tax-supported shelter – eventually a workhouse – outside the eastern city walls.¹⁷ The organizing body for the ambitious plan was a Compagnia della Misericordia that was run like a confraternity, with donations securing both membership and the right (and obligation) to volunteer in the home's administration. In its earliest form, in 1560-63, the Compagnia della Misericordia followed the model of the traditional spiritual companies, and fulfilled the expectations of that broader communal society. Yet this was also the period when the Senate and Bolognese patriciate were seeking to consolidate their hold on local government, and further marginalize communal governing institutions. In the first revision of the Misericordia's statutes in 1570, the communal forms were diluted, the civic tax abandoned, the hundreds of volunteers dismissed, and the entire operation was refashioned as a professional service built to maximize the forced-labor potential of the paupers' shelter, which was now divided into two: one shelter for older boys and men, and the other for younger children and all females. At this point, the Misericordia's separate women's company gained greater definition and duties, and a more exclusively patrician membership, and started to take a larger role in overseeing administration of the enclosed women's workhouse.

The confraternities of the period of Catholic reform would prove quite different from those of the communal period, refashioned by different social expectations, models of professionalization in religion, and the effort to make the Catholic Church more effective as a pastoral and disciplinary body. This was what the Observant reform was most fundamentally about, and it should be no surprise that one of the more widely adopted changes was the implicit or

16 Bologna's nuns resisted this intensification of enclosure, as Craig Monson has shown in two books rich in Bolognese examples: Monson, *Disembodied Voices*; Idem, *Nuns Behaving Badly*.

17 For more on this process, with archival references, see Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*, pp. 55-138.

explicit gendering of the spiritual companies. By the later 16th century, the confraternal landscape was changing significantly across the city and indeed across Italy as bishops aimed to animate the spiritual life of parishes and recruit laity to help deliver the corporal and spiritual works of charity. The number of spiritual companies expanded rapidly, as did their memberships. More parishes established Christian Doctrine confraternities through which men and women taught reading, writing, and religion to the children of parish or district, and Holy Sacrament confraternities to tend the altars and help bring the sacrament to the sick and dying. In 1568, Paleotti brought down new rules for the governance of hospitals (*Ordinationi fatte per il buon governo di tutti gli hospitali del contado e diocesi di Bologna*), followed in 1574 by a common missal for confraternities (the *Libro delle Compagnie Spirituali*) and in 1583 a common set of statutes. These together set out standard administrative models that gave the bishop more oversight over lay religious and charitable institutions, and priests more authority within them. They signaled a new civic religious order in which spiritual companies were the lay auxiliaries of parish clergy who were working with and through them to building a holy Bologna from the parish level.¹⁸

This two-part model of lay confraternities and secular clergy building a holy city from the level of the parish was different from the medieval three-part model of lay spiritual companies collaborating with armed and artisanal companies to build a communal civil society from the level of the city quarters. In both periods, the administrative conventions exercised in the confraternities demonstrated what form of civil society they identified with and aimed to build. The medieval companies exercised the same communal administrative forms found in their armed and artisanal counterparts, with regular elections for the officers who oversaw membership, finances, and charitable activity, and who appointed the priest who carried out religious services. The early modern parochial companies followed the professional model of emerging bureaucracies, with officials appointed by the priest, who directed the members, oversaw activities, and exercised religious services, including discipline. This could be expected, and while both in their own way were seeking to realize the *corpus christianum* from a defined space or area in the city, it did result in very different expressions of civil society. It is worth noting that women were less often marginalized into separate groups in the parochial companies. While male members familiar with the communal forms would have found reduced agency in groups run by the priest, female members would experience little difference.

¹⁸ Prodi, *Il Cardinale*, vol. 2, pp. 181-214.

Some of the older communal spiritual companies like Santa Maria della Vita, Santa Maria della Morte, Buon Gesù, and Santi Sebastiano e Rocco continued on, although they tended to undergo a process of ennobling over the long 16th century, ending up with more exclusive memberships than they had started out with. One example of a newer company experiencing rapid ennobling is the Compagnia dei Poveri, which seven poor artisans established in 1576 to organize devotions and pilgrimages. It survived some early setbacks and developed through the 1580s into an ambitious mutual assistance group aiming to offer sick pay and unemployment insurance to members on an insurance model.¹⁹ Perhaps most radically, it also offered maternity benefits, a sign that it had many women, and above all working poor women, among its members. By some ambiguous reports, it quickly became the largest company in Bologna, with perhaps 2500 male and female members. Since financial and administrative records for this period do not survive, it is difficult to tell whether the insurance plan ever functioned, though the statutes suggest that the company trusted more on the good will of members to continue paying dues after they had received benefits than on solid actuarial science. The Compagnia dei Poveri extended the communal charitable values of the older spiritual companies to the local working poor, including even those non-*bolognesi* who were often excluded from other older civic confraternities. It fell foul of the post-Tridentine expectation that confraternities tend their altars as the primary means of tending to members' needs: a series of episcopal visits from 1581 to 1652 highlighted its officers' decision to spend money on charity rather than liturgical furnishings as a serious failing, and forced a change of statutes to remedy the defect. From 1598, new and wealthier members joined the confraternity, took over its administration, and redirected its priorities and finances from charitable to cultic activities. By 1627, the Compagnia dei Poveri was a largely elite group, with new baroque quarters, an ample spiritual treasury of indulgences, a far healthier balance sheet, and very few if any poor members. The "Seven Founders" would continue to be lauded in company histories, but the Compagnia dei Poveri no longer recruited members from among poor artisans, and quite deliberately dropped those services that might have eased their condition. "Poverty" became a largely spiritual attribute.

This is one example of the transformation that slowly altered virtually all of those communal spiritual companies remaining in Bologna as the city itself gradually shed many of the functioning institutions of medieval communal society and adopted the political and bureaucratic forms of the *ancien régime*.

19 Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*, pp. 233-41. Fanti, "La chiesa e la Compagnia dei Poveri," pp. 175-304.

The causality around this is complicated, and sketching it quickly is not meant to simplify a complex process. At best, it puts certain long-term developments into correlation, with the understanding that causality works both ways in a generally changing ethos around class and gender. But it is important to recognize that the shifts in whether and how women could participate in confraternities, civic religion, and civil society were neither incidental nor simply the collateral damage of a larger social process. Gender, with class, was fundamental to redefining both civic religion and civil society. The changes to how both women and artisans participated in Bolognese confraternities is perhaps the most readily-grasped incidence of those larger changes marking the period. Adapting Sarah Blanshei's analysis, we might see the institutional marginalizing and enclosing of women and artisans as part of the emerging *habitus* of the more patrician and patriarchal oligarchy which tightened its grip on Bologna through these centuries.²⁰ It was the *habitus* of the *ancien régime*.

The new models were sometimes more efficient when it came to delivering charity than the old had been, though of course efficiency had never been a stated goal of the medieval spiritual companies. They had set their sights on inclusivity, honesty, and human frailty – organizing large memberships by volunteer administrators cycling in frequent rotation and under close oversight precisely because they could *not* be trusted. The large medieval communal groups had audited their administrations for signs of financial corruption, while the later early modern groups looked for signs of individual moral corruption and used tools of mutual discipline and expulsion to reinforce social divisions. This radical re-visioning of the purpose and functioning of confraternities certainly had an impact on how they served as expressions of civil society and as vehicles of civic religion, and so ought to inform historical research.

Civic Religion and Civic Archives: the Challenge of Sources

The effort to track confraternities' role in civil society sends us to a number of distinct archives in Bologna. The kinds of records remaining vary widely from group to group, due either to the accuracy of early record keepers, the selective pruning of later members or administrators, and the mergers or suppressions which took place through the early modern period, under the Cisalpine Republic from 1796, or after the Risorgimento. The major deposits are in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna, the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, the Archivio Arcivescovile, and the Archivio Universitario. Isabella Zanni Rosiello

20 Blanshei, "*Habitus*. Identity and Formation," pp. 143-57.

has recently shown how the late 18th-century creation of the public archives and their deposits was a stage in a longer process by which local authorities in state and church aimed to control the narrative of the past by controlling access to documents and by commissioning, censoring, and censoring histories.²¹

What records did confraternities keep, and when and how did they keep them? Marina Gazzini has recently distinguished a late medieval and Renaissance period of the confraternal archive as “deposit” followed in the later 16th century by a second phase of the archive as a “memory” or “source” (*memoria-fonte*). She describes how record keeping first became common in the 13th century as the spiritual companies developed from informal groupings or mendicant auxiliaries into corporations that accumulated indulgences and legacies for masses.²² These might be passed down from one officer to another at each election, particularly for those groups that had no space of their own. Once confraternities began opening shrines and hospitals in the 14th century, their day-to-day finances, coupled with increasing legacies, led more groups to set aside a chest or a cupboard in which the most important documents would be stored securely. Many of the earliest statutes date from this period, and they begin to include a secretary-treasurer among the upper administration. Whether *massaro*, *camponiero*, *cancelliere*, or *scrivano*, this individual was now entrusted with keeping the group’s documents, ledgers, contracts, and statutes. This was mercantile behavior from a mercantile class, and the records this group thought were worth keeping did not necessarily reflect what they thought was most characteristic of their spiritual or charitable life. That was hardly the point, since the records deposited with the secretary-treasurer had a purely practical function related to his administrative responsibilities. Nor was it physically possible to keep and store ephemeral or spiritual works when all the documents had to be shoved into the same small chest or cabinet.

Through the course of the 16th century more confraternities appointed dedicated archivists. If they had quarters of their own, as some of the larger charitable groups certainly did, they moved beyond financial and notarial records towards collecting more broadly historical records like plays, catechisms, sermons, and other pious literature, often with an eye to asserting their antiquity or certain privileges.²³ Gazzini dates the change in Milan to 1575, the year when Carlo Borromeo ordered an overhaul of archiepiscopal, parochial, and historical archives with an eye to conserving, ordering, and classifying all

21 Zanni Rosiello, “L’Archivio, memoria della città,” pp. 435–41.

22 Gazzini, “Gli archivi delle confraternite,” pp. 369–90.

23 Gazzini, “Gli archivi delle confraternite,” pp. 381–87.

the materials necessary for improved fiscal and spiritual administration. The changed attitude towards archives brought a changed material culture and spatial dimension. Documents once crammed into an overstuffed *cassone* or *armadio* were now being filed and shelved in separate rooms.

Archivists always kept only the most necessary documents, but their sense of what was necessary was broadening. After Trent, antiquity provided one of the few loopholes allowing local churches to avoid new liturgical norms and retain local practices, meaning that documents could be as valuable as relics.²⁴ A tradition of forgery followed on the ancient traditions of holy theft of relics and piously fictive saints' lives. One example was the archivist of Milan's elite Scuola delle Quattro Marie finding, in 1619, a copy of the brotherhood's formal approval by Archbishop Angilberto II in 845 wedged between the pages of a 1470 *libro mastro*. The Quattro Marie was in fact a 13th-century foundation, but the practically illegible 9th-century document, apparently lifted from a juridical codex, seeded a longer series of fraudulent historical documents that now filled the archives of the Quattro Marie. Among these was another document, purportedly from 1100, giving the names of 24 Milanese *confratelli* who had just returned from Crusade; all were, of course, of politically prominent families from the later medieval period, and none are found in any other 11th- or 12th-century documentation.²⁵

Such transparent frauds were found in Bologna as well, as Mario Fanti showed in his careful exposé of a vigorous 18th-century priest who served with the *conforteria* of Santa Maria della Morte. Carlo Antonio Macchiavelli was the brother of the notorious literary forger Alessandro Macchiavelli, and the two collaborated to insert a late 15th-century ancestor, Luigi di Leonardo Macchiavelli into the Compagnia della Morte's history as an active member and the author in 1490 of its guide for comforting those condemned to die. They recopied and re-organized the group's records, added miniatures and frontispieces taken from other manuscripts and titles written in a poor approximation of a 15th-century hand, and recast an Augustinian friar who was the guide's ostensible early 15th-century author as the early 16th-century editor of Luigi Macchiavelli's work. Carlo Antonio Macchiavelli published a *Catalogue of the Authors and Materials Regarding the Conforteria* in 1729 to further cover their tracks, but the frauds were denounced by Giovanni Fantuzzi in 1786 and further demolished by Luigi Frati in 1856.²⁶ The stakes at play were sufficiently

24 Ditchfield, *Liturgy, sanctity and history*.

25 Gazzini, "Gli archivi delle confraternite," pp. 384-85.

26 Fanti, "La Confraternita di Santa Maria della Morte," pp. 126-31. Fanti notes the forgeries, and then goes on to a careful explication of the text's authorship.

high, and the importance of the archive as the reliquary of a bureaucratic state was well enough established, that researchers must be alert to the possibilities of such holy frauds.

The early modern sensibility that saw the archive as historical source was a move beyond the medieval and Renaissance one of seeing it only as administrative deposit, yet the one did not replace the other. Financial and legal records retained their practical function, and Alessandro Pastore has shown the problems of reporting and tampering that make some of them suspect, and noted the questions which have to be posed of them.²⁷ In many confraternities, and particularly the larger, wealthier, charitable, and ennobled ones, 17th- and 18th-century officials re-ordered their archives to make the records more accessible. They prepared multi-volume series of alphabetical and chronological *sommarii* and *repertorii* documenting centuries of legal records, and these served as convenient finding aids to the thousands of original documents filed in dozens or hundreds of cardboard *buste*. It would certainly be easy to slip in the occasional fraudulent indulgence, privilege, or *bolla*, though in most cases those hard at work re-organizing confraternal records had more immediate and practical goals. In many cases the manuscript catalogues of legal documents followed by a few decades on earlier catalogues of real estate holdings that used maps, plans, and elevations to record the confraternity's property and income.²⁸ Confraternities were determined to get a firmer grip on what they owned, and on what was owed them. In most cases, *repertorii* and *buste* are full of documents relevant to purchases and sales, for property-based loans and investments like *francazione* and *censi*, of legacies, and for extended lawsuits concerning all of the above. The more ambitious confraternities kept records of those wills which promised a house or farm should an heir or series of heirs die out, and the more accurate their records, the more possible it would be to go to court and lay claim to these legacies decades later.

The ambitious effort to record and archive property records was certainly practical and perhaps even predatory, and highlights just how wealthy and bureaucratic some early modern confraternities had become. Yet it also

27 Pastore, "Usi ed abusi," pp. 17-40.

28 An early example is the 1601 *Campione* produced for Santa Maria della Vita: ASB, Fondo Ospedale, Santa Maria della Vita 10/14. The Senate commissioned a similar illustrated inventory of the holdings of the Abbey of Santi Naborre e Felice, granted to the city by Julius II, in order to support its claim to the properties: the gold-embossed leather volume of elevations and plans carries civic markers on the cover: ASB, Fondo Demaniale, Abbazia di Santi Naborre e Felice 116/2037. For a published version of the rural survey of properties belonging to the confraternal Opera Pia dei Poveri Vergognosi, see Righini, *Antiche mappe bolognesi*.

reflected an expanding early modern literary and historical sensibility. Some officials and archivists wished to reinforce what they considered to be their lay group's particular privileges from clerical or commercial threat. Others simply aimed to organize and make available the more discursive or narrative accounts of the confraternity's life and activities. Gazzini notes that many of the ambitious projects to re-organize confraternal archives in the later 17th and early 18th centuries were driven by officials who recognized that the records in their care were important not only for their group's legal and financial life, but also for their city's historical and cultural life. Some of these officials were themselves amateur historians who busied themselves over the decades in recording and copying documents that they came across in the various offices they held over the years. Their copies of whole manuscripts or collections of ephemera – including items relating to confraternities – were then sometimes given to the communal or university archive on their deaths, and in many cases the originals have since disappeared and only these copies remain.

Statutes are the most common narrative manuscripts in confraternal deposits that directly convey social and spiritual expectations. These governed groups' administrative, charitable, and cultic life, and the archivists who originally organized the various Archivio di Stato di Bologna *fondi* usually put them as the first items within any group's inventory entry. Studied in isolation, statutes can have an abstract idealism and numbing predictability. Compared across time, space, and distinct communities, they can reveal more about how rituals evolved, how administrative conventions differed, what membership meant, and what different communities did to help their sick, dying, or dead.²⁹ Successive statutes within a particular group usually mark periodic reform movements, particularly when accompanied by matriculation lists, and comparing them across the city can highlight broader spiritual movements not marked in the chronicles by major processions. We can trace an Observant revival spreading across the city in the 1440s and 50s by the sudden surge of reform and *stretta* statutes. Similarly, the impact of post-Tridentine reforms is often traceable first in the addenda tacked onto many statutes in the 1570s to 1590s, before they appear as new statutes altogether.

In general, 14th- and 15th-century groups varied widely in what they required and offered, but almost all had relatively short sets of statutes that set out administrative conventions borrowed from other confraternities or from guilds. From the point of view of civil society, it is worth comparing these together in order to see how much they adopt the language and ideas from the other kinship groups (including guilds) in Bologna or neighboring cities, and

29 For a comparison of statutes in Bologna: Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 50-68.

how these gradually shift. Many of the more observant *stretta* groups established within confraternities borrowed regulations, rituals, and even wording from each other, and the close parallels suggest that the members and priests of separate groups talked a great deal together.³⁰

By the early 16th century, statutes start getting longer and longer. The rules and requirements are certainly accumulating, with a greater effort to regulate both individual and collective behavior. Cristoforo Pensabene, fresh out of university legal studies and an inquisitorial grilling, and poised for a rapid ascent through the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, wrote a lengthy set of statutes for the *conforteria* of Santa Maria della Morte in 1556.³¹ These were short on pastoral reflection about the *conforteria*'s work of comforting prisoners condemned to death, and long on rules for organizing the group's work and disciplining its members. Pensabene was a lawyer, after all. Yet other contemporary statutes started taking on the character of reflective and explanatory discursive spiritual texts. Longer prefaces gave the origin and history of the group, and longer chapters expanded on the spiritual meaning of administrative conventions or mutual obligations. By the mid-16th century, more of the sets of statutes are appearing as typeset octavo pamphlets rather than illuminated vellum manuscripts, suggesting that members now had personal copies that they could use as a kind of personal spiritual literature.

The richest deposits of confraternal records in Bologna are held in four deposits in the Archivio di Stato: the *Fondo Demaniale*, the *Fondo Ospedale*, the *Fondo dei Pii Istituti Educativi*, and the *Fondo Giovanni XXIII*. The *Demaniale* was created together with the Archivio di Stato di Bologna itself to house all the records of monasteries, convents, and confraternities that had been suppressed under the Cisalpine Republic, and to make these available publicly in order to demonstrate the perfidy of the Catholic Church and its institutions. The deposits for confraternities are almost entirely administrative, and it can take some time and skill to see the social and spiritual life of the world that they describe. Moreover, those assembling later archives took the documents and organized them according to their late 18th-century location, sometimes obscuring a group's history as a result.

30 See the 11 sets of confraternal statutes brought together for Modena, in which a number of the 15th-century observant statutes share passages with Bolognese groups. Al Kalak and Lucchi, *Gli Statuti delle confraternite modenesi*.

31 A doctor of civil and canon law and canon of the civic basilica of San Petronio, Pensabene served both on the *anziani* (1548, 1564) and the *gonfalonieri* (renamed the *tribuni del popolo*, in 1555) before becoming chief financial officer of the Bolognese tribunal of the Holy Office (1561), and then Vicar General of Bologna (1566). Terpstra, "Theory into Practice," pp. 144-48.

Deposits for the influential Compagnia di Santa Maria del Baraccano provide an example of the content, ordering, and dispersal of a wealthy and very active confraternity's documentary traces. The bulk of documents – over 560 items – for the confraternity and its hostel-cum-conservatory are in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna *fondo Archivio dei Pii Istituti Educativi*. These are held in 20 distinct series whose organization underscores their administrative “deposit” function, running from statutes and minute books through collections of legal documents (for legacies, sales, and purchases, etc.) reinforced by their catalogues and on to financial registers.³² Records in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna *fondo Archivio dei Pii Istituti Educativi* deposit deal primarily with the charitable hostel-conservatory and the *larga* company that ran it. A separate deposit of ten items in the *Fondo Demaniale* contains the *stretta* company's statutes, legal documents, registers, and summaries, lawsuits, minute books, and other miscellanea. Outside the Archivio di Stato, we find an early and original statute book (1439) in the Biblioteca Comunale, while the Archivio Arcivescovile holds copies of pastoral visits, records of legacies, miscellaneous administrative materials, minutes, and inventories (from the 17th and above all the 18th centuries), adjudication of internal disputes, and statutes.³³ The Baraccano's records are spread across the city and, while there is some logic to what can be found where, each deposit holds unexpected items that later archivists often filed as “Miscellanea.” Yet these institutional documents tell only part of a story which must be contextualized with a far broader range of civic, religious, and literary sources. And that entails a hunt.

We know that a great deal has been lost, but simply do not know what. As noted above, some sources suggest that Compagnia della Carità was the largest confraternity in 1570s Bologna, with 2500 members paying into its advanced system of social insurance. Yet no matriculation lists, financial records, or administrative documents survive for this period, and we have no way of knowing whether they were lost, destroyed, or simply never kept. We know of

32 The series are: A. Statutes; B. Files (miscellaneous materials); C. Minutes of the administrative Congregation; D. Legal Instruments & Documents; E. Catalogue of Instruments; F. Legal Processes; G. Miscellanea; H. Legacies; I. Administrative Papers; J. Financial Registers – Summaries (Mastri); K. Financial Registers – Daybooks (Giornali); L. Financial Registers of the Confraternity; M. Financial Registers of the Urban Properties; N. Financial Registers of the Farms; O. Book-keeping (contabilità); P. Balance Sheets (Bilanci); Q. Book-Keeping; R. Maps and Elevations; S. Registers and Summaries Legal Instruments.

33 The most effective guide to the archival inventories of Bologna's charitable institutions (most of them confraternally-run) is Fanti, *Gli archivi*. For Santa Maria del Baraccano: pp. 68-72.

the confraternity's size and ambitious insurance plan from the complaints of episcopal visitors who thought that confraternal funds ought to be going instead for religious furnishings and services; the records do indeed pick up from the 1620s when the more elite membership did precisely this, leaving the question of whether these members decided to remove all documentary traces of the period when the Company was under suspicion and under discipline.

Later efforts to invent traditions, "correct" documents, or otherwise shape history means that it is unwise to take any documents at face value in the stories that they tell. What is said or left unsaid with regard to the role of women highlights this most clearly, and can be a cautionary guide to how we should read and use these records. Among early documents, both narrative and administrative, it is necessary to read between the lines to find what contemporaries assumed and what they thought was not worth recording. We know that 14th-century *laudesi* confraternities typically recruited equal numbers of men and women, though no statutes prescribe this or assign women a major administrative role. Yet while statutes may suggest that female members had little if any administrative role, careful examination of financial records sometimes reveals their leading role in communal social activities, particularly in the case of hospitals. As we move to the 15th and 16th century, it becomes necessary to read documents carefully in order to tease out misogynistic rhetorical tropes and determine the control strategies that they may have been hiding. Condemnations of women as weak temptresses were a common trope in the statutes of observant *stretta* groups, and justified their exclusion from the confraternal community. The statute prefaces for Santa Maria della Pietà (1547) and San Giuseppe (1641) state that female members themselves sought male help because they could not deal with the challenge of running a group. Yet here again, a closer look at the financial records of the latter shows that it was far more stable and successful before the men took over, and its finances collapsed after they assumed administrative direction.³⁴

In the end, civil society as practiced was distinct from civil society as recorded. The visibility or invisibility of women, both in the records and in civic religious life of the city, underscores this. It highlights social changes, and it underscores gaps between rhetoric and reality in how records were created and how they were saved. Likewise civic religion, and above all the strong element of lay agency as it was expressed through confraternities, often gets lost thanks to the ways in which religion was later professionalized and cleri-

34 ASB, Demaniale, Santa Maria della Pietà 10/7696, Filza 3; ASB, Archivio dei Pii Istituti Educativi, San Giuseppe 1, Libro +, pp. 1-4; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities*, pp. 116-32, Terpstra, *Abandoned Children*, pp. 239-41.

calized, and how archives were pruned and organized from the later 16th century. Retracing both the social changes and the archival practices of the early modern period helps us understand how easy it was to obscure two vital elements of gender and laity in the civic religion and civil society in the late medieval and Renaissance period.

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Mendicant Orders and the Repression of Heresy

Riccardo Parmeggiani

The profound impact on late medieval society created by the birth of the mendicant orders can be fully seen in Bologna, a city which in fact played an essential role in the development of these *religiones novae*.¹ Such centrality stems from a plethora of reasons, connected both to the nascent phase and to the immediate growth of the two major orders – the Franciscans and especially the Dominicans. The founding saints of both orders were active in Bologna and left a significant mark on the city: Francis of Assisi delivered a famous sermon in 1222 in the Piazza Maggiore that led to the pacification of rival urban factions, but it was Dominic of Caleruega who made Bologna a key Dominican center, holding there the first general chapter of the order (1220) before his death the following year. Celebration of the proceedings for his canonization in 1233 and construction of an imposing basilica that contains his remains further elevated the indissoluble ties between the saint and the city. Dominic's initial choice of Bologna was linked to the presence of its university and it was not by chance that one of the first *studia generalia* of the order arose in the local convent (1248), a development analogous, furthermore, to what occurred later in the Friars Minor. According to an artful reconstruction by later chroniclers, a similar convergence between these orders had already started during the early and provisional phase of their Bolognese settlement, which anticipated the building of the more stable and imposing convents of San Domenico and San Francesco, constituting a *de facto* permanent hendiadys between the two orders that deeply affected Duecento Bologna in political as well as in religious and cultural terms.

Despite the decisive role of the civic mendicant orders, there is a notable lack of effort at synthesis in the historiography of these institutions,² a topic that has, until recent decades, been monopolized by historians from within the orders. Aside from the comprehensive and important work, although descrip-

¹ Vauchez, "I frati mendicanti."

² See, for example, the brief entry in Foschi, "Gli ordini religiosi," pp. 482-86, in which nonetheless essential information on the establishment phase of the major and minor mendicant orders, including the female branches, is laudably included.

tive in nature, on Bolognese preachers edited by Father D'Amato,³ scholarship has privileged specific aspects, with particular attention to the foundational phase⁴ and to cultural dimensions,⁵ and in general, (with noted exceptions)⁶ has neglected editions of the sources. There is, for example, no analysis of the considerable influence exerted by the two orders on civic political life, which certainly was not exhausted in the crucial year of the *Alleluia* (1233),⁷ but which continued at least throughout the Duecento, peaking with the establishment of the Guelf-*popolo* government as a consequence of the orders' ties to the politico-intellectual oligarchy, as represented by the notaries (emblematic is the link between Rolandino Passaggeri and the Dominicans) and by the law professors of the *studium*. Just as the *publica fides* enjoyed by the friars suggested them for positions of trust in the delicate political and social equilibria, so the communal ruling classes also made use of them in diplomatic roles with external interlocutors, predominantly with the papacy, under whose dominion Bologna fell in 1278.⁸ A profound symbol of the embedded and long-lasting relationship between the civic government and the Order of Preachers can be re-established from the overwhelming participation of Bolognese magistracies, including the guilds, in the celebration of the Feast of Saint Dominic, as provided for in the communal statutes of the Trecento.

The convergent consensus soon obtained by the mendicants was based not only on the external modes of a new pastoral form, the *sermo novus*, a vivid combination of words and model testimony (*verbo et exemplo*) that effectively responded to society's needs, but also on its contents. The objective of a general social pacification and the concomitant aim of moral reform constituted the keys to the success of the *magna devotio* of the *Alleluia* (1233), led by the Franciscans and, in particular, by the Dominicans, by which movement the latter crossed the wide boundaries into direct intervention in the political life of the city. The charismatic leader of the movement, the friar preacher Giovanni da Vicenza, obtained his most significant results in Bologna. He was

3 D'Amato, *I domenicani a Bologna*.

4 Marchesini, "Insediamenti francescani"; Dondarini, "Insediamenti dei Frati Predicatori."

5 *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis* and Piana, "Postille al *Chartularium*"; Bertuzzi, *L'origine dell'Ordine*; Lambertini, *Praedicatores/Doctores*; Idem, *Università, teologia e studium*.

6 *Acta franciscana*. In the case of the Friars Minor, the constant attention to sources, while privileging summaries of documents rather than critical editions, is noteworthy within the numerous and rich studies of Father Celestino Piana, for which see the bibliography in Samaritani, "Le ricerche," pp. 178-83.

7 Thompson, *Revival Preachers*.

8 Marchesini, "Insediamenti francescani," pp. 411-17.

first granted authority to reform the communal statutes⁹ and, upon agreement of both sides, he was then given the very delicate role of arbitrating the long-standing jurisdictional dispute that opposed the Church and the commune. The *lodo* (arbitration agreement), pronounced in June 1233, was substantially favorable to the commune, particularly to its *popolare* component, the party that had played a decisive role in the usurpation of episcopal rights. Although from a political point of view the temporary balance obtained by the *magna devotio* lasted only for the short term, the effects of the moralizing preaching remained alive within society: the dominant theme, in addition to opposition to luxury, dissolution, and usury, was the battle against heresy, closely connected to the defense of the *libertas ecclesiastica*. The anti-heterodox drive found concrete manifestation in some cities, as evidenced by the number of condemnations (on occasion massive) to burning at the stake in the fateful year 1233. This mobilization of defenders of the faith proved to be decisive in advancing the tribunal of the Inquisition recently established by Gregory IX, who had entrusted its leadership to the mendicant orders. Bologna played a central role in implementing this program of repression. The proceedings for the canonization of Dominic took place in the same year as the *Alleluia*: his traits of anti-heretical holiness underwent such a distortion of perspective as to portray him as a "proto-inquisitor."¹⁰

The fervor of the anti-heretical climate, furthermore, was at the same time corroborated by the active participation of the laity through the creation of the *Societas beate Marie Virginis* by the Dominican friar Giacomino,¹¹ the first Bolognese example of a "para-inquisitorial" militant confraternity, followed by analogous experiments, often of a nebulous onomastic and institutional nature: the best known are the *Societas Crucis*¹² and even more so the *Militia beate Marie Virginis Gloriose* (better known as the *Ordine dei frati gaudenti*). Founded by the Bolognese Loderingo degli Andalò and recognized by Urban IV in 1261, the *Militia* combined a confraternal structure with a monastic-knightly character. Given its decidedly anti-heretical inclination, the new *gaudenti* received fundamental support from the Dominicans, including that of a logistical nature.¹³ Another point of convergence between the mendicants and the *gaudenti* can be seen in their drive to social pacification. The violent confron-

9 Rainini, "Giovanni da Vicenza."

10 Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*.

11 Probably to be identified as Giacomino da Reggio, who died in the Bolognese convent in 1233, Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis*, vol. 2, pp. 770-72.

12 Paolini, "Le origini."

13 Gazzini, "Fratres' e 'milites'."

tation between the Guelf faction of the Geremei and the Ghibelline faction of the Lambertazzi in Bologna favored the dual *podesteria* held in 1265 and 1267 by the founder Loderingo together with his confrere Catalano di Guido di donna Ostia (for long misidentified with the surname Malavolti), representing both sides of the struggle (Loderingo the Ghibelline, Catalano the Guelf). Between these two years of governing in Bologna, they played an analogous role in Florence in 1266 at the request of Pope Clement IV. The polemic against the *gaudenti*, led by the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene de Adam, and even more so the infamy they incurred from Dante's labelling of them as "hypocrites," gave a negative cast to the political experiences of both *fratres*, especially for the inconsistency between their noble moralizing intentions and their easy acceptance of compromises with reality, which raised doubts over the veracity of their vocation. Although their second *podesteria* was largely uneventful politically, during the first period Loderingo and Catalano reformed the civic statutes and initiated the copying into registers (*Libri Memoriali*) of all contracts and wills that exceeded a certain amount, initially 20 *lire*, under the supervision of public authorities, in order to avoid fraud. Despite their numerous detractors, the privileges granted in the statutes to the *gaudenti* were confirmed throughout the Trecento.

The Beginnings of the Inquisition

At the start of the Inquisition in the 1230s, the relationship that tied the holders of that *officium* to the pontiff was of a strictly personal nature; the *provinciale* of the preachers of Lombardy gained authority to appoint inquisitor-friars in his own territory (including Bologna) only in 1237 with *Ille humani generis*. In this still experimental period of the *negotium fidei*, the battle against heresy was primarily undertaken indirectly through intensive preaching. Some of the first generation of Bolognese Dominican friars, recruited from among the professors of the civic *studium*, played a leading role in in this activity; they were the authors of polemical and exegetical texts destined for the education of friars. The *Disputatio inter christianum romanum et patarenum bosnensem* attributed to Paolo Ungaro (d. 1242), the *Postilla in Iob* by Rolando da Cremona (c.1230) – teacher of Hugues de Saint-Cher and a fervid preacher, and the monumental *Summa adversus catharos et valdenses* (c.1241) by Moneta da Cremona are among the most important testimonials of the order's 13th-century controversialist production.

The assassination of Saint Peter Martyr by heretics (1252) caused a sharp increase in the quality of repression. Less than one and a half months later

Innocent IV opened the door to institutionalization of the Italian Inquisition with *Ad extirpanda*, perfecting it two years later with the creation of eight "inquisitorial provinces"; two entrusted to the Dominicans and six to the Franciscans. Bologna and its surrounding area were placed within the district of *Lombardia* (which in practice contained all of northern Italy, except for the Triveneto) and was entrusted to the preaching friars. The inevitable centrality of the convent in Bologna, given its prestige and cultural and religious importance, was in 1303 further augmented with the creation of the province of *Lombardia inferior*, which incorporated Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Reggio Emilia, and Parma. The inquisitors present in San Domenico, as was already the case in the Duecento, continued in any case to divide their activity between Bologna and Ferrara.

Continuing the subject of geographic and institutional structures, we find a further change was produced later, with the increasing diffusion of the Dominican Observance. The convent of San Domenico of Bologna, following the Observant reform in 1426, became their propelling center in the "Lombard" area, thereby unbalancing the traditional territorial framework within which the *officia* were organized at an institutional level in northern Italy. In 1459 Pius II affiliated the Observant Congregation of Lombardy to two pre-existing unreformed provinces of *Lombardia inferior* and *superior* (named respectively since 1401 and 1410 the provinces of Saint Dominic and Saint Peter Martyr). The Observant Congregation grouped together the reformed convents of the province and superimposed itself at a geographical level over the two pre-existing unreformed provinces. The newly formed entity eroded numerous districts from the pre-existing provinces between the end of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the next century, resulting in the majority of inquisitors becoming predominantly "reformed." Furthermore, the inquisitorial districts, which were ordinarily based around a single city, the seat of the *officium*, although sometimes including groups of dioceses, underwent a progressive specification and redefinition of their boundaries. The ecclesiastical district of Bologna became autonomous, with the result that its inquisitor no longer had to divide his activity between Bologna and Ferrara. Beginning in 1475, however, the marquisate of Mantua was added to the district of Bologna.¹⁴

The division of Italy into provinces by Innocent IV made Bologna a unique case in Italy, because of the unusual coincidence of two neighboring inquisitorial districts, managed by different orders, under only one administrative coordination in the same city. Alongside the centrality of the Dominican convent in the co-management of the Dominican province of *Lombardia* was

14 Tavuzzi, *Renaissance inquisitors*, especially pp. 1-23.

flanked the government of the province of Romagna by the Friars Minor, at times defined as *administratio Bononiensis*. The two Inquisitions did not remain impermeable, indeed they created a reciprocal and profitable exchange of knowledge as well especially of models. This collaboration was not limited to joint participation in processual *consilia*, which were obligatory for the most relevant trials, but extended to the circulation of documents, as attested to by the recovery and readapting of a number of proceedings from the Bolognese *negotium fidei* by the Franciscan tribunal in Rimini at the beginning of the Trecento.¹⁵

The Medieval Sources of Repression

The scarcity of documentation itself leads to serious difficulties in creating an organic historical reconstruction, particularly from a diachronic perspective.¹⁶ Indeed, the available sources for a study of the medieval Bolognese Inquisition are extremely rare because of the destruction of the Sant'Uffizio archives in 1797, carried out by Bologna's citizens under the impetus of "iconoclastic" fervor during the Napoleonic period. All that remains today is a collection of papal letters, in large part originals,¹⁷ two registers: one relating to the two decades straddling the 13th and 14th centuries (with documentation almost exclusively limited to 1299 and the years 1303-05, but with retrospective data),¹⁸ the other late 14th century (predominantly referring only to 1392),¹⁹ together with a fragment of a third later register (1485-88),²⁰ a manual, the *De officio inquisitionis* (c.1322-25),²¹ a miscellany containing *auctoritates*²² and a collec-

15 Parmeggiani, *Explicatio super officio inquisitionis*, pp. 38-41, 46-49.

16 For a very brief summary of the Bolognese Inquisition that privileges the early modern era, see Dall'Olio, "Bologna."

17 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 3695; see the edition in Bronzino, "Documenti riguardanti gli eretici."

18 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 1856; for the relevant edition, see *Acta S. Officii Bononie*.

19 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 1858, the exclusive subject matter of Orioli, "E nol porave fare Dio..."

20 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 1877, fols. 1r-89v, the portion relating to the trials conducted by the Dominican Domenico Pirri da Gargnano (1485-90). See Parmeggiani, "Ad extirpandas sortilegium."

21 *Il De officio inquisitionis*, edition of ms. 1515 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna.

22 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1867: see the description in Parmeggiani, *I consilia procedurali*, pp. XL-LIII.

tion of 15th-century *consilia*.²³ This small nucleus is supplemented, in addition to the few (and rare) documents dispersed within some holdings of the Archivio di Stato²⁴ and to the occasional and infrequent references inferred from civic chronicles, limited to the second half of the 15th century, by the reports from three inquisitors active in Bologna between 1311 and 1318,²⁵ which constitutes a precious source that permits one to view the *officium*'s practices "from the inside."

Further sources on the Inquisition and on heresy, although of very limited use for the local environment, were once conserved in the archive of the tribunal, and have survived because they were integrated in their entirety into the *Practica inquisitionis* by the famous inquisitor Bernard Gui, who copied them during a sojourn in the Bolognese convent in 1317 and over the course of a diplomatic mission on behalf of John XXII.

The fragmentary surviving documentation permits us to identify two moments of the greatest importance in the Bolognese *negotium fidei* – the passage from the Duecento to the Trecento and the second half of the Quattrocento – periods that were profoundly different in terms of the importance and characteristics of the persecuted heretics.

The 13th-Century Tribunal and the Repression of Catharism

With the establishment of the tribunal of faith and the promotion of convergent initiatives in support of it, the papacy, not always in a harmonious or coherent way, launched the repression of religious dissent, identifying the Waldensians and to an even greater extent the Cathars as the targets of this persecution. The two decades preceding issuance of *Ad extirpanda* are very poorly documented: in some Italian cities, in an apparently mild way, the initiative was taken up by the bishops, at times joined by the inquisitors, bound to

23 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 1859, *Consilia et vota in materia S. Officii* (secc. xv-xvi). On this ms. see Herzig, "The Demons," pp. 1029-30 and the bibliography therein.

24 See, for example, some isolated testimonies in the archival holdings *Notarile*, *Demaniale* and, relating to property contents, in the *Ufficio dei Memoriali* as reported in Parmeggiani, "Studium domenicano" and "Lettori dello studium."

25 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Camera apostolica, Collectoria 133, fols. 130r-38v, 163v-68r, 168v-69r, relating respectively to the mandates of the inquisitors Manfredo da Parma (1314-18), Ruggero da Petriolo (1311-12), and Niccolò da Ripatransone (1311). A sample that, however, follows the antiquated numeration in the register, is offered by Biscaro, "Inquisitori ed eretici," pp. 492-95, 532-33, 540-43.

the pope by a directly personal tie (*inquisitor domini papae*). No sources survive for Bologna from this phase, perhaps because of very limited initial activism on the part of the bishop, who in the early 1230s was involved in an intense and prolonged dispute with the communal authorities. The lack of synergy between the two greatest civic powers and the apparent absence of the inquisitors, who were engaged in events in centers with more entrenched Catharism, such as the cities in Lombardy, assured peace and the ability to proselytize to heretics in Bologna. As the sources show retrospectively, the fact that Bologna was not the seat of a dualist church does not imply that Catharism was of little significance.²⁶ Indeed, the city represented an important transit node from a cultural as well as a commercial perspective, thanks to its *studium*, favoring both immigration as well as contact with ideas and their circulation, including those of a religious nature. As for Catharism, Bologna constituted an almost obligatory passage for the followers of the Mantua-Bagnolo church, a community that stretched over a vast area, extending from the southeastern region of Lake Garda, incorporating Mantua and Verona, down to Romagna (including Rimini), and including the two main centers of activity of the San Domenico inquisitors, that is, Bologna and Ferrara. This settlement was probably consolidated in the *contado* by mass immigration from the Mantuan area following the pacts of Altedo (1231), and particularly by the early opposition to heresy in the territory of its origin, a factor that must have acted as a stimulus to emigration, which was indeed at times obligatory – the consequence of a specific decree of banishment.²⁷ In the mid-13th century an analogous migratory phenomenon from the Mantuan area led to the establishment of the Massa Lombarda (previously Massa San Paolo), a center that was soon incorporated into the sphere of influence of the commune of Bologna (1264). The countryside to the east must have been a safer refuge for heretics than the city, given the failed repressive action in the *contado* undertaken in 1299 by the inquisitor Guido da Vicenza. The Dominican friar was forced to desist after he was attacked in the area of San Martino in Argine; an episode that apparently went unpunished.²⁸

By the mid-13th century the space for heretics was progressively shrinking in Bologna, significantly at the same time as the episcopacy of the Dominican Giacomo Boncambi (1244-60). The statutes of 1250, in addition to establishing repressive regulations, already denote a changed climate, including a penaliz-

26 By not using quotation marks when referring to the term “heresy”, I intend to distance myself from deconstructionist theses and denial of the idea of a Cathar anti-church.

27 Trombetti Budriesi, “I patti di Altedo,” pp. 61-64.

28 Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, pp. 46-52.

ing measure against Gerardo del Mercato di Mezzo, identified as a *patarenus*, that is, a Cathar.²⁹ The decisive turning point occurred under Innocent IV in 1252. His notably harsher legislation was adopted in its entirety into the civic statutes, and was not slow to show its effects in Bologna. In 1254 the first known burning at the stake in the city took place, with at least two Cathars as the victims.³⁰ However, this ferment of activity by the tribunal was short-lived. Devotion to the inquisitor-martyr Saint Peter of Verona, who had been rapidly canonized in 1253, less than a year after his death, met strong opposition in Bologna: this lack of enthusiasm for the movement's symbol was a clear sign of a weak and then resurgent resistance to the Inquisition. The surviving 18th-century chronology of the holders of the *officium* establishes 1273 as the first, presumably stable, presence in the city of a judge of the faith, the converted Cathar Daniele da Giussano: this evidence indicates that the previous period, following the 1254 condemnations, was one of renewed tranquility for heretics.

The trial proceedings from the end of the Duecento confirm, furthermore, the presence of a very vital Cathar community in the late 1260s that was perfectly integrated into the social and urban fabric, despite the Cathars' manifest status as foreigners, represented in particular by immigrants from Mantua and Florence. The dualists active in Bologna in fact created a heretical zone, immediately visible, with its heart in the parish of San Martino dell'Aposa and arteries in neighboring parishes. Even in the mid-Trecento, with Catharism long extinct, Bolognese toponymy still retained a posthumous memory of a *contrata Paterinorum*.³¹ This zone was not a ghetto, on the contrary, it was an area densely populated by the laboring classes, reflecting a structure well-established throughout the centers of the Po Valley: the *boni homines* or *boni christiani*, as they described themselves, belonged predominantly to the artisanal world, specializing in the working of leather and hides.³² The shared working environment nurtured the development of inter-familial networks, constructing essential relationships for the dynamics of a community founded on a strongly domestic ethos. The *domus*, all the more so given the increased repression, became the linchpin of pastoral and charitable activity.

29 Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, pp. 5-8.

30 Aldrovandi, "Acta Sancti Officii," p. 236 fn. 1; for a further source see ASB, Camera del Comune, Tesoreria e controllatore di tesoreria, Busta 1, Registers 1-2 (1254-55), fols. 2v-3v.

31 ASB, Demaniale 239/7573, fol. 42v. The term *contrata* seems to have been a term distinct from "via Patarina." The latter did not constitute a settlement of heretics, but was so named because it was situated close to the Dominican tribunal, a place the Cathar defendants had to traverse.

32 Paolini, "Domus e zona."

The figures that can be extracted, although retrospectively, from the *Acta Sancti Officii* for the three decades from 1270 to 1299 confirm the significant presence of Cathars in Bologna, estimated, certainly in conservative terms, as at least 100 heretics and their followers. Even considering that almost all of the 42 confirmed “perfects” (the ordained, who had received the *consolamentum*) were itinerant – confirming the prevalently transitory role of Bologna – more than half of the dualists, approximately 70 of them, were residents and employed in artisanal activities. Of these more than a third were pursemakers, saddlers, shoemakers, or furriers; the two heretics who were burned alive in 1299, Bompietro and Giuliano, were *bursarii* (pursmakers). In actions that corroborate the frequent familial transmission of the faith, Dolcebona, mother of Bompietro, was also executed; so was Bonigrino da Verona (1297) and, post mortem, his wife Rosafiore. This imposition of the highest level of punishment is the clearest evidence of intra – and inter – family relationships that is inferable from the register.

Mirroring the consolidation and neighborhood settlement of the heretics, the tribunal of the faith, at least from the 1280s, put down deep roots in the city. This phase of increasing repression took place during the inquisitorial mandate of Florio da Vicenza (1278-94),³³ a friar to whom is also attributed governance of the Dominican *studium* in 1287. A man of notable importance (also of a cultural nature), Florio’s activities indicate that anti-heretical actions were in full ferment, even necessitating the purchase of a special *domus inquisitionis*, independent of the convent. Thus a concrete presence of the tribunal was produced within the urban fabric, so much so that in the 14th century a specific *contrata inquisitoris* could be identified.³⁴

The Tribunal and Relationships with Society and Civic Institutions

The intense period of investigations undertaken by Florio and pursued by his successor Guido da Vicenza (1296-1303), future bishop of Ferrara, brought about an accentuated bureaucratization of the *officium*: assisted by a large *familia* of vicars, notaries, consultants, officials, treasurers, servants, nuncios, spies, and prison guards, the inquisitor tended to become more and more distinct from his confreres, taking on an autonomous individuality, almost unrelated to conventual reality, while involving the highest levels of the local order in his activities. The process was doubtless facilitated by the strong

33 Parmeggiani, “L’inquisitore Florio.”

34 ASB, Demaniale 238/7572, fols. 63v, 186r.

mixture of careers of the friars, who do not seem to have specialized in distinctive paths among the alternatives open to them – repressive, didactic, or administrative – but blended together a plurality of offices, the accumulation of which with sharp immediacy indicated their membership in the ruling class and in the cultural elite of friar preachers within the province. The *cursus honorum* of the most influential friars, which often included roles as priors, lectors, inquisitors, and not infrequently, as Provincials, culminating at times in a bishopric, also constituted an intrinsic element of weakness in controlling the actions of the judges of the faith, from the moment this task was delegated to the local government of the order.

The procedural phase that necessitated close collaboration with the hierarchically more visible friars was represented by the *consilium sapientum*, a judicial opinion entrusted to experts, the usual practice in cases of the most serious sentences and the only form of legal protection available to defendants, since any form of direct defense was forbidden. Occasionally the *consilium* praxis involved Friars Minor and usually also both prestigious scholars from the *studium* and the highest-ranking local representatives of the Church. The contribution of the last two components was entirely dissimilar. The consultation offered by the jurists was highly authoritative, extending into the field of procedure and involving the most prestigious scholars of the age, such as Guido da Baiso (the “Archdeacon” par excellence), Dino del Mugello, Iacopo Belvisi, Pietro Cerniti, Marsilio Manteghelli, and Lambertino Ramponi, and including at the beginning of the Trecento Taddeo Pepoli, future *signore* of the city. Thus the privileged relationship between the university and the Dominican convent, which habitually hosted schools and *universitates* of law, was further strengthened. The visible sublimation of this symbiosis is to this day symbolically represented, both at San Domenico and at San Francesco, by the presence of the monumental tombs of the Glossators. Despite changing significantly in character and in institutional structure, the Bolognese Inquisition over the course of the Middle Ages never ceased to seek the legal opinions of the jurists of the *studium*, a practice still alive in the late Quattrocento, thereby constituting one of the few elements of continuity from its origins.

The consultative contribution offered by the secular clergy and by the bishop (or his delegates) appears, on the contrary, to have been substantially marginal and passive. A distinction nonetheless needs to be made on the substantially different motivations for such behavior. Indeed, the lack of intervention from the diocesan ordinary comes as no surprise, despite the rebalancing of the relationship between bishops and inquisitors in conducting the tribunal undertaken by Boniface VIII with *Liber Sextus* (1298). With a Dominican, Giacomo Savelli from Rome (1299-1302), as bishop of Bologna, his

confrere Guido da Vicenza was doubtlessly guaranteed wide-reaching autonomy. Their common membership in the Order of Preachers was further exploited by Pope Boniface VIII who appointed the bishop, along with another friar, Ramberto Primadizzi of Bologna (an illustrious theologian who had been a lecturer in Paris), to issue a decisive *consilium* during the posthumous inquest conducted by the judge of the faith against the heretic Armano Pungiluppo of Ferrara. However, the rare active collaboration of the secular clergy was perhaps conditioned, up to the equilibrium established by Boniface VIII with *Super cathedram* (1300), by their frequent quarrels with the mendicants over pastoral care (preaching), the sacraments (confession), and funeral rights. The progressive pervasiveness of the tribunal of the Inquisition had furthermore met with widespread resistance from the secular clergy, which certainly contributed to a rekindling of anti-mendicantism in the second half of the Duecento.³⁵ Opposition to the friars, sometimes violent, also occurred in Bologna in the 14th century, particularly damaging the Order of Friars Minor.³⁶

A similarly passive attitude was evidenced towards the end of the 13th century by the communal authorities who were appointed to implement capital penalties and sell the properties confiscated from heretics (with the pope's consent they could keep a third of the properties' value). The most evident case of this disengagement is that of the two Cathars sentenced on 13 May 1299, Bompietro and Giuliano, whose material goods were not confiscated, although this case is partially explained by the tumult that followed the burning at the stake of the two dualists.³⁷ The inquisitor Guido da Vicenza's refusal to give communion *in articulo mortis* to the supplicant Bompietro had in fact sparked a mass revolt against the judge of the faith: at least 355 people took active part, of whom at least 257 were women, for the most part residents of the Porta Piera quarter, an area of high density in heretics. The communal authorities' disinterest was evidently justified by their attempt to avoid in that difficult situation any sign of collaboration with the Tribunal of the Inquisition, which was the object of widespread protest, one so broad as to involve the Dominican environment *tout-court*, as had happened elsewhere in similar cases. That blame was directed in equal measure against the inquisitor and the order is revealed in the witness statements later collected by Guido da Vicenza, who, however, did not take drastic measures against the rioters. The episode is symptomatic of a falling apart between civic society and the friar preachers.

35 Paolini, *Leresia a Bologna*, pp. 33-46; Lansing, *Power & Purity*, pp. 151-57; Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 433-56.

36 Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*, pp. 57, 70, 146, 149-50.

37 Paolini, *Leresia a Bologna*, pp. 63-79; Thompson, "Lay versus Clerical perception."

The regimen of the *officium*, therefore, was perceived by the Dominicans as the principal cause of this process, with the consequent concern to isolate incumbents of the tribunal from the rest of the conventual community. The papal inquests at the beginning of the 14th century into the financial management of the Inquisition, with which Guido da Vicenza himself was involved, corroborated the key accusations of the people of avidity and cupidity, making the presence of friar-officials of the tribunal within the order increasingly uncomfortable. The financial registers of San Domenico provide evidence for this separation at a distance of 30 years, thus no longer from an exclusively logistical viewpoint. Inquisitor confreres are never mentioned by their own names, but with the cold and anonymous identifier of *inquisitor Bononie*.

It is clear, however, that the activities of the tribunal out of necessity involved the three main institutions constituting Bolognese identity over the course of the Middle Ages: Church, city, and *studium*. The Inquisition therefore cannot be considered an entity separated from society or civic politics, even more so if we consider that some of the inquisitors and consulting friars during the 13th and 14th centuries came from the most influential families of the Geremea party (Galluzzi, Primadizzi, etc.)³⁸ The undeniable tie that existed between the Guelf-*popolo* government and the *officium* should not, however, be overly emphasized, nor reduce the repressive perspective to one of merely coinciding interests of a purely political character, as can be found at times in the historiography of this subject. The case of Bologna, for example, includes condemnation to the stake of one of the *anziani del popolo* (Bonigrino da Verona); the opening of proceedings against Pietro d'Anzola (an illustrious figure within the *societas* of the notaries and the academic world) and, in 1301; the condemnation for *fautoria* (favoring or sympathizing with heretical causes) of Paolo Trintinelli, a politically influential personage within the city and a future *anziano*. This last event incited a great uproar and indirectly involved the highest Bolognese civic, ecclesiastical, and academic authorities. Trintinelli had bitterly criticized the Inquisition in public during a Sunday mass (17 May) following the burning at the stake in 1299 of Bompietro and Giuliano: furthermore, he had denied the inquisitor's authority to issue excommunications and the validity of his verdicts. The service was held in the church of the two heretics who were immolated, San Martino dell'Aposa, which was also the seat of the Carmelite convent. Trintinelli accused the Carmelites of pusillanimity for not having defended the accused, who had good relations with the friars. The gravity of the act, intensified by concomitant accusations from other believers, forced Guido da Vicenza to open proceedings against Trintinelli, who was con-

38 See also Dupré Theseider, "L'eresia a Bologna," p. 315.

demned and excommunicated for *fautoria*, and obligated to pay a very heavy fine (600 Bolognese *lire*). The accused was later reinstated after being subjected to a public humiliation that took place in the bishop's palace in the presence of the judge of the faith, the bishop, the *capitano del popolo*, the vicar of the *potestà*, and important civil lawyers from the *studium*.³⁹

The Evolution of Repression in the Trecento

The turbulent events of 1299, culminating in the immolation of Bompietro and Giuliano, together with the posthumous immolation of the heretic Rosafore, and the riots against the Inquisition both in the city and in the surrounding areas, signaled a moment of profound caesura in the *negotium fidei* in Bologna. Once Catharism had been eradicated, repression during the early years of the Trecento turned harshly against the *Apostoli*, followers of Dolcino da Novara.⁴⁰ This brief period (1303-08) coincided with the crusade that was to violently claim the life of the leader of the movement (1307). Although Bologna was one of the places through which Dolcino passed and was the setting for several immolations, the city remained in the background of this persecution since the members of the *congregatio spiritualis* were exclusively from the *contado*, specifically from the western area, towards Modena and, to a lesser extent, towards Tuscany. In those areas the heretics, who were for the most part agricultural workers, could depend upon a solid network of support, unlike the situation in the city, where some members of the clergy were investigated for supporting heresy (*fautoria*). Sporadic actions against the Bolognese *Apostoli* which took place much later were of a less sanguinary nature.⁴¹

Once this new phase of repression had run its course in the 1310s, the tribunal turned its attention to new forms of religious "non-conformism." These forms were very different from a formal perspective and were categorized under the lowest common denominator and generic category of *male sentire de fide*: this label grouped together a diverse typology of people punishable in general with monetary fines for undefined *excessus*. These included usurers,⁴² blasphemers, and materialists, but also *magistri* who upheld theories contrary to the dogma of the faith, as exemplified in the trials that took place in the first quarter of the century against professors of the *studium* from a variety of disci-

39 Paolini, *Leresia a Bologna* pp. 56-61.

40 Orioli, *Leresia a Bologna*.

41 Piana, *Nuovi documenti sull'Università*, vol. 2, pp. 610-11 (n. 1373), 616-17 (n. 1400).

42 Giansante, "Eretici e usurai."

plines, including logic (Angelo da Arezzo), medicine (Braccino da Pistoia),⁴³ and astrology (Cecco d'Ascoli).⁴⁴

In a parallel development and in compliance with the direction promoted by the first two popes at Avignon, Clement v and John xxii, the Bolognese *officium* persecuted with particular persistence the contesting of papal authority, a form of "dissent ("contempt of the keys") that was to give deviance a strongly political significance.⁴⁵ The Bolognese inquisitors in the first third of the century engaged in trials against the Templars (1311), the Este family (1321), and the supporters of Louis of Bavaria (1329-33), that were delicate in nature because of the high stakes involved, and were extremely complex from a procedural perspective. In the absence of "material heresy," identifying the list of alleged charges was arduous and presented serious problems of sustainability. This is exemplified in the trial against the Este *signori*: the Inquisition took precautions by calling upon unassailable legal consultants, forming a *collegio* of *sapientes* of the utmost excellence. The Bolognese inquisitor Bartolomeo d'Ascoli turned to the greatest canon and civil law experts of the time (Giovanni d'Andrea, Iacopo Bottrigari, Pietro Cerniti, Superanzio da Cingoli), flanked by a large number of ecclesiastics who were predominantly friar preachers of enormous cultural prestige, including the then Master of the Order, Erveo Natale. The pronouncement of the conviction met resounding opposition from the famous canonist Giovanni d'Andrea. In addition to identifying irregularities in the proceedings, he pinpointed in one sentence of a *consilium* the inherent plan of the so-called "age of trials" inaugurated by John xxii: "Any expert in law can ascertain that the proof, that is to say the predetermined truth, has been identified before the debate" ("Quilibet [...] sapiens potest videre, quod probacio, scilicet veritas iam inventa negociacionem precessit").⁴⁶ The subsequent risible judgement of the inquisitor, in stigmatizing the criticisms raised in the *consilium*, demonstrates that the jurist had indeed made his point unequivocally.

After the early Trecento wave of political trials, the work of the Bolognese *officium* returned to normal. The apparent decline in repressive activity favored an emphasis on new characteristics of the inquisitors: the limited surviving documentation refers less and less to heretics and increasingly to financial

43 Tabarroni, "Gentile da Cingoli," pp. 411-14.

44 For the Bolognese sentence (1324), the original of which has not survived and is known only through a copy, see *Lezioni di antichità toscane*, vol. 2, pp. 593-94.

45 Parent, *Dans les abysses*.

46 Bock, "Der Este-Prozess," pp. 91-94. On this *consilium* see the significant analysis by Vallerani, "Modelli di verità," pp. 140-42.

operations. A well-known register of revenues and expenditures from the San Domenico convent relating to the years from December 1331 to 1337, preserved in the Archivio di Stato, reflects the frequency and size of loans granted by members of the tribunal to their own confreres⁴⁷ (a hitherto relatively unusual practice), which indicates a considerable supply of *officium* funds. The administration of liquid assets of this size permitted the inquisitor to engage in no small measure in economic activity, enough to suggest, based on the evidence present in the register, that he fulfilled the role of a financial agent rather than a judge of the faith.⁴⁸

The sources that attest to this role are also significant for other implications concerning the Dominican environment and in particular the order's local *studium generale*. We know, for example, part of the library contents of San Domenico thanks to the description of a number of codices given to a judge of the faith as security for a loan made to the convent: between 1356 and 1357 the inquisitor Paolino da Forlì received from the accountant friar as guarantee against the sizable overall sum borrowed (almost 160 Bolognese *lire*) a Bible, the biblical *Concordantiae* of Hugues de Saint-Cher, the *Historiae scholasticae* of Peter Comestor, the first part of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* of Walter Burley, and other treatises.⁴⁹

The passage of large sums of money through the hands of the judges of the faith attests, although indirectly and despite the absence of judicial *acta*, to the *officium*'s continuing activity. Moreover, the surviving register of the inquisitor Giovanni da San Domenico (1391-95),⁵⁰ shows that in the late 14th century one specific *excessus* – blasphemy, had become the single and almost exclusive target of the Inquisition. The tribunal limited itself to action targeted against a lighter form of “deviance” (inasmuch as it was rarely punished to the extreme degree, and only in the case of strong aggravating circumstances)⁵¹ while extending at the same time the range of its competency. The repression of

47 ASB, Demaniale 238/7572, fols. 2v, 9r-v, 15v, 17v, 20r, 21v, 23v, 44r, 59v, 72v, 75v, 76r, 83v, 106v, 117v, 133r, 151r, 167v, 192r, 194v, 209r; see also fols. 99r, 116v, 121v.

48 An observation that seems to confirm Lorenzo Paolini's intuition expressed in *Le piccole volpi*, p. 271.

49 Zaccagnini, “Le scuole e la libreria,” pp. 307-08.

50 Orioli, “E nol porave fare Dio...”

51 An exception in this sense is represented by the capital sentence imposed definitely by order of the inquisitor, against a man originally from southern France, Jacopo of Gascony. According to the chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata (*Istoria di Bologna*, vol. 1, p. 123): “Jachopo di Guaschogna was immolated in the Campo del Mercato because he had said God did not come in the Virgin Mary and other madness.”

blasphemy, in theory, belonged to both the ordinary diocesan and the lay authorities, however, the weakness of the former and the disinterest of the latter created a void that the *officium* intended to fill. Furthermore, at the same time, the *Directorium* of Nicholas Eymerich (1376), the most famous manual for inquisitors of the Middle Ages, which was in use in Bologna, introduced the principle by which judges of the faith were permitted to investigate blasphemers not as *mere blasphemers*, but rather as *hereticales blasphemers*; distinguishing, in other words, between an impulsive imprecation and a more “constructed” one that placed itself in open and direct conflict with the articles of faith.

It is not only the absence of grand polemical objectives, however, that indicates a new dimension of the tribunal. The majority of those guilty came mainly from the milieu of small-scale crafts and commerce and just as the charges issued against them were light, so the punishments for these crimes were just as light, limited to the penitential sphere (the wearing of fabric crosses, prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, etc.) and not judicial. Absent, in fact, were the most serious measures, such as immolation, a prison or life sentence, or the confiscation of properties.

On the Threshold of Modernity: the Quattrocento

Necromancy was one of the new targets for repression, identified in Eymerich's *Directorium* and destined to characterize the activity of the tribunal in Bologna at the end of the Middle Ages, defined with its contemporary meaning of demonic invocation for the purposes of divination or sorcery. This practice was progressively interpreted as an illicit form of worship, and therefore *de facto* heretical, thus going beyond the 13th-century regulation that prohibited the inquisitors from concerning themselves with magic. The first signs of this new period of repression emerged in the first half of the Quattrocento. The judge of the faith Angelo Novello, during a solemn homily in San Domenico at the inauguration of his mandate (1425), invited the faithful to denounce, among others, those who had been seen “worshipping [the devil] or invoking demons, or teaching or casting spells.”⁵² Around the middle of the century, necromancy substantially became the exclusive crime of concern to the Bolognese *negotium fidei*: the rampant phenomenology necessitated a substantial repressive effort, at least in quantitative terms, a task that the highest-level local Dominicans undertook, placing at the helm of the *officium* the most authoritative and

52 “Idollatrare aut demones invocare vel incantaciones facere vel docere.” Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1515, fols. 23rv.

learned theologians available in the convent of San Domenico and throughout the entire congregation of Lombardy.

A review, for the sake of brevity, of only the most noteworthy of the judges of the faith who guided the tribunal in that period highlights their cultural depth: Gaspare Sighicelli (1443-49), an esteemed professor in the civic *studium* in the faculty of arts before entering the order, a close friend of the humanists, regent of the Dominican *studium* and future bishop of Imola; Pedro de Mallorca (1452-56), who combined his position as inquisitor with the post of dean of the theology faculty of the university; Gabriel Cassafages from Barcelona (1460-63), author of an unfinished inquisitorial manual⁵³ and of a *Tractatus de sanguine*, learned scholar of theology in the Dominican *studia* in Bologna and Rome; Girolamo Parlasca from Como (1465-66), judge of the faith while regent of the *studium* of San Domenico, later vicar general of the Congregation of Lombardy; Bartolomeo Comazzi (1478-81) and Vincenzo Bandello (1490-93), also regents of the *studium* and both also later promoted to the generalship of the order (the latter, a fervid Thomist, was also dean of the faculty of theology in Bologna); Giovanni Cagnazzo from Taggia (1494-1513), simultaneously inquisitor and regent of the *studium* of San Domenico, author of a very successful *Summa* (*Summa summarum que Tabiena dicitur*), rightly described as a vast encyclopedia of moral theology and canon law.⁵⁴

The intense activity of these judges of the faith, whose appointments also generated interest from civic magistrates,⁵⁵ is confirmed by the construction of new prisons beginning in 1452, with the significant goal "of imprisoning heretics and those who cast spells against the faith."⁵⁶ Inquisitorial action was further favored by renewed lay participation through the reorganization of the *Societas Crucis*, which was provided with new statutes from the time of Gabriel of Barcelona because of the rapid growth in its registered members.⁵⁷ The new period of trials, which primarily involved the *popolare* sphere of society, in general gave way to lenient punishments, in marked contrast to the Cinquecento in which at least 14 persons, necromancers and witches, were immolated. In contrast, in the second half of the Quattrocento, there were very few cases of capital punishment, so sensational and isolated as to be noted in the civic

53 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1867, fols. 48r-73v.

54 Biographical profiles of most of the inquisitors mentioned can be found in Tavuzzi, *Renaissance inquisitors* (ad indicem).

55 Piana, *Ricerche su le Università*, p. 18.

56 "Ad incarcerandum haereticos et facientes incantationes contra fidem." Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. 1891, fol. 838.

57 Paolini, "Le origini," pp. 199-200.

chronicles. Not all were attributable to necromancy. Evidence for this can be seen in the release to the secular arm of two Christians who had converted to Judaism, Giovanni da Francoforte (investigated in Bologna, probably between 1474 and 1475, but possibly condemned elsewhere) and Giorgio Cella from Novara (or from Monferrato), a student burned alive in 1481. Giovanni da Francoforte was a supporter, through the use of a text entitled *Speculum Bononiense*, of judaizing propaganda of a violently anti-Christian (and anti-Islamic) nature, whose contents he defended with unshakable obstinacy.⁵⁸ Giorgio Cella, furthermore, was executed not for the prophetic tones of his theories, but for his reluctance to recuse his views and embrace once more the faith, after long discussions with the judge of the faith and various theologians that were as long as they were useless.⁵⁹ His consequent death at the stake, according to the chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata, provoked strong censure of the Inquisition for its ruthless persistence against a madman.⁶⁰

In 1498, however, Gentile Budrioli, wife of the notary Alessandro Cimieri, was executed as a witch, rather than for devil worship. She paid with her life for having cast her spells against the Bentivoglio family.⁶¹ The pressure and influence of the Bentivoglio over the *officium* is also documented elsewhere, as evidenced by the case of their direct intervention, thanks to which the doctor of medicine Gabriele da Salò successfully avoided the capital sentence that had been brought against him (1497).⁶²

The case of Giovanni Faelli of Verona was very different. He had previously been investigated for summoning demons and was, therefore, a recidivist. He was burned at the stake in 1468 by sentence of the new inquisitor Simone da Novara.⁶³ The condemned necromancer, author of a book called *Flos novellus*, was in fact a Servite friar, so not only was he an ecclesiastic, but a member of another mendicant family. The proliferation of black magic in the city was due in no small degree to exponents of the clergy who possessed the necessary

58 Bacchelli, "Gli 'Errores'."

59 Bacchelli, "Gli 'Errores,'" p. 21.

60 Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*, vol. 1, p. 349.

61 Tavuzzi, *Renaissance inquisitors*, pp. 114-15; Dall'Olio, "L'attività dell'Inquisizione," p. 1099. According to Fileno dalla Tuata (*Istoria di Bologna*, vol. 1, pp. 399-401) the woman "confessò avere quaste più de quatroçento persone e se non era presa era la destrucion de Bologna [...] in chaxa Bentivogli guastò sete persone infra li quali avea guasto uno figliolo de m. Alexandro de Bentivogli lizitimo unicho e uno bastardo, e più che volea ghuasta <re> el magnifico m. Zoane."

62 Tavuzzi, *Renaissance inquisitors*, pp. 114-15.

63 Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*, p. 100; Tavuzzi, *Renaissance inquisitors*, pp. 115, 181, 246.

knowledge of Latin for understanding the texts that contained the formulas for propitiatory rituals.

The involvement of Bolognese ecclesiastics in inquisitorial trials for necromancy can be found before the sentencing of Faelli, at least from the 1440s, however the most sensational event, for the implications stemming from it, was the open trial against another mendicant friar, Antonio Cacciaguerra, a Carmelite. An initial penal action was undertaken by the inquisitor Girolamo Parlasca in the 1460s, but it was the new trial initiated again by Simone da Novara in 1472 that was to cause the eruption of a violent conflict between the mendicant orders that was so intense it required not only the intervention of the episcopal authority but also of the cardinal legate to Bologna and of the pope himself.⁶⁴ The Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV with the bull *Nuntiatum est nobis* (1473) instructed the episcopal vicar to investigate rumors surrounding some of the Carmelite friars who had publicly maintained in their sermons, both in the city and in the *contado*, that invoking demons in order to obtain answers to specific questions was not to be considered a heretical activity. Deviant suspects could, moreover, count on an influential network of protection, secured by the very close ties between the highest levels of the Carmelite Congregation of Mantua, under whose jurisdiction the Bolognese convent had recently fallen, and the Gonzaga *signoria*, represented in the *Curia* by Francesco, son of the Marchese Ludovico III and cardinal legate of Bologna from 1471. The cardinal, just like the rest of his family, did not believe the practice of the magic arts was incompatible with the faith. The new trial against Antonio Cacciaguerra promoted by Friar Simone caused decisive intervention in defense of his confrere by the prior of San Martino, Guglielmo *Leporis* di Piemonte. The Carmelite was in turn accused of *fautoria* for the help given in the settlement of damages by the *officium*. This action, with the complicity of a number of ecclesiastics (the chaplains of Santa Maria di Mascarella) gained Antonio Cacciaguerra his acquittal by Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. The initiative was significantly supported by the intervention of a number of artisans, who organized a collection to finance the sending of a lawyer to the *Curia* in Rome in order to request papal intervention against the inquisitor. The gesture was not only a sign of solidarity with the Carmelites, but also, as was the case two centuries earlier, within the same urban and social context, an expression of clear opposition to the Inquisition. The next intense conflict between Simone da Novara and Guglielmo di Piemonte set the stage for a further advance in the inter-mendicant dispute. The prior of San Martino was

64 Herzig, "The Demons"; see also with reference to other sources and from a different perspective Parmeggiani, "Lettori dello *studium*," pp. 183-86.

excommunicated by the inquisitor, but Pope Sixtus IV accepted the appeal presented by Fra Guglielmo against the inquisitor (the outcome of the following counter-appeal, initially favorable to the Dominican, is not fully known).

The high cultural profile of the two contenders, in addition to their hierarchical positions, is one of the most important aspects of this trial, emblematic not just for the “interferences” from external authorities, but also for its complex institutional and academic relationships. The Carmelite prior was in fact the dean of the faculty of theology of the University of Bologna (established in 1364), whereas Simone da Novara was regent of the Dominican *studium*. This observation makes clearer the significance and implications of the delicate and contested arbitration in the appeal trial entrusted by the pope to the *Collegio* of theology faculty, in which the mendicant component was totally preponderant. One can therefore assume that a favorable disposition towards doctrinal debates and internal rivalries held a certain degree of influence in the examination of this controversy, while nevertheless bearing in mind the centrality of the highly divisive *querelle* concerning necromancy.

Although originally the Bolognese mendicants had joined forces around the repression of heresy – in defense of one of the principal objectives inherent in the origins of the two major orders and with the equally important aim of tempering the hostility of the secular clergy, by the end of the Middle Ages this perspective had been entirely altered in its context and objectives, to the point of causing conflict between the religious families over implementation of the category of deviance. Not long after, just before the mid-Cinquecento, the characteristics of repression changed yet again in Bologna as elsewhere with the birth of the Roman Inquisition as a reaction to the expansion of the Protestant Reformation.⁶⁵

Important circumstances preceded this watershed: for example, the continued repression of impiety of a philosophical derivation, rekindled by the opinions of Pietro Pomponazzi, or the involvement of the Bolognese *officium* in the witch hunt initiated in Mirandola at the impetus of Gianfrancesco Pico – however, there is no doubt that a historic turning-point was brought about by the arrival of Luther's works. His writings underwent rapid and early circulation in Bologna (at least from 1519), predominantly among the regular clergy, who, by means of their sermons, became the primary vehicle for the spread of reformist theses.

Few in numbers and characterized by a heterogeneous social composition that, in contrast to the situation elsewhere, was not linked to political opposition, the heretical groups in Bologna initially were not treated harshly. In the

65 Dall'Olio, *Eretici e inquisitori*.

year following the establishment of the Roman Inquisition – created by Paul III in 1542 with the bull *Licet ab initio* and characterized by its centralized coordination under the Congregation of Cardinals of the Holy Office – the first public abjurations for “Lutheranism” occurred in Bologna at the same time as the exceptional presence of the pope in the city. Despite a progressive widening of the heterodox front to the laity, the 1540s were characterized by the absence of excessive severity, and even more so in the Bolognese phase of the Council of Trent (March 1547– November 1549). However, the change of attitude under the mandate of the Dominican inquisitor Antonio Balducci (1560–72) was radical, particularly from the start of the pontificate of his confrere Antonio Ghislieri, Pope Pius V (1566–72). Bologna, with ten executions between 1566 and 1569, became one of the main centers of repression. At the same time provisions were made in terms of personnel and structures (including new prisons and a new residence for the Inquisition) commensurate with the tribunal’s important growth. After delivering a decisive blow to the already moribund “Lutheran heresy” in the local area, towards the end of the Cinquecento the Bolognese *officium* once again altered its targets for repression, directing its efforts against witchcraft and the increasingly heterogeneous forms of “superstitions.” The repressive policies of the tribunal of the faith thus changed repeatedly from the Duecento to the late Cinquecento, but persisted tenaciously, despite a pattern serrated by periods of milder enforcement, over the course of four centuries.

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The University and the City: Cultural Interactions

David A. Lines

Particularly after the middle of the 13th century, Bologna saw the (often uncomfortable) co-existence of three main institutions: the Church, the *comune* (in its evolving forms), and the university or *studium*.¹ What were the interconnections between these institutions, and how, if at all, did their relationships affect the Bolognese landscape of learning? In particular, what role did the *studium* play in its urban context, both institutionally and culturally?

Giorgio Cencetti felicitously noted that it was the *studium* that made the city, and not vice versa.² Bologna became a city of considerable importance beyond its immediate borders because of its fame as a place of learning. It was thanks to its professors that students came from afar to attend their lectures – initially in informal schools or *scholae*. The eminence of these teachers is clear from the remarkable burial monuments erected in their memory and sometimes still found outside major churches (although most of them are now preserved in Bologna's Museo Civico Medievale).³ Eventually students banded together into guilds, known as *universitates scholarium*, in order to obtain privileges and legal protection in what was, for all practical purposes, a foreign jurisdiction. The economic benefits they brought to the city were self-evident.⁴ The city's bureaucracy developed as it needed to manage the influx of students and other foreigners. The commune's influence grew as it gradually pried away from students their function of selecting and paying their teachers. But the Church was a powerful element as well. The local clergy could, as we shall see, play an important role in the university. The mendicant orders were attracted to Bologna, where they established major centers of teaching (*studia generalia*) for their most promising members. Through their teaching of theology and other subjects, they complemented the university's offerings in law,

1 Paolini, "La Chiesa e la città," pp. 681–98. By this time the Empire had lost much of its influence, although it would continue to have a role by periodically making some university professors Palatine counts; this position authorized them to grant degrees in a private capacity. On the relationship of medieval *studia* with lay and religious power (also in Bologna) see Nardi, "Relations with Authority" and the literature cited there.

2 Cencetti, *Le carte bolognesi*, cited in Dolcini, "Lo Studium," p. 477.

3 Grandi, *I monumenti dei dottori*.

4 See, among others, Pini, "La presenza dello Studio."

medicine, and arts. In the wake of the Catholic Reformation, new orders such as the Jesuits rooted themselves in the city as well, competing for students with the university. And the papacy was, of course, a constant presence as it exercised its temporal sovereignty (from 1278) by conferring privileges, dispatching legates, and intervening in various aspects of Bolognese life, including of course the *studium*.

Since the university was so central to Bolognese civic and religious life, as a symbol both of learning and of the city's autonomy or *libertas*, this essay offers an outline of its main structures and features, focusing on the period between the 12th and the 16th centuries.⁵ It then considers to what extent the University of Bologna was an isolated or culturally significant institution, particularly in relationship to centers such as mendicant *studia* or movements such as humanism. Finally, it addresses the question of sources and offers examples of some current historiographical debates concerning the *studium*. These include the culturally rejuvenating force of humanism, the paradigm of the *studium*'s decline in the early modern period, and the relationship between Church and *studium*.

The University: Structures and Features

The *studium* did not originate fully formed as an articulated and universally recognized institution. Nor is there any evidence that it was founded in 1088, the conventional date chosen, since the 19th century, to celebrate the University of Bologna's anniversary.⁶ Rather, for the second half of the 11th century we know of several lay and ecclesiastical schools in Bologna that taught subjects such as liberal arts, notarial art, and theology. There was also a school of law, and one of letter writing (*ars dictaminis*), where students gathered around

5 For general studies see especially: Denifle, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 132-218; Malagola, *Monografie storiche*; Cavazza, *Le scuole*; Rashdall, *The Universities*, vol. 1, pp. 87-268; Zaccagnini, *Storia dello Studio di Bologna*; Sorbelli and Simeoni, *Storia della Università*. Studies published after the Second World War include Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*; Fasoli, *Per la storia dell'Università*; Capitani, *L'Università a Bologna*; Tega, *Storia illustrata*, vol. 6; Cencetti, *Lo Studio di Bologna*; Avellini, Cristiani and De Benedictis, *Sapere e/è potere*; Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 5-20; Pini, *Studio, università e città*. Recent articles, with considerable bibliography, include Dolcini, "Lo *Studium*"; Mazzanti, "Lo *Studium* nel XIV secolo"; Padovani, "Lo *Studium* nel XV secolo"; Brizzi, "Lo Studio di Bologna fra *orbis academicus*." For works up to 1983, see Zanella, "Bibliografia per la storia dell'Università di Bologna."

6 It was agreed to celebrate the *studium*'s 800th anniversary in 1888 for matters of convenience, not because of any specific documentary evidence.

particular masters. Similar schools existed in Pavia and Ravenna, but it was in Bologna that teachers such as Irnerius and Gratian (responsible for fundamental developments in civil and canon law respectively) placed the law on firmer footing in the first half of the 12th century and established enduring followings. Why exactly this was, and what the relationship of these studies was to the earlier Bolognese schools remain matters of intense controversy among historians. What is clear is that the Empire, Church, and city authorities vied for influence over the nascent institution of studies. The famous *Habita* decree issued by Emperor Frederick I c.1155-58 placed university students who traveled to *studia* outside their local jurisdiction under the emperor's protection against any injustices from their host municipal authorities. Students could henceforth plead their cases in courts outside of a city's justice system: these were to be heard by a jurist in the case of laymen, or by the bishop in the case of clerics.⁷ The Empire was not always helpful, however. In 1225-26 Frederick II tried to favor his new foundation in Naples by dissolving the Bolognese *studium*; only the intervention of Pope Honorius III saved the situation.⁸ For its part, the Bolognese commune attempted to increase its control of the *studium*: in 1189 it required masters to swear an oath of stability (i.e., that they would not attempt to transfer their teaching elsewhere). Through early 13th-century statutes, it tried to keep in check the development of student universities; students were finally considered citizens (*cives*) only in 1250.⁹ The papacy also played its part: Honorius III appointed the cathedral's archdeacon to the function of university chancellor in 1219 (having someone external to the *studium* confer its degrees was a guarantee of quality); in 1291 the papacy again intervened, granting Bologna's graduates the *licentia ubique docendi* (the privilege of teaching anywhere in Christendom) and thereby recognizing the university as a *studium generale*.¹⁰ Political pressures and Bolognese civic strife continued to be part and parcel of the university's development in subsequent centuries.

7 See Fasoli, *Per la storia dell'Università*, pp. 82-91, 117-32; Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 10-17. Scholars disagree on the dating and place of emanation of the decree, usually referred to as *Authentica Habita*. For a modern edition see Koeppler, "Frederick Barbarossa," pp. 606-07.

8 Pini, "Federico II."

9 In general on these processes, see Hyde, "Commune, University, and Society."

10 Dolcini, "Lo *Studium*." On the *studium*'s relationship with the papacy, see Paolini, "La chiesa di Bologna"; Vasina, "Bologna nello Stato della Chiesa"; and Lines, "Papal Power."

Structures of Power

By the early 13th century one can recognize the features of what had by then become an established institution rather than an informal collective of schools.¹¹ The physiognomy of Bologna's *studium* c.1250 endured for many centuries and deserves close attention. Law students constituted two *universitates*, or guilds – one for the those who came from beyond the Alps (*universitas Ultramontanorum*) and one for those who came from regions within Italy (*universitas Citramontanorum*). Each of these was headed by a rector (elected annually by his peers), the highest student officer in the *studium*;¹² each was also subdivided into areas of origin, or *nationes* (local students were excluded, since they fell under the protection and jurisdiction of the commune). Of particular importance was the German Nation, many of whose members were dedicated to the study of law.¹³ There was a further distinction between *universitates* of jurists and students of arts and medicine. These student universities were governed by statutes (the first we know of – for the *universitas scholarium iuristarum* – date from 1252 and were approved by Pope Innocent IV the following year),¹⁴ which guaranteed a number of privileges.¹⁵ These were updated periodically. Students could defend their privileges fiercely, and when they felt that they were not being observed, a favorite tactic was to decamp to another city or threaten to do so.¹⁶ Nonetheless, if in the early years they held considerable power and were able to appoint and dismiss their own teachers, these responsibilities and privileges were gradually eroded: by 1280 the commune was already paying at least some of the university's teachers; by the early 14th century it had concentrated in its own hands the function of both hiring and paying professors (revenue for the *studium* derived from various taxes, including an import/export tax on goods called the *Gabella Grossa*). In subse-

11 There is a large bibliography on the Bolognese *studium*'s origins; fundamental works include Denifle, *Die Entstehung*; Rashdall, *The Universities*; Cobban, *The Medieval Universities*; Cencetti, *Lo Studio di Bologna*; Bellomo, *Saggio sull'università*; and Arnaldi, *Le origini dell'università*.

12 See Malagola, "I rettori"; corrections and additions to Malagola's study in Piana, *Nuovi documenti*, vol. 1, pp. 11-61.

13 On the Nations and student corporatism in Bologna see *Statuta Nationis Germanicae*, pp. 17-51 and Pini, "Le *nationes* studentesche," with further bibliography.

14 Edition in Maffei, "Un trattato di Bonaccorso," pp. 73-74.

15 See especially Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 18-53.

16 Moves to other cities could give rise to other universities (e.g., Padua in 1222). One example will suffice: in 1321 the students felt that their rights had been trampled on after a Spanish student, who had kidnapped the daughter of a notable Bolognese citizen, was condemned to death and executed. They thus migrated to Siena and elsewhere.

quent centuries student power continued to wane.¹⁷ By the end of the 16th century – in a pattern that one finds repeated across Italy – the position of rector had all but disappeared,¹⁸ although technically he was still to be elected annually. This does not, however, mean that the students were left with no influence at all. The *universitates scholarium* continued to be consulted on relevant matters and to be vocal about their rights. In 1583, for instance, a controversy concerning a reform of the *studium* led to several written depositions on their part.¹⁹

Masters in turn had their own corporate structures, called *collegia doctorum*. These had the status of permanent committees, with limited numbers, and were composed of Bolognese-born professionals and university professors. Each was headed by a prior (elected every few months), who among other things was responsible for keeping minutes of meetings. The Colleges of Theology, Civil Law, Canon Law, and Arts and Medicine (the latter two were usually joined together) oversaw a candidate's private exam for the doctorate. In the case of Arts and Medicine they guarded the gates of admission to professional associations and regulated professional activities in town, ensuring that only local guild members, for instance, provided medical treatment. Finally, since the colleges of doctors included the most senior and respected academics and professionals in Bologna, they were often in dialogue with the highest authorities about matters concerning both the *studium* and the city. Given the requirement of Bolognese birth and citizenship, their perspective could be rather self-interested.²⁰

In terms of the *studium's* local oversight, the archdeacon seems to have played a very minor role,²¹ while the (arch)bishop had no apparent connection with the *studium*, unlike in most other universities, where he functioned as chancellor,²² although on occasion he was named *conservator* of the privileges of the *studium*.²³ As already mentioned, the commune progressively assumed administrative control for Bologna's *studium*, including management of both academic and non-academic staff (e.g., notaries, beadles). This move strength-

17 Steffen, *Die studentische Autonomie*; De Benedictis, "La fine dell'autonomia"; Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 42-49.

18 See Sottili, "Le istituzioni universitarie," pp. 14-18.

19 Lines, "Gabriele Paleotti," pp. 59-62.

20 *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi*, pp. XIII-XVI; Cencetti, *Gli archivi*, pp. 53-54; Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 49-51; Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, pp. 12-13, 19-20, 22-23.

21 For his earlier and later roles, see Paolini, "L'Arcidiacono"; Idem, "La chiesa di Bologna"; Brizzi, "Lo Studio di Bologna fra *orbis academicus*," pp. 42-44.

22 See Sottili, "Istituzioni universitarie," pp. 8-13 and Boehm, "*Cancellarius Universitatis*."

23 Dondarini, "Provvedimenti e aspetti," p. 75.

ened the civic aspects of the *studium*, which was held high as a symbol of Bologna's greatness and autonomy; it is telling that various provisions for students were included in the 13th-century communal statutes.²⁴ Indeed, the commune, through its supreme council (variously designated as the *anziani*, *Riformatori dello stato di libertà*, the *Reggimento*, or the *Senato*), claimed ultimate oversight of the *studium* and authorized the actions of the committees it had established to manage it.²⁵ These included most prominently the *Riformatori dello Studio* (from 1381) and the *Assunti di Studio* (possibly from the 1540s). The first of these had as its responsibility to compile and publish the yearly teaching rolls, which listed all of the teaching staff and specified what subjects they were meant to teach. They also ensured that teachers were paid (or were fined if they did not teach as long or as often as expected). The *Assunti* had a higher-level and more public-facing role, since they were in charge of negotiating new hires and were in constant contact with the Bolognese ambassador in Rome, who was often called upon to smooth matters over with the papal sovereign and the cardinal nephew (both of whom took a renewed interest in the Bolognese *studium*, especially from the second half of the 16th century).²⁶

The *studium's* close connection with civic power was not of course unproblematic. City authorities at times required that professors be members of the dominant political faction, as happened with law professors in 1295, who were expected to belong to the party of the Geremei.²⁷ Civic strife could significantly affect the desirability of Bologna as a destination for study. Papal interdicts against the city were also, of course, a blow to the *studium*. And any economic difficulties the city experienced had an immediate and direct effect on the likelihood that professors would be paid and therefore stay on in Bologna. The instability of local political rule was one of the greatest challenges to the *studium*, resulting in various interruptions of teaching as the city passed, in the years after 1337, from the rule of Taddeo Pepoli and his sons to that of the Visconti of Milan, to that of Cardinal Albornoz and hence, in a more settled way, to the control of the Bentivoglio from 1420 to 1506 (although civic tensions continued to fester then too).²⁸

24 Dondarini, "Provvedimenti e aspetti," p. 74; see, for example, *Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288*, pp. 95-106.

25 For an overview and brief discussion of these various committees, see Lines, "Reorganizing the Curriculum," pp. 5-7; also Cencetti, *Gli archivi*.

26 See Lines, "Papal Power" and relative bibliography.

27 Rashdall, *The Universities*, vol. 1, p. 214, fn. 3.

28 Sorbelli and Simeoni, *Storia della Università*, vol. 1, pp. 222-24; Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 37-39; Raimondi, *Politica e commedia*, pp. 18-21. On political factionalism in Bologna

The sketch above gives a sense of how the university was situated within structures of local civic and lay power.²⁹ But one should also remember that Bologna, from 1278 temporally subject to Rome, was under papal authority, usually via the papal legate or papal governor or his representative.³⁰ On several occasions, for instance in the 13th century, this relationship played to the *studium's* advantage, as popes such as Nicholas IV defended the students' rights against the city's recalcitrance.³¹ Although the intensity of the papacy's interest in the Bolognese *studium* was by no means uniform over time, it evidently continued to influence the university: the (vice)legate often received from the pope's cardinal nephew powers *in temporalibus et spiritualibus*; these could also include authority over the university. Indeed, while the 1454 municipal statutes conferred the position of *conservator* of the *studium* on the Bolognese *podestà*,³² by the end of the 16th century the papal legate is often named as the protector of the student universities, and correspondence between the cardinal nephew and the legate points to an extraordinary interest, on the part of Rome, in keeping the *studium* under control through the legate's intercession. The large number of *ordinazioni* concerning the university that emanated from this office, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries,³³ may be attributable to an effort, on the legate's part, to supply the authority and discipline that were lacking due to the absence of a student rector. Unsurprisingly, tensions could develop when the Senate felt that the papal legate or the papacy were attempting to undermine the authority it saw itself as having over the *studium*. Likewise, professors were very conscious of the messy overlap of lines of authority and sometimes exploited them to their own advantage, for instance by appealing to the pope when they were disgruntled with a decision by the civic authorities to change the terms of their appointment.

Faculties and Curriculum

The features mentioned above point to some fundamental structural differences between Bologna (which served as a model for universities in southern

see the essays by Giuliano Milani, Tommaso Duranti, and Angela De Benedictis in this volume.

29 For further details, see Capitani, *Cultura universitaria*; Vasina, "Lo 'studio' nei rapporti"; Ferrara, "La pratica del sapere"; De Benedictis, "Luoghi del potere e Studio"; Eadem, "Amore per la patria"; Brizzi, "Lo Studio di Bologna fra *orbis academicus*."

30 For a brief but useful sketch see Dondarini, "Provvedimenti e aspetti," pp. 74-79.

31 Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 31-34.

32 Dondarini, "Provvedimenti e aspetti," p. 78.

33 See Costa, "Contributo alla storia," pp. 73-85 and Lines, "The University of the Artists."

Europe) and Paris (which arose nearly contemporaneously and was followed by most universities in northern Europe). These differences are partly connected with structures of power, for in Paris the masters had much more influence than in Bologna, and indeed the rector was a professor. For our purposes, however, it is more important to stress the differences in the number and relationship of the faculties. Indeed, although universities across Christendom taught particular subjects on the basis of the same textbooks and in the same universal language (Latin), thus enabling students to move easily from one university to another, the disposition and orientation of the faculties could be quite different. In Paris, the Arts Faculty (which included instruction in grammar and rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics and astronomy) provided a common program that was to be followed by those wishing to progress to law, medicine, or theology. The curriculum was thus clearly graduated, and Arts functioned as a foundational discipline for all the others. But theology was far more important and even supplied many of the Arts teachers, since many of those studying theology often supported themselves by teaching in that faculty. In Bologna, Arts and Medicine achieved official status only after the recognition of Civil Law and (subsequently) Canon Law as separate faculties. The program of study therefore developed into three (largely separate) streams, although most students sought a doctorate in both Civil and Canon Law (*in utroque iure*)³⁴. Theology had comparatively little purchase in Bologna's *studium*: a Faculty of Theology existed (it was established in 1364), but it did not properly belong to the *studium*, since the subject was taught almost exclusively, until the 16th century, in the schools of the religious orders. Thus the origins and early development of the Bolognese *studium* are largely those of a lay institution.³⁵ It is telling that the two most important condemnations of Arts teaching in the 13th century (in 1215 and 1277 respectively) took place in Paris and not in Bologna, where philosophy for instance was taught with reference to medicine rather than theology. Still today, Italian universities lack offerings in theology or religious studies.

Another significant difference concerns the location of lectures and student relationship to city life. Unlike Paris, Oxford, and other collegiate universities, where students increasingly received instruction in their own colleges, Bologna's colleges (not very numerous at the start, and mainly designed to provide for poor students) fulfilled almost exclusively a residential function. Most students boarded together in a professor's house or rented lodgings wherever

34 For evidence see Guerrini, 'Qui voluerit in iure promoveri.'

35 For an illustration of several of the points above, see the essays in De Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University*, vols. 1 and 2.

they were available. Classes took place in rooms scattered throughout the city, although by the end of the 13th century there were well-defined zones for students of law (who tended to have their classes in the area immediately to the south of the basilica of San Petronio, in the quarter of Porta Procula) vis-à-vis those of arts and medicine (located immediately to the west of San Petronio, in the quarter of Porta Nuova).³⁶ It seems that students of canon law originally met in convents.³⁷ Around 1520, the administrators of the *Gabella Grossa* hired some rooms in or near San Petronio that brought the two *universitates* much closer to each other.³⁸ In 1563, by initiative of the papal legate, the *studium's* teachings were brought for the first time under a single roof in the purpose-built Archiginnasio, a magnificent building that today houses the Biblioteca Comunale. There was still some distinction between the two *universitates* (the left-hand staircase belonged to the Artists, while the right-hand one belonged to the Legists; classrooms were contiguous, but not intermingled), but there was at least a single, common building. Some may have hoped that such an arrangement would not only bring honor to the *studium*, but also protect students from the temptations, distractions, noise, and violence of the outside world. But that clearly did not happen, for the violence that had often disturbed lessons previously was simply squeezed out onto the streets,³⁹ where students in any case spent an increasing amount of time as they deserted public lectures and accompanied their professors to and from lessons in their home. Although the prostitutes' quarters were often relocated in Bologna, to keep them distant from students, it is clear that they represented a constant temptation.⁴⁰ All considered, then, students in Bologna probably had a closer relationship with city life than did many of their contemporaries studying in a collegiate institution.

Despite these differences, the aims, approaches, and textbooks of medieval and Renaissance universities had a lot in common. All universities saw themselves as teaching institutions whose aim was to prepare men (women were excluded) for a professional career, whether in law, theology, or medicine or one of the even more practical occupations such as notarial art. They focused therefore on communicating a specific body of knowledge, developing a particular way of thinking, and making students familiar with the relevant technical vocabulary of whatever discipline they were studying. These char-

36 For the location of these classrooms, see especially the map in Cavazza, *Le scuole*.

37 Cavazza, *Le scuole*, pp. 23-29.

38 Cavazza, *Le scuole*, p. 187.

39 For an example, see Carlsmith, "Siam Ungari."

40 Cavazza, *Le scuole*, pp. 71-72.

acteristics made them quite different from modern institutions of higher education, including research universities (with their laboratories and money-making enterprises) and liberal arts colleges (with their traditional emphasis on producing “well-rounded individuals”). They also differed from modern technical universities, since – as we shall now see – learning in all faculties and subjects tended to be bookish rather than practical, prizing the acquisition of theoretical concepts and exalting certain subjects over others.

The Place of the Book

In many ways, the book stood at the center of university culture. Professors lectured on canonical texts (for instance, Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna for medicine, Aristotle for philosophy, Justinian for Roman law, Gratian's *Decretals* for canon law) or on famous interpretations of them, analyzing the Latin text (many works were translated from Greek and Arabic in the 11th and 12th centuries) line-by-line and sometimes word-for-word. This approach was meant to clarify any difficulties in the text, make students aware of divergent interpretations, and serve as an illustration of how to solve literary, philosophical, medical, legal, or theological problems. The two main tools used for reaching appropriate solutions were logic and authority. The former demanded the application of the method of the syllogism in order to arrive at firm conclusions; the latter required acquaintance with (and sophisticated interpretation of) a large body of primary and secondary texts, which students were expected to study carefully and retain at their fingertips through intensive memorization. Their skills in using these two tools were developed through the practice of disputations and repetitions, which along with lectures constituted one of the pillars of medieval and Renaissance university education. In the course of disputations, a proponent defended a particular thesis on the grounds of logical consistency and an array of authorities; his position then received a point-by-point rebuttal by an opponent, who pinpointed methodological flaws and/or adduced other relevant texts leading to a different conclusion; at this point the master intervened, offering his own perspective and critiquing both the proponent and the opponent's positions. Exams for degrees regularly depended on the selection of particular textual passages (*puncta*), which candidates were expected to prepare at short notice and explain satisfactorily to their examiners in an oral setting.

The university system thus depended on a reliable supply of books. Like other Italian universities (and unlike the practice elsewhere in Europe), Bologna did not have its own library. Rather, masters and students probably availed themselves, at least in part, of local private and conventual libraries. Mostly, however, books needed to be owned. This enabled a sustained study of

the material taught in lectures and also allowed the practice of annotating the relevant texts. Since books were expensive, particularly before the advent of the printing press, students often rented and copied out exemplars of the texts used by their professors from university stationers; these exemplars, divided into sheaves called *peciae*, were closely monitored to ensure that the texts were free from errors. With the rise of print, one finds either the *studium* or some of its professors building close relationships with local print shops; they were also involved in setting up local printing societies (such as the Società Tipografica Bolognese, 1572) with the financial backing of wealthy businessmen.⁴¹

The statutes of the student *universitates* make the centrality of the text quite clear through their instructions on which works were to be covered in the classroom, in what order, and whether or not they should be read in their entirety. In the case of philosophy's three-year curriculum, for instance, the 1405 statutes specify the texts to be read ordinarily (i.e., that were required for the degree and taught by senior professors) or extraordinarily (i.e., optional subjects, usually taught by junior academics). They included the following works, which were either by or attributed to Aristotle:

- Year 1: ordinary teaching of *Physics* Book I and *On Generation and Corruption* Book I; extraordinary teaching of *Physics* Book II, *On Generation and Corruption* Book II, *On Sleep (De somno et vigilia)*, and *Physiognomics*.
- Year 2: ordinary teaching of *On the Heavens*, *Meteorology*, and *On Sensation*; extraordinary teaching of *On the Universe*, *On Memory*, *On Respiration*, *On Breath*, and *On Life and Death*.⁴²
- Year 3: ordinary teaching of *On the Soul* and of *Metaphysics* (proem and Books II, V-X, XII) and extraordinary teaching of *Metaphysics* Book IV (partial), *On Length and Shortness of Life*, and *Movement of Animals*.⁴³

These statutes cannot, for a variety of reasons, be used as a reliable guide to what was actually being taught in Bologna (the teaching rolls suggest, for instance, that metaphysics was rarely taught), which in any case changed over

41 See the essays in *Alma Mater Librorum*.

42 In Latin, the extraordinary subjects read *De substantia orbis*, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, *De inspiratione*, *De respiratione*, and *De morte et vita*.

43 *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi*, p. 274 (statutes of the *universitates* of Arts and Medicine, 1405); there are indications of texts to be read for astrology on p. 276. For similar instructions concerning law subjects see *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi*, pp. 104-105 (statutes of the Jurists, 1432). For medicine, see *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi*, pp. 274-77 (for the year 1405); on the features and development of Bolognese medical learning, see Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, pp. 96-146.

time. They do, however, give a sense of how teaching was centered on the explanation of the works by canonical authors.⁴⁴

Hierarchies of Knowledge

The university system also both reflected and reinforced a strong sense of hierarchy. In Bologna, the members of the Civil Law faculty demanded the right of precedence in processions and other public ceremonies, since their faculty was the oldest and traditionally the most powerful. Canon Law was notably smaller, but benefited from the desire on the part of several students to receive degrees *in utroque iure* (i.e., in both types of law). As a latecomer, Arts and Medicine did not initially have much clout; although the number of its teachers outstripped that of the other faculties,⁴⁵ average salaries were comparatively low. Generally speaking, until the 16th century the teaching of Law was better funded than that of Arts and Medicine (these are the two broad categories used in the payment records); during the Cinquecento, however, the two tended to even out, perhaps in part due to a partial decline in the prestige of Law and to increased competition in this field from other universities in Italy and across Europe.⁴⁶

Further hierarchies affected individual faculties. For instance, within Arts and Medicine the lowest rung was occupied by teachers of grammar and rhetoric (although their status eventually rose as more recognition was given, for instance, to expertise in Greek and Latin literature and philology). Teachers of mathematics and astronomy (usually referred to in the records as “astrology”) held a separate and subordinate position. Their subject was closely connected to medicine, but they were also called upon to compile yearly astronomical notebooks (*taccuini*), of obvious benefit for farming and other activities. Graduates *in artibus* might hope to teach one of these more elementary subjects, or even philosophy. But by far the most distinguished individuals within this faculty were the graduates *in artibus et medicina* who pursued an academic career culminating in the teaching of theoretical medicine. Those who chose this pathway followed a fairly straightforward trajectory: they started by teaching logic, the most elementary of the philosophical subjects, for around three years. Later they progressed to teaching natural philosophy, at times alongside moral philosophy. If they were promising and there was an opening, they

44 For further details on teaching in Italy, see the essays in Brizzi, Del Negro and Romani, *Storia delle università*, vol. 2. My forthcoming monograph on the teaching of Arts and Medicine in Bologna provides additional information.

45 See, for instance, the roll for 1379-80 in *I rotuli dei lettori*, vol. 4, pp. 5-6.

46 Lines, “Natural Philosophy and Mathematics.”

would then proceed to medicine, which offered the greatest financial rewards.⁴⁷ A position of that kind would add further luster to a medical practice that they might have on the side.

The hierarchies outlined above were based on a view of education that emphasized the value of the more theoretical subjects (in other words, those based on the principles of unchanging objects of study) vis-à-vis the more practical or instrumental ones. As a result, subjects such as grammar (i.e., classical literature and history) and rhetoric (i.e., eloquence) were initially considered inferior to those offering an understanding of the principles of, say, civil society (law) or nature (philosophy). This was, of course, an assumption that came under attack with the rise of Renaissance humanism: its emphasis on the power of rhetoric and the value of ancient Latin authors as models of style, eloquence, and virtue led to a reconsideration and elevation of the place of literature and the humanities within the curriculum. Many humanists, including Bolognese university professors such as Filippo Beroaldo (see below) underlined the importance of classical Latin and – like Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati before them – exalted it above other traditionally more prominent subjects. Indeed, one could see Renaissance figures more generally as upsetting common notions about which subjects or activities were lowly or not.⁴⁸ But their criticisms often went beyond the common hierarchy of the disciplines, reaching to the very methodology of “scholasticism” (i.e., the traditional method of teaching of universities and other schools).⁴⁹ For instance, humanists often considered the questions posed in traditional teaching to be abstruse, the logical method overly subtle, and the language too technical and distant from classical Latin. They also argued that the uninitiated ought to be able to follow lectures (in philosophy, for example) without having to learn the sophisticated technical jargon that university students had to absorb; on this basis, they eventually offered (sometimes to cries of protest) new translations of standard university texts. These were usually written in a more eloquent and classical style than earlier renderings, but could also lose some of the precision offered by the more technical terminology of previous interpretations. A famous case was Leonardo Bruni’s elegant Latin version of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* in 1416-17, which was meant to replace Robert Grosseteste’s

47 For examples of this career progression see Lines, “Natural Philosophy in Renaissance.”

48 See Kristeller, “Humanism and Scholasticism” and the essay by Gian Mario Anselmi and Stefano Scioli in this volume.

49 Interesting comments on this issue in Kessler, “The Method.”

translation as a standard university text, but was attacked for its philosophical imprecision by the Spaniard Alfonso da Cartagena.⁵⁰

Many other curricular developments took place in the Bolognese *studium* between the 14th and 16th centuries.⁵¹ This is not the place to describe them in detail, but one should mention, at the very least, the debate about two different approaches to law related to Italy and France (the *mos italicus* vs. the *mos gallicus*); the introduction of natural history and the more consistent teaching of theology and sacred scripture in the second half of the 16th century;⁵² the rising prominence of practical versus theoretical medicine; the increasingly sophisticated philological approach adopted by several teachers of humanities from the late Quattrocento;⁵³ and an increasing specialization in all fields of learning. To be sure, not all changes were helpful to the *studium*'s reputation (as competition grew from other institutions, both professors and students increasingly tended to be more local; the schedule of classes posed numerous headaches; students became increasingly boisterous and abandoned public lectures, demanding private ones instead; professors were not always models of professional responsibility). Yet it is now impossible to view the *studium* as an irrelevant cultural backwater in which stale notions and approaches were repeated year after year. It was, rather, a topic of constant and heated discussions and an object of numerous reforms, as the city authorities tried various means to hold high the *studium*'s reputation and thereby to preserve Bologna's cultural prestige and economic health.

The Landscape of Learning

As illustrated above, Bologna's *studium* was not an ivory tower, isolated from the city's political and religious context. Likewise, although the *studium* was at the center of Bolognese cultural and intellectual life, it was not the only site of cultural activity. Bologna was a lively city in great part because of the strong interconnections between its various institutions and the cultural approaches they reflected, even though at times they fostered as much competition as collaboration.

⁵⁰ See Rolán González, Hernández and Suárez-Somonte, *Humanismo y teoría*.

⁵¹ Some of the following aspects are discussed in Lines, "Reorganizing the Curriculum."

⁵² For theology see especially Turrini, "L'insegnamento."

⁵³ Bacchelli, "L'insegnamento di umanità."

Convents and Religious Colleges

The city's convents and religious colleges are a good example of Bolognese cultural activity and transmission of learning outside of the university. Religious orders had, of course, a long-standing presence in Bologna and its surroundings; in the 13th century, the main mendicant orders established convents in the city: San Domenico, San Francesco, and San Giacomo Maggiore (the latter belonging to the Augustinian Hermits) were of considerable importance within their respective orders. Since they were among the main centers of theological training (*studia generalia*) for their members, all of them had well-developed programs of study (particularly for the Arts and Theology) and were provided with libraries.

Bologna's convents and churches clearly had a profound significance for the university. The student *universitates* held their meetings in the churches of the orders (San Domenico was the gathering point for the *iuristi*; San Francesco served the *artisti*), a practice that continued even after the building of the Archiginnasio. Professors too had close ties with these and other orders: as testified by numerous notarial acts and by surviving tombs and inscriptions, many of them bequeathed money, books, or other possessions to them and made arrangements to be buried on their premises. The cathedral of San Pietro, however, was the location used for meetings of the colleges of doctors, as well as private and public examinations for degrees.⁵⁴ The only exception appears to have been the examination for surgery, which for unknown reasons took place in the church of San Salvatore.⁵⁵

The most famous and studied of the Bolognese convents was San Domenico. Given that its church was the resting place of the order's founder, San Domenico had an element of international attraction, also for its teaching of theology (Bologna was granted the right to offer degrees in theology in 1360; this accorded a higher status to that teaching in Bologna's various religious *studia*). Relationships with the university were intense:⁵⁶ although regulars were not usually allowed to study or teach medicine, we know of several cases of Dominicans and members of other orders who taught in the university, particularly subjects such as philosophy and sacred scriptures. But the measure of the Dominicans' relationship to the university can be found more clearly in the presence of university men in their midst: already in its early days, the order

54 This changed when Gabriele Paleotti offered some spaces in the Archbishop's *palazzo* for these functions in 1587; see Cavazza, *Le scuole*, pp. 202-05.

55 Cavazza, *Le scuole*, pp. 208-09.

56 For the early years, see especially Bertuzzi, *L'origine dell'Ordine* and Mulchahey, "The Dominicans' *Studium*." More generally, see D'Amato, *I domenicani*.

was recruiting as members several students and even winning professors to its cause; student assemblies to elect rectors or those worthy of teaching the *lecturae universitatis* congregated in San Domenico, as did various *nationes* (the German Nation, for instance, at least by 1360); the convent was often the custodian of their papers; religious feasts of the university included those for several Dominican saints, such as Dominic (5 August) and Thomas Aquinas (7 March). As mentioned above, many university professors remembered the Dominican convent in their wills; they offered money for masses to be said for their souls. But perhaps the greatest point of interaction was around San Domenico's library, known as the largest and best furnished in Bologna. The practice of lending books was evidently already well developed by the 15th century, and the fact that the library included the gifts of books of several notable professors must have increased its appeal. On occasion, wealthy professors even contributed to extending the library's physical space, in order to enable it to receive their books.⁵⁷

The new orders that arose out of the Catholic Reformation also had a significant presence in Bologna. Of these, especially significant for the *studium* were the Jesuits, who were active in the city from 1546, started teaching in 1551, and founded the college of Santa Lucia shortly thereafter. The Jesuits tended to attract promising young men from good families and, by offering their teaching for free, secured a considerable following. Several aspects of their teaching (particularly in the areas of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy) overlapped with what was studied at university. In Bologna therefore, as elsewhere, relationships between the Jesuits and the *studium* could be tense, particularly since the city authorities often saw them as a source of unhealthy competition. But the Jesuits also contributed to the Bolognese cultural climate, both through their members' learning and their library, which by the end of the 18th century rivalled that of the Istituto delle Scienze for its rich holdings.⁵⁸

Student Colleges

Student colleges in Bologna experienced two main phases: one from the foundation of the Collegio Avignonese in 1257 to the foundation of the Collegio Ancarani in 1414 (eight colleges in total), and another from 1528 to 1689 (13 colleges, including for instance the Poeti, Ungaro-Ilirico, Montalto, and Jacobs, the latter for Flemish students; six of these for the 16th century). Particularly in the medieval period these were fairly small foundations (often for some 20 or fewer students, although the Collegio Bresciano took up to 50) and were

57 Alce and D'Amato, *La biblioteca*, pp. 100-03 and passim.

58 Brizzi and Matteucci, *Dall'Isola alla città*.

directed to the poor, whom they thus encouraged to study. As mentioned above, these colleges functioned more as residence halls than as places of teaching,⁵⁹ and therefore did not develop into fully-fledged pedagogical institutions on the scale, say, of the Oxford colleges, which eventually completely decentralized university instruction. The situation changed somewhat with Bologna's early-modern colleges, which often allowed a greater degree of private teaching within them, exercised either by specially-appointed teachers or by members of the *studium*. Again, however, the numbers were small, and given that the colleges were not usually open to outside students, they did not represent a real threat to the *studium*.⁶⁰ Although these institutions were initially self-governing (they were headed by a student rector, chosen by the other student members of the college), on several occasions they came to be headed by other authorities, such as local community figures or clerics from their homeland. Nonetheless they had a threefold relationship with the *studium*: first of all, their charges were, of course, university students; secondly, they were often founded by professors; and finally, local professors were sometimes in charge of aspects of their administration. The evolution in the colleges' main functions is quite clear. An example is the Collegio Ancarano,⁶¹ founded by a famous professor of law, Farnese d'Ancarano; in time, the Farnese family came to treat it as its own private college in Bologna, particularly under the influence of Alessandro Farnese (the future Pope Paul III), who appointed specific teachers for it. The college was designed to prepare promising young men for prominent positions, for instance in the Church. Among its students were important figures such as Camillo and Gabriele Paleotti. Members of the Paleotti and Zambeccari families, among others, served as its governors after 1555.

Different from the colleges above were the Bolognese residential colleges that were funded by their boarders and, from around the mid-16th century, served as the means of formation of an educated elite, very much like the Collegio Ancarano. The first of these institutions, often also called academies, was the Collegio degli Ardenti (later renamed Accademia del Porto Naviglio) in 1555. Several others followed in the 16th century. Often some forms of teaching

59 There were some exceptions: the teaching of grammar was often allowed, and the college envisaged in the 1326 will of Guglielmo de' Corvi da Brescia made explicit provision for the teaching of metaphysics and natural and moral philosophy; see Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, p. 53.

60 Brizzi, "I collegi"; more generally Carlsmith, "Student Colleges."

61 See Brizzi, "I collegi," p. 22 n. 36; for a list and a description of archival sources for the Collegio Ancarano, pp. 59-67; the statutes are edited in Brizzi, "Statuti di Collegio."

were offered on the premises; students might also avail themselves of the Jesuit college.⁶²

Several of the student colleges established in Bologna had a short life, and nearly all of them have now disappeared. Still operating, however, is a particularly prominent one, founded by the testament of Cardinal Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz (1364): the Collegio di San Clemente, more commonly known as the Collegio di Spagna, which dates its activities from 1369. This college was established to support and house 30 Spanish students (18 in canon law, eight in theology, four in medicine), who would study in Bologna and then return to Spain as members of the ruling class. The students of the college, which still boasts a considerable library,⁶³ were not always a model of studiousness and moral behavior: indeed, the leadership of a student rector gave rise to lax discipline for fear of reprisals from other students. Because of its special relationship with the Spanish crown, the municipal authorities exercised no supervision over the Collegio di Spagna, although it was subject to annual visitations by the local (arch)bishop and had protection from a Spanish cardinal in Rome. Attempts during the second half of the 16th century to reform the institution, which was known for numerous incidents of violence and moral laxity, were strenuously opposed by its students, who used the privileges granted by the college's statutes to shield themselves from any change.⁶⁴ While it is hard to link the college to the *studium* in terms of oversight, it clearly shared many of the *studium*'s challenges during the same years: the number of students had dwindled, disputations were rarely held, few students attended their classes, Latin was not regularly spoken, personal enmities were a constant distraction, statutes stood in need of modernization, and the authority of the (arch)bishop or of his representative was clearly held in low esteem.⁶⁵

Academies

Also important were the city's academies. These institutions, which arose in the 16th century across Italy to provide a forum for discussion of literary, philosophical, legal, artistic, and/or scientific issues (usually) in the vernacular, or as associations formed to organize particular festivities, were very active in early modern Bologna, where they probably numbered around 108 (placing Bologna in fourth place for their number in Italy, behind Rome, Naples, and Venice),

62 Brizzi, *La formazione*, pp. 71-86.

63 See especially Verdera y Tuells, *El cardenal Albornoz*; on the library and its manuscripts, see Maffei, Cortese, García y García and Rossi, *I codici del Collegio*.

64 Fanti, "Tentativi di riforma."

65 See the 1587 proposals of reform in Fanti, "Tentativi di riforma," pp. 504-07.

27 of them for the 16th century.⁶⁶ Many such academies were formed for specific occasions and were therefore short-lived and have left few traces in the records of the period, something that makes generalizations exceedingly difficult. Nonetheless, here it is important to emphasize the mixed composition of university professors and local nobles that one finds among their founders, leaders, and participants. The Accademia Hermatena – named in honor of both Hermes and Athena – was founded around 1542 by Achille Bocchi, a prominent professor of rhetoric and humanities in the Bolognese *studium*. This coterie had a focus on legal matters, poetry, and possibly architecture. Unlike other academies, its lectures were delivered in Latin. It brought together a long list of Bocchi's friends in mid-16th century Bologna, including professors of either rhetoric or philosophy, such as Romolo Amaseo, Francesco Robortello, Ulisse Aldrovandi, and Antonio Bernardi Mirandolano, although it was not institutionally connected to the *studium* in any formal way. Indeed, this academy was so strongly tied to its founder that it folded upon his death, in 1562.⁶⁷ The Accademia degli Incamminati del Disegno (from at least 1590) included not only painters, but also university figures such as Ulisse Aldrovandi and Giovanni Antonio Magini. In the 17th century, the Accademia degli Unanimi included both university professors and, on an equal footing, musicians. Apart from the short-lived Accademia Hermatena, the most famous Bolognese academy was that of the Gelati, founded in 1588 by Melchiorre Zoppio, a professor of philosophy in the *studium* who also authored many theatrical pieces. This academy was, in fact, particularly known for its theoretical discussions about drama, but also for its productions and its poetical compositions. It endured much longer than most of its rivals, until around 1799. The elevated social composition of academies such as that of the Gelati did not exclude women, whose approval was sought in compositions written for the “*dame bolognesi*.”

University Professors and Contemporary Cultural Currents

Alongside the religious *studia*, student colleges, and academies discussed above, the Bolognese cultural landscape included various groups of scholars or unofficial movements that were strongly influential in and often were closely connected with the Bolognese *studium*. Here I can only mention a few of these; the examples chosen give a flavor of the broader civic and international context in which the *studium* operated.

In the late 13th century an important medical circle gathered around the figure of Taddeo Alderotti, a Florentine who was active in Bologna as a

66 On Bolognese academies see this paragraph's main source, Battistini, “Le accademie.”

67 On this institution see Watson, *Achille Bocchi*, pp. 58-63 and 153-54.

physician and professor from the mid-1260s until his death in 1295.⁶⁸ It was Taddeo who really established Bologna as an international center for the study of medicine. But his teaching – occasionally interrupted by civil war – was only one aspect of his multifarious activity in Bologna, which also included a lucrative medical practice and the authorship of several Latin commentaries on the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna. Taddeo seems to have been close to various religious orders in Bologna: at his death, he bequeathed several books to the Franciscans and to the Servites. He also left a sizeable sum of money (4000 *lire*) to the Claresses to buy property; in return, they were to provide 50 *lire* each year to the Franciscans, to enable a friar from the Bolognese province to study in Paris. The lives of Alderotti's students and contemporaries are also helpful for understanding broader connections between members of the *studium* and the outside world. Alderotti's student Bartolomeo da Varignana (d. after 1321) was not only an author and physician like his master, but participated actively in Bolognese political affairs.⁶⁹ It was, in fact, a wrong political move that earned Bartolomeo his banishment from the city in 1311. The career of Guglielmo de' Corvi da Brescia, a student of Taddeo who had first studied in Padua, indicates that his Bolognese experience influenced the medical curriculum in Montpellier and possibly Paris.⁷⁰ A particularly interesting recent discovery has been the books of a contemporary of Taddeo, magister Tommaso d'Arezzo, who also taught medicine in Bologna and in 1286 had to furnish an inventory of his goods because of certain court proceedings. This list points to the presence in Bologna, at a remarkably early date, of the philosophical commentaries of Boethius of Dacia and Siger of Brabant, both of them Parisian masters who had died around 1284.⁷¹ Bologna – which attracted teachers from Florence, Arezzo, and elsewhere, as well as students from the Empire and all over Europe – was thus also open to the more recent philosophical winds of change coming from Paris. Finally, the activities of Taddeo and his circle also suggest a strong interest in topics outside of learned medicine. Several of them authored works tied to moral philosophy or displaying a familiarity with Bolognese legal teaching.⁷²

Within the sphere of law, a particularly important figure was Giovanni da Legnano (c.1320-83). This doctor of both civil and canon law, who started his teaching activity in Bologna around 1350 (in a period that was particularly dif-

68 See Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, esp. pp. 27-42.

69 Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, pp. 45-49.

70 Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, pp. 49-54.

71 Gargan, "Biblioteche bolognesi," pp. 98-100.

72 Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*, pp. 72-95.

ficult for Bologna politically due to the constant threats of the Visconti of Milan), produced a series of scholarly but also timely works concerning issues such as papal interdicts, war and peace, and clerical benefices. In these he skillfully interweaved arguments from law with those contained in classic sources of political thought, particularly Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*. But Giovanni was also politically engaged: he represented Bologna in embassies to Venice and to the papacy in Avignon. In 1377 he was, despite being a foreigner, elected papal vicar of Bologna by its citizens; later he was a member of the *Consiglio dei quattrocento* and was elected councillor of the quarter of Porta Procula. At his death, he was buried – in keeping with his wishes – in the church of San Domenico. The city of Bologna expressed its gratitude by commissioning an impressive funerary monument, now housed in the Museo Civico Medievale and among the most familiar images of the *studium* in medieval Bologna (Fig. 17.1).⁷³

A 15th-century example of considerable interest is Filippo Beroaldo Sr. (1453-1505),⁷⁴ who taught rhetoric in the *studium*, attracted numerous students from abroad (including Bohemia and Hungary), and held epistolary exchanges with several prominent figures of his time, including Angelo Poliziano, Ermolao Barbaro, and Giovanni and Gianfrancesco Pico. Beroaldo took part in the disputes mentioned above on the superiority of some subjects over others; he maintained that eloquence and poetry are far better than philosophy or medicine and in fact was also active as an orator on behalf of his city. A student of Francesco dal Pozzo, who had been an entrepreneur in the local printing industry, he too exploited the new possibilities offered by the printing press, producing commentaries (many of them related to his classroom teaching) on nearly 20 classical authors. Particularly well received was his commentary on Apuleius's *Golden Ass*. Beroaldo became well known for his exposition of texts as well as for his philological skills, but could also hold his own when he discussed philosophical concepts such as happiness.⁷⁵ He also owned a goodly personal library (attested to by a recently published and fully analyzed notarial document), which he may have shared with his students, some of whom lodged with him.⁷⁶ Beroaldo is a fine example of the connection between universities and Renaissance humanism – a movement dedicated to both the study and imitation of antiquity as a model for contemporary life. This rela-

73 De Matteis, "Profilo di Giovanni da Legnano."

74 For an overview of his life, works, and the critical literature, see Rose, *Filippo Beroaldo* and Severi, *Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio*; still useful is Raimondi, *Codro e l'Umanesimo*, pp. 90-107.

75 Poppi, "Beroaldo e Codro."

76 Pezzarossa, "Canon est litterarum."

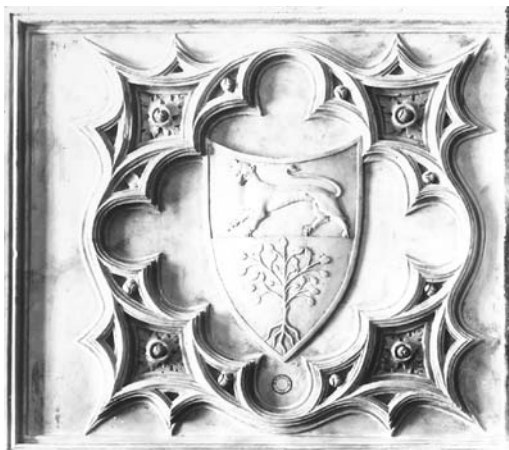


FIGURE 17.1 *Fragments of the tomb of Giovanni da Legnano, 1383-84, by Jacobello Dalle Masegne, formerly in the church of San Domenico. ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, NY.*

tionship was particularly strong in Bologna.⁷⁷ Not only did a number of humanists study there (including Petrarch, Leon Battista Alberti, and Francesco Robortello), but its professors often included notable scholars dedicated to classical letters – from Niccolò Perotto and Francesco Filelfo to Romolo Amaseo and others.

A final figure worth mentioning here is Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605),⁷⁸ who again points to the many intersections between university life and broader Bolognese cultural currents and interests. Although he was a professor in the *studium* from 1554 to 1600 (he was the first holder in Bologna of a chair dedicated to “Fossils, plants, and animals”) and was an active member in the College of Arts and Medicine, Aldrovandi was much more besides: he looked after Bologna’s botanical garden, maintained a museum of natural history in his home, put together a rather large (and unusually well documented) personal library with around 3900 books, corresponded with learned men from all over Europe, oversaw the publication of his own expensive and beautifully illustrated works (a project that continued long after his death), took part in overseeing the Collegio Ancarani, and was a member – as mentioned above – of at least two Bolognese academies. His library points to very eclectic interests, from poetry and romances to medicine, Aristotelian philosophy, and the natural world (it is no wonder that scholars are uncertain whether to classify him as a humanist or a scholastic, an Aristotelian or a Platonist). His museum of natural history – donated to the Senate, along with his library, upon his death – was visited by numerous travelers to Italy from abroad and may have served, particularly during Aldrovandi’s lifetime, as a place of conversation about scientific, philosophical, and other matters. It certainly was the site of an active workshop, as Aldrovandi prepared several works for publication with the assistance of expert artists and woodcutters. Again, a university professor shows how porous life in the *studium* could be, although much more remains to be discovered.⁷⁹

Sources and Historiographical Debates

The documentation for Bologna’s *studium* in the Middle Ages and Renaissance is very rich and in many ways unrivalled. It consists of several rather heteroge-

77 Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*, pp. 141-68; Raimondi, *Politica e commedia*, pp. 15-58. More generally Lines, “Humanism and the Italian Universities.”

78 Biographical details in Fantuzzi, *Memorie*.

79 For a useful entry point to Aldrovandi see Olmi, *L’inventario del mondo*.

neous series of sources, reflecting in part the combination of civic and religious oversight of the university discussed above. Space limitations prohibit detailed descriptions, but three *fondi* in Bologna's Archivio di Stato are particularly important. The oldest is the *fondo* of the *Riformatori dello Studio*, whose documents (arranged in 65 items) reach up to 1800 and for which we have a detailed published inventory.⁸⁰ This particular *fondo* includes some miscellaneous materials (such as bulls and decrees concerning the *studium* in item 2; see also item 65) and the 1561 statutes of the *universitas iuristarum* (item 64). The bulk of the material, however, concerns the professors of the *studium*: here one finds both the official teaching rolls (*rotuli*) for the Legists and the Artists (continuous between 1438 and 1800; see items 3-16 and 21) and the initial drafts (*minute*) of the same documents for 1384-1523 (item 17). A second consistent body of documentation concerns the municipal remuneration of professors: salaries and actual payments are specified for the years 1401-10 and 1465-1799 (items 32-49); fines and variations are noted for 1465-1526 (and again for 1702-1800) in the series *Appuntazioni dei lettori* (items 50-56). Some of the information for the years not covered here can be reconstructed from the series *Registri dei Riformatori*, which cover 1515-1799 (items 18-30) and sometimes contain more than just financial information for the *studium*. The *fondo* of *Riformatori dello Studio* also contains a third type of documentation, namely theses and disputations discussed by both students and professors, whether in Law or in Arts and Medicine (1417-1571 in items 57-59; 1601-1725 in items 60-61; 1755-96 in items 62-63). Typically these are broadsheet-style summaries (either manuscript or in print) of the points that a particular individual planned to discuss publicly on a specified date, often in view of receiving a degree.

A second fundamental collection of documents stems from the office of the *Assunteria di Studio*, after which it is named.⁸¹ This *fondo* is most complete for the 17th and 18th centuries, but its 101 items also contain important material from previous years, including various decrees on the *studium* (items 1-5), biographical information on professors (series *Requisiti dei lettori*, covering 1537-1800 in items 30-59),⁸² letters to the *Assunteria* including from the Bolognese ambassador in Rome (1571-1791, items 75-80), and numerous miscellaneous documents and printed works (items 89-100). A very interesting group

80 Salterini, *L'archivio dei Riformatori*.

81 The full designation is ASB, Periodo del Governo Misto, Assunteria di Studio. For a description, see Cencetti, *Gli archivi*, pp. 89-96 and Appendix (which includes a summary inventory). For this and other *fondi* also see the typescript inventories in ASB, Sala di Studio.

82 See Ascanelli, *I fascicoli personali*.

of documents is the *Serie di annue lezioni* (lesson plans that professors were required to compile for every trimester of teaching, items 60-62); unfortunately, this requirement seems to have come in force quite late, around 1622; no such documents survive for the earlier period.

The third *fondo* – *Archivio dello Studio* (1376 items; items 414-1376 pertain to the period 1798 to 1859) – is distinguished internally in various series; there is no satisfactory published inventory.⁸³ Here one finds substantial information on the colleges of doctors, including their statutes (e.g., the 1460 statutes for the College of Canon Law under *Collegi Legali*, item 1); of particular importance are the series of *libri segreti*, which contain the minutes of the meetings of the various colleges (e.g., those of the Collegio Civile, 1378-1796, under *Collegi Legali*, items 137-149), including the names of doctoral candidates and how they were voted on. In addition to various documents of broader interest for the *studium* (including privileges and the like), this *fondo* also provides information on the student *universitates*; again, most of this material relates to the 17th century and later, but in a few cases (e.g., series *Vacchette e registri degli atti dell'Università*, 1540-1624 in *Università degli scolari: Artisti*, items 378-88) documents are more directly germane to this essay's timespan.

In addition to the *fondi* described above, information on the Bolognese *studium* is contained in a wide variety of other archival sources: individual professors and students, for instance, appear in municipal notarial documents and in documents of the *Tesoreria*; specific professorial appointments are discussed in the minutes of the meetings of the supreme municipal council (series *Riformatori dello Stato di Libertà: Libri Partitorum* for 1450-1513; series *Senato: Partiti* from 1514); the correspondence between the Senate and its ambassador in Rome (from 1511; for the ambassador's letters, see *Senato, Lettere del Senato, Serie VII*) is also full of interesting information. Furthermore, one needs to consider material outside of Bologna's Archivio di Stato: some is contained in the Archivio Storico dell'Università di Bologna (which now, for instance, holds the very important documents of the German Nation) and in harder-to-access private archives such as the Archivio Isolani.⁸⁴ Numerous relevant manuscript materials (including classroom lectures delivered in Bologna) are held in the Biblioteca Universitaria and in the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio. Further afield, the Vatican Secret Archive contains, for obvious reasons, numerous administrative documents relating to Bologna, as well as the correspondence (with frequent references to the university) between car-

83 But see Cencetti, *Gli archivi*, pp. 109-33.

84 The archive of the Counts Malvezzi de' Medici may also be relevant. It was there that the documents for the German Nation were originally found; see *La matricola*, pp. 11-19.

dinal nephews and papal legates.⁸⁵ Finally, some very relevant documents are now in distant places; particularly important are the Ranuzzi Manuscripts held in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center in Austin, Texas.⁸⁶

Some of the material mentioned above has been published, although much more remains to be explored.⁸⁷ The celebrations for the eighth centenary of the University of Bologna in 1888 occasioned the publication of particularly important sources. The year before the celebrations saw the fruits of a collaboration between scholars in Bologna and Berlin to publish the documents of the German Nation up to 1562.⁸⁸ In 1888 three notable works appeared: Carlo Malagola's edition of the statutes of the student *universitates* and colleges of doctors; the first volume of Malagola's revised edition of the 18th-century publication by Sarti and Fattorini on Bologna's professors (with important documents in volume 2); and the first volume of Umberto Dallari's edition of Bologna's teaching rolls.⁸⁹ In 1909 a project got underway to publish documents scattered among the various Bolognese archives concerning the *studium* and religious houses up to the 15th century; this *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis*, supported by the now defunct Istituto per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna, issued its last volume (15 bis) in 1987 and benefited from an intensive study of documents for a limited number of years in the Archivio Notarile (on which much more remains to be done). An allied initiative is a book series (Universitatis Bononiensis Monumenta) that got off the ground in 1932 with Francesco Ehrle's publication of the statutes of the Faculty of Theology.⁹⁰ This work was followed in 1938-42 by Albano Sorbelli's edition of the secret books of the College of Civil Law up to the year 1450.⁹¹ An important listing of the doctorates of Arts and Medicine for the years 1480-1800 (compiled from the relevant secret books) was provided by Giovanni Bronzino in 1962.⁹² The remaining volumes in the series include an inventory of the archive of the *Memoriali* (1265-1436), Claudia Salterini's inventory of the *fondo Riformatori*

85 See, for example, ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Legazione di Bologna.

86 See Wells, *The Ranuzzi Manuscripts*.

87 Useful comments and partial overview in Sarti, "Le edizioni degli statuti."

88 *Acta Nationis Germanicae*; see *La matricola*, pp. 11-19. Subsequent years have now been published in *La matricola*; *Annales 1595-1619*; *Annales 1640-1674*.

89 *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi*; Sarti and Fattorini, *De claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis professoribus; I rotuli dei lettori*.

90 *I più antichi statuti*.

91 *Il Liber secretus iuris caesarei*, (ed.) Sorbelli. For the continuation (but only to 1500) see *Il Liber secretus iuris caesarei*, (ed.) Piana.

92 *Notitia doctorum sive Catalogus*.

dello Studio, and a recent volume on 12th-century Bolognese notaries.⁹³ Other sources have been published in the annual *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna* and in other local organs.

The normative aspects of the University of Bologna have continued to generate considerable interest. Domenico Maffei has now discovered, published, and assigned to 1252 the oldest surviving Bolognese university statutes.⁹⁴ The statutes of the German Nation have also been published, along with its members' coats of arms (1393-1669).⁹⁵ Furthermore, in recent years scholars have shown a lively engagement with other sources related to students. Maria Teresa Guerrini has combed the secret books of the Colleges of Civil and Canon Law and has compiled a repertory of all the students who received their doctorate in these subjects in early modern Bologna.⁹⁶ The interest in students' coats of arms, particularly at the Archiginnasio, has given rise to a monumental two-volume repertory and study.⁹⁷ And, for the past several years, Gian Paolo Brizzi and his team have been building a powerful database (now available online); it offers a map of students and graduates of the University of Bologna between 1500 and 1800 and allows broad searches for students throughout Italy in the same period.⁹⁸

Work done on Bolognese sources and the *studium* more generally in the past 25-30 years is indicative of a few tendencies worth pondering. One of these is the strong attention given to student life and prosopography. With the rise of social history in the 1970s, this topic became of considerable interest to scholars and strongly affected research in the history of universities, particularly in relation to countries such as Germany where several student matriculation lists survive. The case has been somewhat different for Italy, where the practice of matriculation was expensive and lists (inasmuch as any were kept) are practically non-existent for the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Nonetheless, the potential to analyze large bodies of data through computer programs has lately been applied to discovering, in transverse ways, who the students in Bologna and elsewhere were, how they were educated, and so forth. It is helpful that we now know the names and dates of graduands in Bologna, also because this allows the study of long-term trends in the university. It should also be noted,

93 Continelli, *L'archivio dell'Ufficio*; Salterini, *L'archivio dei Riformatori*; *Studi per l'edizione delle carte bolognesi*.

94 Maffei, "Un trattato di Bonaccorso," pp. 73-74. On recent discoveries of the oldest statutes, see Sarti, "Le edizioni degli statuti," pp. 161-63.

95 *Statuta Nationis Germanicae*; *Araldica ultramontana*.

96 Guerrini, 'Qui voluerit in iure promoveri.'

97 *Imago Universitatis*.

98 See *Amore scientiae facti sunt exules*, <<http://asfe.unibo.it/en>> (accessed 23 October 2015).

however, that analyses are fraught with methodological difficulties,⁹⁹ that some faculties and time periods have been better served than others, and that professors have received far less attention than students. On the second point, although we have the relevant data for degrees in Theology,¹⁰⁰ Civil Law,¹⁰¹ Canon Law (for the period after 1500 only),¹⁰² and Arts and Medicine (from 1480),¹⁰³ considerable gaps remain. To my knowledge no one, for instance, has carefully examined the documentation for the College of Canon Law for the period before 1500. And no real work has been done on the various statutes of the *universitates* in the 16th and 17th centuries, successive to those published by Malagola and clearly unappreciated by him.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, the documentation concerning professors and teaching has received uneven coverage. Dallari's edition of the *rotuli* may seem complete, but in fact it nearly always omits the prologues to the rolls, which at times contain important statutory information. Despite recent repertories¹⁰⁵ and studies of individuals,¹⁰⁶ we lack adequate information on many professors in Bologna and are sometimes obliged to lean on unreliable sources.¹⁰⁷ Actual teaching practices have barely been studied; a happy exception are early 14th century lectures and questions on logic.¹⁰⁸

In addition to these peculiarities of scholarship on sources, it is worth examining three other historiographical trends that have been particularly influential on studies of the Bolognese *studium* in recent years: models of Renaissance culture, assumptions of decline, and misguided views about the relationship between the *studium* and the Church.

Scholars in the past few decades have argued that we should not fall for the attacks made by Renaissance humanists and early modern philosophers

99 Brizzi, "Matricole ed effettivi."

100 *I più antichi statuti* (up to 1500); *Amore scientiae facti sunt exules* (for after 1500).

101 *Il 'Liber secretus iuris caesarei'* (ed.) Sorbelli; *Il 'Liber secretus iuris caesarei'* (ed.) Piana; Guerrini, *'Qui voluerit in iure promoveri'; Amore scientiae facti sunt exules*.

102 Guerrini, *'Qui voluerit in iure promoveri'; Amore scientiae facti sunt exules*.

103 *Notitia doctorum sive Catalogus*.

104 See Sarti, "Le edizioni degli statuti," pp. 156-61.

105 For professors between 1400 and 1550 see Chines, *I lettori di retorica* and Cristiani, *I lettori di medicina*; for a much longer period, Bonoli and Piliarvu, *I lettori di astronomia*. See also Lines, "Natural Philosophy in Renaissance," pp. 278-323 for professors of natural philosophy in the 16th century and Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics*, pp. 289-324, 395-421 for professors of moral philosophy.

106 Very recently, Severi, *Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio*.

107 Particularly untrustworthy, though often cited, is Mazzetti, *Repertorio*.

108 Buzzetti, Ferriani and Tabarroni, *L'insegnamento della logica*.

against the universities of their times: these figures were clearly interested in promoting their own cultural programs and rubbishing those of their competitors; in many cases universities were catalysts (or at least theaters) of new developments, even in the humanities and science, although their function was really – as we have seen – to impart agreed-upon knowledge. Nevertheless, the assumption still persists in many quarters that Renaissance culture developed outside of and in opposition to the universities, which instead remained (or so we are told) bastions of unthinking conservatism. Fortunately this issue is less serious in studies on Bologna, since scholars have long recognized that the humanism that developed there tended to have close ties with the *studium*, also because several prominent humanists were also university professors.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, there is sometimes a tendency to attribute to humanists certain developments (such as the production of complete commentaries on ancient texts) that actually had medieval roots. On occasion modern scholars' paeans to the humanists' new views of the curriculum sound like culture wars by proxy. And in rarer instances historians have presumed to conclude, solely on the basis of the textbooks that professors used, that their teaching was conservative and outdated. Clearly one requires better evidence. A close study of the lectures offered in various subjects is an urgent desideratum. It should be accompanied by a serious debate about what should count as "humanistic" and "scholastic" and whether the latter really ought to be a term of abuse.

A second influential assumption has been the narrative of decline. In Bologna's case, one finds the discussion of factionalism in the 14th century tied very closely – as we saw above – to the university's increasing unattractiveness to students. The first decades of the 15th century (and particularly the new *capitoli* of Nicholas V in 1447) supposedly saw a new flowering of the *studium*, which however (we are told) entered another prolonged phase of disorientation by the middle of the 16th century. This one supposedly lasted until the rise of the Istituto delle Scienze around 1713 and was allegedly characterized by a very reduced student body, a severe lack of self-discipline, violence, and an increasingly provincial outlook. Brizzi has offered a new perspective particularly on the hugely complex issue of student numbers,¹¹⁰ but it is indisputable that, in the 17th century especially, the *bolognesi* were deeply worried about the *studium*'s loss of order and international reputation. However one views the issue, assumptions of this kind have a tangible effect on historical practice, simply because scholars usually like to study periods of flourishing rather than

109 See, for instance, the essay by Gian Mario Anselmi and Stefano Scioli in this volume; also see Avellini, Cristiani and De Benedictis, *Sapere e/è potere*.

110 Brizzi, "Matricole ed effettivi."

the more tricky (and, in appearance at least, less rewarding) times of crisis. This partly explains why many accounts of the medieval university focus on the period before 1327. The historical narrative is full of gaps of this kind.

Finally, among the reasons that are sometimes offered for not exploring beyond the first half of the 16th century is a religious one: matters changed somewhat after the Council of Trent (1545-63), and the constant interference one finds then from the papacy means that the autonomy (and therefore the vitality) of the Bolognese *studium* were compromised. But this unspoken link between independence and cultural productivity is at the very least open to question, and there is no obvious reason for considering a period of religious and/or political authoritarianism (if that is what it was) as any less worthy of study than another. One suspects that scholars have at times allowed their secular orientation to triumph over their historical judgement, as was so clearly the case with Emilio Costa.¹¹¹ Yet all kinds of problems require attention. For instance, given that the *studium* was always strongly influenced by political power (especially in the form of the supreme municipal authority), to what extent did the exercise of that influence by the Church substantially change matters? In what ways, if at all, did the decrees of the Council of Trent (and the earlier resolutions of the Fifth Lateran Council in 1513) affect university teaching on a practical level? Did attempts by the papacy to establish a clientary network among the higher classes in Bologna bring stability to the *studium* or something different? And was the papacy to blame for Bologna's inability to reform its university?

This essay has argued that the University of Bologna was part of a multi-polar set of institutions and cultural movements in Bologna, whose relative importance could shift over time. This phenomenon gave rise to different configurations of cultural and intellectual influence across the long period examined, several aspects of which still remain to be examined. One can only hope for new, interdisciplinary studies, offering a fresh perspective on the *studium* on the basis of its numerous and still remarkably understudied sources.

111 Costa, "Contributo alla storia."

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Bolognese Vernacular Language and Literature

*Armando Antonelli and Vincenzo Cassì**

It is not our intention to give, in this essay, an exhaustive account of 19th and 20th century scholarship on the medieval literature and language (*scripta*) of Bologna, nor to provide a complete review of extant editions of texts. However, it will be useful to underline some recent trends in the scholarship on Bolognese vernacular culture from the 13th to the 16th century. It is striking how in recent Italian publications, such as *Città italiane, storie di lingue e culture* or the *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, there are specific chapters on the major cities of Italian culture and literature, but none dedicated to Bologna, despite the city's preeminence throughout the 13th and early 14th centuries.¹ To be sure, Bologna is mentioned throughout both works, however it is undeniable that a special section on the city is lacking. Although an extreme example, the absence of a monographic chapter on Bologna in these two publications testifies to the “supporting role” too often assigned to late medieval Bologna in recent studies on the history of Italian language and literature.

It is possible to conjecture that due to general cultural shifts within the humanities that took place in the 20th century and to the local university's departmental initiatives, medieval Bolognese literary and linguistic history progressively disappeared first from the framework of local and later from national scholarship. A watershed in local activity on vernacular language and culture can be found in the mid-1960s: in 1962 the *Vita di San Petronio* by Maria Corti was published, and in 1966 Raffaele Spongano organized the conference on Dante and Bologna.² After that, however, the interest of the local university in Bolognese vernacular language and culture diminished in the face of an increasing interest in humanism.³

* The section “Documents of Practical Usage and the Relationship with Tuscan Vernaculars” is by Vincenzo Cassì, the other sections are by Armando Antonelli.

1 Trifone, *Città italiane, storie di lingue e culture*; De Vincentiis, *Atlante della letteratura*.

2 *Vita di San Petronio*, reprinted in 2002. The reprint is enriched by an introduction by Emilio Pasquini (pp. VII-IX) and an essay by Bevenuto Terracini, “Intorno alla vita di S. Petronio,” (pp. XI-XLVI); *Dante e Bologna* for the conference proceedings.

3 Antonelli, “Dante e Bologna. Un omaggio.” For a similar trend beyond national borders, see Anselmi, De Benedictis and Terpstra, *Bologna. Cultural Crossroads*.

Elsewhere, however, there was considerable publication of documentation, linguistic studies, and annotated editions of texts from the Bolognese tradition. It is thanks to this trend that important scholars dedicated themselves, for example, to the works of Onesto da Bologna, Matteo dei Libri, Guido Guinizelli, and to the poetry found in the *Libri Memoriali* (the last two subjects received constant and continuous attention from numerous scholars).

Studies on the vernacular script of Bologna and the city's *scriptoria* that "specialized" in the preparation of vernacular codices are still missing today. We even lack a survey of such manuscripts.⁴ Rare remain detailed linguistic studies on documents of practice from the 13th and 14th centuries⁵ and few are the critical editions of Bolognese lyric poetry, except for the works of Guido Guinizelli and Onesto da Bologna, and for these we remain indebted to the laudable editions by Tommaso Casini and Guido Zaccagnini.⁶ Furthermore, there are no systematic studies of 13th- and 14th-century Bolognese lyric poetry.⁷

This neglect is disconcerting. Bologna was one of the major university cities of Europe and produced and has preserved documentation from the Duecento as has no other Italian commune. Dante himself ascribed a prominent place to the Bolognese language among Italian vernaculars. Moreover, the work on medieval Bologna had been relevant until the late 19th century, when the positivistic ferment had revitalized the 18th-century erudite classifying tradition, producing studies such as "La coltura bolognese nei secoli XII e XIII" by Tommaso Casini, which in 1883 inaugurated the first issue of the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, and Ernesto Monaci's "Primordi della scuola poetica italiana da Bologna a Palermo," published the following year in the journal *Nuova Antologia*, in which the author proposed a theory that did not meet with wide success.⁸

4 For an example of a 14th-century translation into the Bolognese vernacular, see Zaggia, "Due manoscritti"; for 14th-century manuscripts of Bolognese origin, Antonelli, "Un frammento trecentesco"; Bruno, "Inediti trecenteschi."

5 Corti, "Emiliano e veneto"; Antonelli, "Le scritture in volgare"; and particularly the linguistic analysis by Larson, "Appunti linguistici"; Volpi, *Per manifestare polida parlatura*; Antonelli and Cassi, "La Regola delle Clarisse."

6 *Le rime dei poeti bolognesi*; Zaccagnini, *I rimatori bolognesi*.

7 For the Duecento see Trocchi, "Canzone e sonetti"; Matasci, "Polo Zoppo traduttore"; Ferrari, "Da strofe di canzone." On the neglected late 14th century, beyond the pioneering editions by Sorbelli, "Poesie di Matteo Griffoni," and *Rimatori bolognesi del Trecento*, see Marcon and Tamba, "Sonetti inediti"; Marcon, "Per una nuova edizione,"; Idem, "Prolegomena all'edizione"; Siniscalchi, "El non mi vale."

8 Casini, "La coltura bolognese"; Monaci, "Primordi della scuola." For works of 18th-century erudition: Orlandi, *Notizie degli scrittori*; continuation by Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori*.

Despite this limited body of scholarship on the Bolognese vernacular, a corpus of documents of practice of some importance has been collected and continues to be expanded (indeed, it may become one of the largest collections in Italy) and there are some comprehensive overviews or encyclopedia entries that have updated the studies and publications from the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁹

Origins of the Bolognese Vernacular: Dante's Opinion

In his unfinished linguistic treatise, *De vulgari eloquentia*, composed in 1304-05,¹⁰ Dante dedicates a good part of Book I, chapter 15 to the celebration of the Bolognese vernacular and poets, although in fact direct or indirect references to Bologna are found throughout the whole book. He accorded the Bolognese vernacular primacy over all Italian vernaculars, basing his judgement on linguistic arguments and, according to several commentators, for ideological reasons. The Bolognese vernacular to which Dante referred was the one spoken among those living in the heart of the city, the *mediastini*, which balanced elements from the speech of Lombardy and the Romagna (*DVE* I. 15. 6) and which was different from the vernaculars spoken just outside the city walls, on the western and eastern continuations of the Roman Via Emilia (Borgo San Felice and Strada Maggiore), respectively more influenced by the neighboring Lombard and Romagnolo speeches.

Furthermore, Dante indicates that there were four Bolognese poets (the largest group of *doctores* coming from a single city) who turned to the *volgare illustre*, renouncing local speech (*DVE* I. 15. 6). One was Guido Guinizzelli, whose verses were chosen by Dante to prove the common romance-language roots of the languages *oc*, *oil*, and *si*: "Learned writers in all three vernaculars agree, then, on many words, and especially on the word 'love'" (*DVE* I. 9. 3). Featured in a wider discussion aimed at defining linguistic mutation, Dante follows this quotation with a nuanced observation of the phenomenon that involved the spoken languages of the Bolognese citizens who lived in Borgo di San Felice and those who lived near the two towers, in the two opposite poles of the city (*DVE* I. 9. 4-5). His discourse on the changes of languages illustrates

9 Casini, "Documenti dell'antico dialetto"; Frati, *Documenti per la storia*; Gaudenzi, *I suoni, le forme e le parole*; Trauzzi, "Il volgare eloquio"; Toja, *La lingua della poesia bolognese*; Heilmann, "Il giudizio di Dante"; Mengaldo, "Bologna. La lingua"; Foresti, Marri and Petrolini, "L'Emilia e la Romagna"; Stella, "Emilia-Romagna."

10 Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, (ed.) Mengaldo (henceforth *DVE*).

a parabola of spoken vernacular in Bologna at the summit of which he places the Italian spoken by the (noble) Guido and on the two opposite sides, those who spoke the mixed (*mescidate*) languages of the Bolognese *burgenses*.

A further thread of Dante's treatise begins with the 12th chapter, in which he announces his desire to find the "most noble and honorable" vernacular (*DVE* I. 12. 1), a discussion he concludes in the 15th chapter, defining, with a strong ideological connotation, the ontological preeminence of both the Bolognese and the *volgare illustre*. In between these chapters Dante wrote others intended to dismantle the aspirations of the remaining vernaculars and, at the same time, to name the poets who had distanced themselves from their own city's speech and turned to an illustrious, courtly, and cardinal Italian. In chapter 15, as noted above, Dante makes his own an opinion that appears to have been widely, although perhaps not unanimously, held, which identified the Bolognese vernacular (and its regime, *civilitas*) as the "most beautiful" (read: the best):

I say, then, that perhaps those are not wrong who claim that the Bolognese speak the most beautiful language, since they take many features of their own speech from that of the people who live around them, in Imola, Ferrara and Modena, as I believe everybody does with respect to his own neighbors (*DVE* I. 15. 2) [...] In effect, the citizens of the above-mentioned Bologna take a soft, yielding quality from those of Imola, and from the people of Ferrara and Modena, on the other hand, a certain abruptness which is more typical of the Lombards (*DVE* I. 15. 3) [...] If, then, the Bolognese take from both sides, as I have said, it seems reasonable to suggest that their language, tempered by the combination of opposites mentioned above, should achieve a praiseworthy degree of elegance; and this, in my opinion, is beyond doubt true. Therefore, if theirs is put forward as the most admirable of vernaculars on the basis of a comparison of all the languages actually spoken in the different cities of Italy, I will agree wholeheartedly; if, however, it were to be suggested that the Bolognese vernacular should be given pride of place in absolute terms, then, dissenting, I must register my firm disagreement. For it is not what we could call "courtly" or "illustrious" language; if it were, Bolognese poets like the great Guido Guinizzelli, or Guido Ghislieri, or Fabruzzo or Onesto or many others, would never have left off using it. And these were distinguished men of learning, who fully understood the nature of the vernacular (*DVE* I. 15. 5-6).¹¹

11 Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, trans. Botterill.

From this quotation it seems that at the time of the composition of his treatise, Dante could have availed himself of a collection of poetry, of regional or municipal production, which had, alongside the poems of Bolognese authors, also texts from poets who were natives of Tuscany or Romagna, but were living in Bologna.

In this passage Dante celebrates the *mediastini* Guido Guinizelli and Fabruzzo Lambertazzi for distancing themselves from their spoken vernacular. Others, such as Francesco d'Accursio and Taddeo Alderotti, both Florentine by birth but Bolognese by adoption, he condemns for their customs, political parties, and languages. The person, however, who stands out above all others and with whom Dante identifies the entire city of Bologna in Canto XVIII of *Inferno*, is Venedico Caccianemico.

Another *mediastino* was Fabbro dei Lambertazzi, a personage of great importance in mid-13th century Bologna (not to be confused with his nephew Fabruzzo, referred to above). During that period of the city's great political, military, and territorial expansion, he fully embodied the ideals of the podestarial regime in Bologna, which identified harmony within the aristocratic military groups as the essential instrument of foreign policy. This strategy was in stark contrast with the partisan ideal at the heart of the civil conflicts of the last quarter of the Duecento which sought to resolve issues through armed and fiscal reprisals against the defeated and exiled enemy *pars*.¹² Dante's admiration of Fabbro dei Lambertazzi in *De vulgari eloquentia* and his vilification of Venedico Caccianemico in *Inferno* is more than a characterization of diverse individuals: it is a judgement on two different phases of the political history of Bologna. Bologna in the 1250s and 1260s had been able to mediate between the opposite factions of the magnate families of Emilia and Romagna, incarnating the role of a "fontana de le altre e medexina"; however it lost its "gram senno" (the *commixtio oppositorum*) when the city's political life ruptured into civil war in 1274. These quotations come from the anonymous author of the *Serventese dei Lambertazzi e dei Geremei*, who laments that the *principium destructurctionis civitatis Bononie* derived exactly from that political change.¹³ A similar view is also documented in an exhortation by Matteo dei Libri.¹⁴ It is not, therefore, surprising that Dante, when writing Canto XIV of *Purgatorio*, perhaps recalling echoes of older stories, condensed the *laudatio temporis acti* of communal Bologna into a verse pronounced by Guido del Duca: "When in Bologna will another Fabbro grow?" (*Purg.* XIV. 100).

¹² Milani, *L'esclusione dal comune*.

¹³ Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, vol. 1, pp. 846-947.

¹⁴ Dei Libri, *Arringhe*, pp. 147-48.

Dante seems to have had privileged access to sources of Bolognese origin. Some of these stories also bore fruit in the composition of *Inferno*, where we find a judgement on the *civilitas* of Bologna (its politics, *mores*, language, and protagonists) that is very different from the one expressed in *De vulgari eloquentia* (I. 15). The facts remain substantially the same, his point of view on Bologna's politics is unaltered, and he rails vehemently against the alliance of the Black Guelfs of Bologna with the Marchese Azzo VIII of Este. But whereas in *Purgatorio* the history of the first half of the 13th century is portrayed positively, in *Inferno*, with the character of Venedico, the period of the late 13th and early 14th century is condemned.

The sharp contrast between the *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Inferno* involves an integral judgement on both the society and language of Bologna by Dante, and is a direct consequence of the 1306 revolution that brought the Bolognese Black Guelfs to the apex of governmental power. The reversal of opinion in *Inferno* (in comparison to that in the linguistic treatise) centers around the retraction of the arguments in the *De vulgari eloquentia* and a palinode of some of Dante's Bologna-referring writings, such as the sonnet on the Garisenda tower (*Inf.* XVIII. 64-65) and *Il Fiore*,¹⁵ whose attribution to Dante is not unanimously accepted (*Inf.* XXIII). The transformation of *Bononia* from the welcoming and linguistically preeminent city of the 1304-05 treatise to the city made hellish by its "avaricious heart" (*avaro seno*) (c.1308) is portrayed by Dante through a strong characterization of the local elements of Bolognese language inversely to what he had done in the *De vulgari eloquentia*.¹⁶ As he had done in the *De vulgari eloquentia* for other municipal vernaculars, in *Inferno* Dante also describes the Bolognese vernacular by analyzing its lexical and phonetical characters. But here the Bolognese vernacular is identified and classified in the same mode as the Provençal, French, and Italian languages were in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (DVE I. 8. 3; I. 9. 2; I. 10. 1): it is defined as the language of *sipa*, the adverbial adjective the *bolognesi* used instead of *sì*. With such a senseless definition the *praesumptio babelica* is certified through a manifest localism. Furthermore, it is the language used by the factious Venedico Caccianemico and the majority of the *bolognesi* (*Inf.* XVIII. 40-66). This episode allows Dante to retract the flattering judgement he had offered on the Bolognese vernacular just a few years earlier and to stigmatize the distinctiveness of the local language personified by Caccianemico, whose speech evidently contrasted with Dante's own *chiara favella*. This grim moral and political picture of Bologna is delineated on the linguistic level by drawing

15 *Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore*.

16 Mengaldo, "Bologna. La lingua," and Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, (ed.) Inglese, p. 113.

upon the following devices: use of the syntagm “pungenti salse,” (piquant sauces); by the northern and voiced form of “scuriada” (horsewhip); and by the polyphony of voices of the condemned *bolognesi*: Dante asks Venedico Cacciamenico “but what brings you to sauces so piquant?” and his response is “I’m not the only Bolognese who weeps here; indeed, this place is so crammed full of us that not so many tongues have learned to say *sipa* between the Savena and Reno [rivers]; if you want faith and testament of that, just call to mind our avaricious hearts. And as he spoke, a demon cudgelled him with his horsewhip (*scuriada*)” (*Inf.* XVIII. 64-65).

Another brusque passage concerning Bologna occurs in *Inferno* Canto XXXI, in which, as in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, Babel, the city of confusion, and Nimrod, its founder, are again the protagonists. In Canto XXXI, we witness a complete revision of Bolognese reality, even of its cityscape. The famous skyline at the center of Dante’s youthful sonnet *No me poriano zamai far emenda*,¹⁷ becomes emblematic of the Babel-like *Inferno*.¹⁸ Thus the aesthetic transformation of the city is achieved, from *Bononia* to *Babilonia*, from courtly tower to tower of confusion, founded by the giant Nimrod: an exchange favored by the sonority of words, which facilitates the analogy (*Inf.* XXXI. 19-45; 67-81; 133-45).

The *De vulgari eloquentia* seems to reflect the intense debate that was taking place in Duecento Bologna among professors of the *studium* and the theorists of the communal regime, tasked with elaborating a new political language under the aegis of rhetoric.¹⁹ A profound deliberation on the *artes* (oratory, prose, notary writing, grammar, poetics, philosophy, law) and their role in society was unfolding, debated and spread by prestigious and renowned *doctores* in a highly competitive environment.²⁰ One easily finds in the preambles to the *De vulgari eloquentia* and the *Convivio* the specific influence of texts, teachers, and themes (such as the translation of scientific work into the

17 Alighieri, *Rime*, pp. 307-10. On the interpretation of the sonnet see Cottignoli, “Ancora sul sonetto,” and Natale, “L’indovinello bolognese.”

18 Pasquini, “Dante e Bologna”; Idem, “Dante e lo Studio”; Brilli, *Firenze e il profeta*.

19 Stella, “Emilia-Romagna,” p. 261: “Proprio a Bologna si sviluppa, nella prima metà del Duecento, in tempestivo anticipo dunque sulla stessa Firenze di Bono Giamboni e di Brunetto Latini, una retorica volgare” [It was in Bologna that vernacular rhetoric was developed in the first half of the Duecento, predating even the Florence of Bono Giamboni and Brunetto Latini]; Artifoni, “Retorica e organizzazione”; Idem, “Una forma declamatoria”; Giansante, *Retorica e politica*; Cammarosano, “L’éloquence laïque.”

20 Fioravanti, “*Sermones* in lode della filosofia”; Idem, “*Philosophi* contro legisti”; Chandelier and Robert, *Frontières des savoirs*.

vernacular) that were in ferment in the civic lay milieu.²¹ Indeed, when inaugurating his philosophical commentary in the vernacular on his own poetic writings, Dante recalls the vernacular translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, undertaken by Taddeo Alderotti, the first Bolognese attempt at a vernacular translation of philosophical texts (*Con.* I. 10. 10).²² Moreover, notable archival documentation proves that there was an ample number of libraries, both privately-owned and of religious orders, and a plentiful circulation and copying of books, to which Dante could have had access.²³

After all, Duecento Bologna was the center of the debate on poetics that had seen the innovative Guido Guinizzelli oppose Guittone d'Arezzo and Bonagiunta Orbicciani da Lucca. The role assumed by Guinizzelli was held later by Onesto da Bologna, who did not hesitate to debate the *stilnovismo* with Cino da Pistoia. We would argue that the *De vulgari eloquentia* fully recognizes this position of strength of the Bolognese poets, and particularly of Guido Guinizzelli, as Dante reaffirms in the cantos on poetry and poets in *Purgatorio* and in the famous words of the Luccan poet (*Purg.* XXIV. 49-50).

The conscious reflection on the *ars* of vernacular poetry was affected by the wider discussion on the disciplines of the *artes* taking place in the city. The climate was not to change, not even in the immediately following years when the discourse on poetry would have as its protagonists once again a Bolognese teacher and a Florentine (Giovanni del Virgilio and Dante). Dante's *Convivio* and Dino del Garbo's philosophical commentary on Guido Cavalcanti's *Donna me prega* were composed roughly within the same months. Dating from the 1320s is the self-commentary composed by Cecco d'Ascoli, who did not refrain from entering into open polemic with some sections of the *Comedy* in his *Acerba*, provoking an immediate reaction from other poets (Matteo Mezzovillani and Giovanni Quirini). The production of Bolognese commentaries on the *Comedy* in Latin and in the vernacular (Graziolo Bambaglioli and Iacomo della Lana) was inaugurated during this same period.²⁴

21 Segre, *Lingua, stile e società*; Coccia and Piron, "Poésie, sciences et politique"; Artifoni, "L'oratoria politica comunale"; Imbach and König-Pralong, *Le défi laïque*; Antonelli, "Un frammento"; Pegoretti, "Filosofanti."

22 Gentili, *L'uomo aristotelico*; Zavattero, "I volgarizzamenti duecenteschi"; Librandi, "Dante e la lingua"; Lines and Refini, 'Aristotele fatto volgare.'

23 Gargan, *Dante, la sua biblioteca*; Zanni, "Una ricognizione"; Antonelli, "Dante e Bologna"; Barański, "Sulla formazione intellettuale."

24 Ciociola, "L'autoesegesi"; Fenzi, *La canzone d'amore*; Bellomo, *Dizionario dei commentatori*; Duso, "Un episodio della fortuna"; Martorelli Vico, "L'idea della generazione naturale"; Antonelli, "Nuovi sondaggi archivistici"; Raffi, "Dante e l'embriologia aristotelica"; Alighieri, "Egloge."

The presence of the *studium* is thus essential for identifying the immediate public Dante intended to reach by writing a Latin treatise on the eloquence of the vernacular and a self-commentary on philosophical poetry. The genres (treatise and commentary), and the themes (philosophy and vernacular eloquence), although innovative in Dante's hands, were perfectly congenial to the lay Bolognese public, and were embraced and debated within the schools of the *artes* of the Bolognese *studium*.²⁵ Moreover, in addition to the *doctores*, other intellectual elements of communal society seem to have been questioning the relationship between grammar and the vernacular, both in theoretical terms and in practice.²⁶

Documents of Practical Usage and the Relationship with Tuscan Vernaculars

In this section several documents produced in Bologna, both in Bolognese and non-Bolognese, are analyzed in order to further emphasize the energy and variety of the use of vernacular in late medieval Bologna. The texts selected are documents of practice, bearing witness to a language that, despite being written and therefore to a certain extent controlled, is doubtless closer to the spoken language of the writers than the language found in literary texts, as these texts were written for practical purposes and are, therefore, certainly less influenced by high-culture vernacular models. The comparisons that can be drawn between these different writers and documents clearly illustrate the richness and complexity of the linguistic framework of Bolognese, highlighting some of the fundamental cruxes that are essential points of reference when speaking of the Bolognese vernacular.

Within the medieval commune frequent recourse was made to the vernacular, even in documentary typologies, including those of a practical, administrative, and fiscal nature, which were, in that period, doubtlessly dominated by Latin. For example, the *estimi* (tax declarations) were predominantly compiled in Latin, however, in the number of *estimi* compiled in the vernacular we find a percentage that, while appearing to be statistically insignificant (0.2 per

25 Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, (ed.) Tavoni; Tavoni, *Qualche idea su Dante*, with whom I agree despite the reasonable doubts raised by Enrico Fenzi, in Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia* (ed.) Fenzi, by Inglese, *Vita di Dante*, pp. 81-88, and many others.

26 *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, Bk. 8, Rubric 1 "De tabellionibus non faciendis sine examinatione," vol. 2, pp. 185-88; Gaudenzi, *I suoni, le forme e le parole*, pp. XXI-XXII.

cent), translates into 100 declarations in the vernacular drafted before 1329, data that provide useful evidence concerning the Bolognese language at the time of Dante. Dante himself in the *De vulgari eloquentia* refers to some questions that are also pertinent for linguists: what exactly was the Bolognese vernacular? How many and which vernaculars were spoken in Bologna? What were they in written form? The acute observations of this Florentine exile therefore appear even more judicious and documentable regarding the diatopic (that is, topographical variations of the vernacular, as the one noted in the first section between the language of Borgo San Felice and that of Strada Maggiore), to which we can postulate the addition (or better, superimposition) of an extra-urban vernacular in contrast to the civic vernacular. Even from the analysis of the documents of practice, the vernacular used within the city walls, equipped with its own particular and easily-identifiable characteristics, appears to be anything but monolithic. Thus, for all that this vernacular certainly possessed individuality and a number of clearly recognizable local features, it is necessary to consider the extent to which, over the course of the 13th century, in the *mediastino* area and in a certain type of documentation, this language, even as a developed urban language, was affected by the city's economic, cultural, and social context, well-known as a cosmopolitan society of linguistic heterogeneity.

Did this linguistic heterogeneity in a community of speakers populating, animating, and actively characterizing the main institutions of civic life – from the *curia* of the *podestà*, to the university, and even to the marketplace – itself contribute to creating a language that in some of its expressions could be described as mitigated, if not entirely supra-urban, then at least polished of its strictly local linguistic markers? Under the two towers, where the largest quantity of vernacular documentation was produced, a considerable presence of Tuscan merchants has been documented. Why were the highest numbers of documents in the vernacular produced in that area of the greatest concentration of Tuscan merchants? It is a reasonable assumption that the Tuscan presence served as an incentive and increased recourse to the vernacular for practical documents, probably thereby extending this custom to the *bolognesi* themselves.

The group of documents presented here all come from the above-mentioned crucial areas in Dante's discourse and demonstrate the complexity of the Bolognese linguistic framework: a rich, varied, and heterogeneous landscape, characterized by the presence of different languages in contact with each other. In order to demonstrate the "scalability" of these linguistic interactions we focus on certain texts transcribed by Bolognese writers and, to a different degree, on texts by writers who can be defined as Tuscan, in which we

can observe the extent to which these two linguistic codes came into contact and the different ways in which they interacted according to diverse modalities. Three *estimi* were written by Bolognese writers (Borromei, Samaritani, and Toschi).²⁷ The first writer was resident beneath the two towers; the landed properties of the other two were located toward Borgo Panigale and Modena. Furthermore, there are the tax declarations of merchants from Florence and Pistoia edited by Paola Manni and Pär Larson.²⁸ These men had only temporarily transferred to Bologna for business purposes and were, therefore, able to maintain their native language almost unaltered. There are other more interesting cases such as the *estimo* of Novellone del Migliore, a Florentine resident in Bologna for many years, who wrote in a Bolognese vernacular in which relics of his native Tuscan can be seen, and also the account book of Giacomo Scaperzi,²⁹ who was second generation (his father was from Pistoia).³⁰

We offer here an illustrative, not an exhaustive, comparison between these documents. Following a brief indication of a number of aspects in orthographic systems in which Bolognese and Tuscan differ, we isolate certain significant phenomena of Bolognese vernacular and follow their presence across texts. Seven phenomena have been chosen for comparison, all primarily concerned with phonetics.³¹

Orthography

A well-documented graphy in old Bolognese, which is very much present in the texts that are of definite Bolognese origin, is the use of *x* for the sibilant, for

27 These *estimi* have been newly transcribed (the earlier version is in *Vita di San Petronio*, p. 69). For transcriptions of the Bolognese *estimi* considered here along with other documents not of Bolognese origin, see Antonelli and Cassì, "Documenti non bolognesi." For the Borromei *estimo* see Cassì, "L'estimo di Niccolò Borromei."

28 Larson, "Bologna 1296-97"; Manni, *Testi pistoiesi*, pp. 15-20.

29 Antonelli, "Le scritture in volgare"; Larson, "Appunti linguistici."

30 Key: B. *Estimo* by Nicola Borromei, Porta Piera, parish of San Bartolomeo, Porta Ravegnana (1296-97), in ASB, *Estimi*, Series 2, Busta 2, Cedola 16; S. *Estimo* by Guglielmo Samaritani, Stiera, San Fabiano, Porta Stiera (1304-05), Busta 90, n. 47; T. *Estimo* by Bolognetto and Tucino de' Toschi, San Gervasio, Porta Stiera (1296-97), Busta 38, n. 42; N. *Estimo* by Novellone del Migliore, Santa Maria, Porta Ravegnana (1296-97), Busta 26, n. 69; F. *Estimo* by Giovanni and Chelino di Benci, Santa Maria, Porta Ravegnana (1296-97), Busta 26, n. 45; P. *Estimo* by Franchino di Boldo Franchini, San Michele del Mercato di Mezzo, Porta Piera (1296-97), Busta 8, n. 18; Sc. Account postings of Giacomo Scaperzi, San Vitale, Porta Piera (1312-15), in ASB, *Capitano del Popolo, Esecutore e Conservatore di Giustizia, Giudici del Capitano del Popolo*, Register 552.

31 A number of features of Bolognese that are of lesser importance, rare frequency, or of limited value for textual comparisons have been omitted.

example: *mixi* (B), *Thomaxino*, *spexe* (B); *caxa* (S), *Paxe* (T). This spelling is also present in the Novellone *estimo*: *Paxe*, *dixe* (N), *caxa*, *Oxelitti* (N); whereas those from Florence or Pistoia clearly follow the Tuscan use: *Pace* (F), *Pacie* (P), *casamento* (P). In the case of Scaperzi, oscillations can be identified: *Tomase* – *Tomaxe* (Sc). As was expected, in Bolognese *ç* is used for the affricate: *meço* (B), *viaçole* (S), *staçone* (T), whereas Tuscan uses the *z*: *mezzo* (P), *stazone* (P), *panziere* (F). Novellone predominantly uses the *z*: *Zambunino* (N). The orthographic uncertainty of Novellone can also be seen in the representation of the palatal nasal and lateral approximants. In the Borromei, Toschi, and Samaritani *estimi* we witness the presence of local graphies of *gl* and *gn*, whereas Novellone frequently offers the Tuscan spelling: *figlioi*, *Ravigniana* (N), *Pugliola*, *Castagniolo* (N); which is highly visible among Tuscan writers, for example in *figliuoli* (P). Lastly, and of phonetic importance, we note the rendering of “qua” < ECCU(M) HAC: *qua* (F), *cià* (P), *ça* (B).

Diphthongization

A characteristic of Bolognese texts, until at least the mid-Trecento, is the total and constant absence of diphthongs, in which, in contrast to Tuscan, the tonic vowels *ě* and *ǫ* in open syllables are maintained as such, that is, as a simple *e* or *o*. This is very much evident in the three Bolognese *estimi*, for *e*, for example: *chontene* (B), *pe'* (S), *pe'* (T), as opposed to the Tuscan *cervelliere* (F), *panziere* (F), *viene* (P). The word “quartiere” is very significant: *quartero* (S), *quartero* (T), *quartero* (N), *quartiero* (F), *quartieri* (P).³² Novellone del Migliore, despite using Bolognese forms without diphthongs, on occasions betrays his Tuscan origins: *Angiolieri*, *Lotieri* (III) and the very significant *Piero de Pedrobono* (III). For *o*: *figlollo* (B), *vole* (T), *vole* (N), *filiuoli* (F), *figluoli* (P). In the *estimo* by Franchino di Boldo Franchini the diphthong follows the letter *r*: *truovo* (P), in which the Pistoiese author shows a compromise between western dialects that tended to reduce the diphthong and the Florentine that maintained it (only later was monophthongization to prevail as far as Florence, where it was transferred into Italian: *prego*, *trovo*).

Metaphony

The metaphonics of the final *-i*, in which *é > i* e *ó > u*, is typical of the Bolognese vernacular. A well documented case of the phenomenon appears in the *estimo* by Nicola Borromei: “Item da Ugollino de Stevano e da *multi* altri per *molte* carte lib. l.” (B). From this entry one can see the way in which the tonic vowel within the same word had different results (*o* or *u*) according to whether there

32 Note furthermore that the suffix *-ieri* comes from Pistoiese and western Tuscan.

is a final *-i* or not. The phenomenon is present in all the *estimi* by Bolognese writers, in contrast to those written by Tuscans: *mixi* (B), *Runchi* (B), *chupi* (S), *Tuschi* (T). The phenomenon is also found in writers who were not entirely Bolognese, as in the Florentine Novellone: *Castigliuni* (N); and in the engineer Scaperzi, whose father was from Pistoia: *Rampuni* (Sc), and in this case the Pistoiese rendering *Ramponi* (P) should be highlighted.

Closure e > i

Another local phenomenon visible in the Bolognese *estimi* (including that of Novellone), is the closure of *e* (tonic and protonic) in *i*. An example for a tonic *e*: *dibito* (B), *dibito* (T), *dibito* (N), *debiti* (F). In a protonic setting: *miser* (S), *miser* (N), *meser* (F), *meser* (P). There are oscillations in Scaperzi, both in the forms *miser* – *messer* (Sc), and in the Bolognese closure of *e* in hiatus: *Biatrisie* (Sc) – *Beatrise*.

In Bolognese texts, the tonic vowel of possessive pronouns is *o*: *so* (B), *soi* (B), *soa* (T). Novellone also uses this form: *so* (Sc), in contrast to the Tuscan: *suo* (P).

Final Vowel o > e

The softening of the final vowel, in the transition from *o* > *e*, can be found frequently in Bolognese texts and as such in the *estimi* by Borromei, Toschi, and even Novellone: *mane* (B), *mane* (T), *mane* (N); in obvious contrast to *mano* (P III 5).

Lenition

Lenition is a phenomenon that acts on intervocalic occlusive consonants and links the Bolognese vernacular to the Franco-Italian dialects and opposes it to Tuscan. As would be expected, therefore, in the Bolognese *estimi* (including Novellone and the register by Scaperzi), occlusives (velar, labial, dental) are regularly subject to this phenomenon, frequently in its most extreme form, that is, the complete disappearance of the consonant. A few examples of the many and frequent applications of this phenomenon are: *ladore* (S), *secondo* (B), *sovrà* (B), *Pedrobono* (N), *Stevano* (N), *estimao*, *poestà* (S), *estimao* (N), *fraegli* (B), *fraegli* (S), *tornaure* (B), *tornaure* (S), *tornaure* (Sc), *San Viale* (Sc), *araura* (B), *Moena* (S), *lao* (N), *pescaore* (B). The phenomenon is not present in the *estimo* of Bolognetto and Tucino de' Toschi, who seem to have followed Tuscan usage. Thus we find regular conservation of the *t* (which is neither sonorized nor dropped): *tornatura* (T), *domandata* (T), *extimato* (T), *estimati* (F), *astimati* (P), *fratello* (P). However, the very same Tuscan merchants, alongside forms with *t*, in a few instances also used the northern Italian form with *d*:

fradelli (F), *tornadure* (P), which highlights that even these traders who in general maintained their mother tongue unaltered, were nonetheless influenced by the linguistic environment of the Po Valley in which they lived and worked on a daily basis.

Rendering of Affricates

As is well-known, Bolognese texts present alveolodental affricates where Tuscans use palatals. Some examples: *viaçole* (S), *ço* (S), *Bonofaço* (S), *Albertuço* (B), *Çoanne* (B); opposed to the Tuscan rendering: *Benci* (F), *guarnacie* (F), *Guercino* (F), *Giambono* (P), *Riciardo* (P). Intermediary solutions are adopted by some of the writers in our sample. The Toschi text, analogously to the use of lenition noted above, follows the Tuscan mode in forms such as *Cervase*, *Tucino*, *spiciale* (T), *Querceto* (T), which alternate with northern derivatives: *staçone* (T), *çubunero* (T), *Bertolaço* (T). The same oscillation is found in the Novellone text, where we find *Zanbunino* (N), but also *Gianino*, *Lapucio*, *Angiolieri*, *orcio* (N). Scaperzi, confirming the uncertainties and oscillations between Bolognese and Tuscan languages that define him as a Bolognese writer of Pistoian origin, has great difficulty rendering affricates and therefore we find him alternating between *c*, *g* and *ç*: *Regevi eo Iacomo Scaperçi* (Sc), *regeve* (Sc), *receve* (Sc), *regeve* (Sc), *reçeve* (Sc), *cançelai* (Sc), *cancelo* (Sc).

Comparative analysis of these documents, all of which were drafted in Bologna and belong to the same documentary typology, but were written by different hands, not only allows us to isolate certain linguistic phenomena in which the Bolognese and Tuscan languages were opposed, but also to demonstrate the complexity, richness, and variety of the urban linguistic framework, highlighting the contact between different linguistic codes, especially in the more “hybrid” writers, whose languages of origin and adoption interact diversely and to varying extents, giving rise to oscillations in usage. The complex relationship between the Bolognese and Florentine vernaculars would also be evident during the following centuries and an indication of this interaction is seen in the comparison made in the next section between *bolognesi* who wrote with a Tuscan model in mind, and those who did not do so.

14th and 15th-Century Chronicles: Privileged Witnesses of Medieval Bolognese

Much has been written on the oldest forms of Bolognese chroniclers, but much still remains to be done.³³ Numerous vernacular chronicles from the 14th and 15th centuries remain unedited, such as the *Antichità di Bologna* by Bartolomeo della Pugliola.³⁴ Others have been partially published such as the *Chronicon* by Francesco Pipino, and still others, such as the *Cronaca* by Pietro and Floriano Villola, deserve a new edition with proper linguistic commentary.

These chronicles are privileged texts, on a par with documents of a practical nature, statutes, and writings from the confraternal matrix, for the purpose of analyzing changes in medieval Bolognese and the dialectic established over the course of the 14th through the 16th century with the Latin model, with other Romance languages, with other Italian vernaculars – in particular with nearby vernaculars – and with the languages of prestige (such as the Florentine, the Venetian, and partially, for Bologna, the Milanese). The rich manuscript tradition of late medieval vernacular chronicles is characterized by a number of significant elements such as their being frequently transmitted in a single autograph codex, which did not hinder their success or circulation; indeed these codices were enriched over the years by the supplements, eliminations, and manipulations of other writers.

The panorama of Bolognese chroniclers in the 13th century is not extensive. Articulation of the text was very much determined by the relationship the chroniclers had with civic, religious, and lay institutions, their socio-professional roles, and their cultural education.³⁵ The oldest Bolognese chronicles are the *Chronicon Bononiense* (1162-1299), an anonymous chronicle that was merged into the *Chronicon Faventinum* (1270-1306) by Pietro Cantinelli, and the universal *Chronicon* by the Bolognese Francesco Pipino, a Dominican friar (1270-c. post 1327), both written entirely in Latin.³⁶

33 Sorbelli, *Le Cronache bolognesi*; Ortalli, "Notariato e storiografia," pp. 146-89; Idem, "Cronache e documentazione,"; Andreolli, Gatti, Greci, Ortalli, Paolini, Pasquali, Pini, Rossa, Vasina and Zanella, *Repertorio della cronachistica*; Quaquarelli, *Memoria urbis*; Bastia and Bolognani, *La memoria e la città*; Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica*; Matteo Griffoni *nello scenario politico-culturale*.

34 However, a full edition of the *Antichità* is available in the 2008 dissertation by Gramellini, "Le *Antichità*."

35 Antonelli, "E venuta che fu la novella."

36 *Chronicon fratris Francisci Pipini*; *Petri Cantinelli Chronicon*; Ortalli, *Alle origini della cronachistica bolognese*.

From the mid-Trecento, the Bolognese chronicle tradition became richer and narration became consistent, ranging across a wide spectrum of information and over a long timespan. The *Cronaca Villola* (1162-1378), made use of previous sources, not only in the vernacular, and enjoyed immediate and long-term success in the city. Suffice it to say that the autograph manuscript was used, over the course of a century, by the compiler of the *Cronaca Bolognetti*, by Bartolomeo della Pugliola, and by Pietro Ramponi. The latter contributed to merging the text with his own material and modifications in the *Cronaca Rampona* (origins-1470), written between the 15th and 16th century by his nephew Ludovico Ramponi. Synoptic comparison can be established at particular points in the chronicles, which makes it possible to investigate concretely the Bolognese vernacular as employed by Pietro Villola and his son Floriano, by Bartolomeo della Pugliola, and by Pietro and Ludovico Ramponi, and to verify the fluctuating influence of the Florentine vernacular on the *scripta* of Bologna.³⁷

The *Cronaca Villola* was written by Pietro Villola (to 1362) and by his son Floriano (to 1380) and was the result of an elaboration of previous chronicle sources, archival documents, oral sources, and the eyewitness testimony gathered by the two authors themselves, as appears from the portrait and sonnet that accompany the chronicle in which the authors are shown in their book-binding workshop, intent on making paper products and to listening and taking note of the news brought into the city by a pilgrim.

This chronicle appears to be the product of a more mature reconsideration and reflection of the city's history and precedes a period of intense chronicle production that lasted from the end of the Trecento to the mid-Quattrocento. It influenced and shaped those later works, which have reached us in single autograph copies. Among this very extensive production of codices, a few should be especially noted, in addition to what remains of the *Antichità di Bologna* by Bartolomeo della Pugliola (d. c.1422-25), the *Cronaca bolognese* (1371-1424) by the cleric Pietro di Mattiolo (d. 1425), the *Memoriale* by Pietro Ramponi (d. 1433), the *Cronaca* by Giovanni, the *Memoriale historicum* by Matteo Griffoni (1351-1426), and the *Summa hover cronica* (600-1400), attributed to Francesco Pizolpassi (d. 1443); the last two works were written in Latin.³⁸ In the Pizolpassi text one finds the first explicit reference to the

37 Villola, "Cronaca," Andreolli, Gatti, Greci, Ortalli, Paolini, Pasquali, Pini, Rossi, Vasina and Zanella, *Repertorio della cronachistica*; Quaquarelli, *Memoria urbis*; Ramponi, *Memoriale e cronaca*, pp. xxiv-xxviii; Antonelli and Cassi, "Documenti non bolognesi."

38 Di Mattiolo, *Cronaca bolognese*; *Matthaei de Griffonibus Memoriale historicum*; Ramponi, *Memoriale e cronaca*; Andreolli, Gatti, Greci, Ortalli, Paolini, Pasquali, Pini, Rossi, Vasina

Serventese dei Lambertazzi e dei Geremei. This is a *serventes caudatus* (a distinctive form of poetry, probably derived from Provençal troubadors, the style of which consists of stanzas of two or three hendecasyllables and a septenary coda), transmitted via a codex from the end of the Trecento, which offers a reading of the communal history of Bologna, including the mythologized capture of King Enzo and the names of the aristocratic lineages of Bologna who came to the fore as a result of factional struggles and who occupy much space in the lists compiled by the commune and registered in the books preserved in the *Camera degli atti*.³⁹

Essentially these chronicles were conceived after the experience of the 14th-century signorial regimes, at the time of the restoration of the government of the *popolo e delle arti*, which promoted the initiation of the construction of the basilica and revival of the cult of Saint Petronius, whose biography is at the center of the *Vita volgare* edited by Maria Corti.⁴⁰ Overall, these are texts of the institutional and politico-military events of Bologna into which are woven family history, biography, and autobiography – an interconnection across different levels of memory that also emerges in contemporary *ricordi*, such as those of the Mamellini family.⁴¹

Towards the end of the 1450s, chronicle production in Bologna came to a temporary halt. During the years when Sante and Giovanni II Bentivoglio consolidated their power, other genres of vernacular writings were established⁴² and the Renaissance taste for classical historiography emerged, with an eye to Bentivoglio power, as demonstrated by the striking production in Latin by Giovanni Garzoni (1419-1505) and the vernacular narration by Galeazzo Marescotti of his adventurous liberation of Annibale Bentivoglio in 1442. The latter was later rewritten in Latin, in an effort to win Bentivoglio approval.⁴³

The vernacular chronicle tradition revived at the end of the Bentivoglio *signoria*, and intensified during the first half of the Cinquecento, characterized by writers who privileged the registration of important events in the city, the veracity of which was guaranteed by their eyewitness accounts. These were

and Zanella, *Repertorio della cronachistica*; Quaquarelli, *Memoria urbis*; Giovanni, *Cronaca di Bologna*; Pizolpassi, *Summa hover cronica*.

39 Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, pp. 846-947; Antonelli and Pedrini, "Appunti su re Enzo," pp. 241-94, Milani, "La memoria dei rumores."

40 *Vita di San Petronio*; Giansante, "Petronio e gli altri,"; Tamba, *Il regime del popolo e delle arti*.

41 *I Memoriali dei Mamellini*.

42 Basile, *Bentivolorum magnificentia*.

43 Marescotti, *Cronica come Annibale Bentiuoglij fu preso*; Quaquarelli, *Memoria urbis*; Ragone, "Giovanni Garzoni"; Motta, "Galeazzo Marescotti."

prominent texts, in which contemporary events had a clear preeminence over those of the past, despite their coverage of a very broad chronological period. This is the case, in particular, with the chronicles by Fileno dalla Tuata, Giacomo dal Poggio, Giacomo Bianchetti, Giacomo Gigli, and Friano Ubaldini, and also with the chronicles by Giambattista Bottrigari or those written by the Dominicans Girolamo Albertucci de' Borselli (1432-97) and Leandro Alberti (1479-1552), and the Augustinian friar Cherubino Ghirardacci (1519-98).⁴⁴ These chronicles, which are on a very large scale, characteristically experienced extremely complex editorial vicissitudes that clearly demonstrate the difficulty that Bologna had in equipping itself with an official history and a shared past.⁴⁵ Some of the chronicles have features in common, as, for example, the recourse to heterogeneous sources such as poetry and archival documentation. These works strongly show the effects of innovations promoted by a more mature humanistic historiography and a Renaissance historiography renewed within an erudite and antiquarian matrix, which, in Bologna, reached its peak with the collectors Giacomo and Valerio Rinieri.⁴⁶ This chronicle tradition attentively registered the events that brought fame to the city and to its most prestigious civic bodies (the *studium*, the cathedral chapter, etc.) including the festivals, the great public civic demonstrations, the processions, the entrance into the city of illustrious figures, and the funeral processions organized to celebrate outstanding personages of the city, as demonstrated in the 14th-century chronicle by Pietro di Mattiolo or the late-16th century chronicle by Giovanni Marescalchi,⁴⁷ a tradition which extended well beyond the end of the Middle Ages.

For the late Quattrocento and Cinquecento certain chronicles as noted above have received considerable attention, but many chronicles in the Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna and the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna from this later period remain unedited and comprise a rich unused resource for Bolognese history. In addition, on the basis of the documentary sample presented in this essay, we conclude that more research in archival sources would significantly enrich our knowledge of Bolognese *scripta*, language, and late medieval literature.

44 Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, Dalla Tuata, *Istoria di Bologna*; Alberti, *Historie di Bologna*.

45 Fasoli, "La storia delle storie di Bologna"; Pezzarossa, "Una prima verifica."

46 Rinieri, *Cronaca*.

47 Marescalchi, *Cronaca*.

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Literary Culture in Bologna from the Duecento to the Cinquecento

Gian Mario Anselmi and Stefano Scioli*

The Middle Ages

Bologna la Dotta

In the late 1970s Natalino Sapegno described the cultural ferment within the city of Bologna at the turn of the 12th century, a time when the city's reputation reached far beyond its borders, attracting beneath its towers scholars and students, men of culture and science, both from within the Italian peninsula and across the Alps. In Bologna, according to Sapegno, "not only did the tradition of commentators of the Justinian *corpus* and canon law grow richer, from Irnerio to Accursio and Odofredo, but also the distance between the disciplines of law and rhetoric was reduced." To Bologna, particularly from nearby Tuscany, came masters of oratory and letter writing, and in turn from Bologna the cult of rhetoric spread far and wide and reached through Pier delle Vigne to the Sicilian court of Frederick II. In his native city the Bolognese Guido Faba applied and extended the use of rhetorical devices and rhythmic clauses from Latin to the vernacular. Nor were these Bologna's only glories. In Bologna, Sapegno located "the first signs of the avid curiosity that greeted works of literary fiction hailing from France, registered in the scholastic Latin of the *doctores*": Odofredo recounts how he traveled to Gascony in order to acquire works of Provençal poetry, and Boncompagno da Signa "attests to the growing fortune of the goliards [wandering students who wrote satirical poetry] and celebrates the fame of Bernart de Ventadorn."¹

In his essay, which constitutes the illustrious antecedent of a rich tradition of studies,² Sapegno thus reconstructs for the city, beyond its already existing reputation in the Duecento for "wealth" (*pinguis*, or rather *ubertas omnium*

* This work is the fruit of close collaboration. In particular, the section dedicated to the Middle Ages up to and including the section "Petrarch in Bologna," is by Stefano Scioli, and the section dedicated to humanism and the Renaissance is by Gian Mario Anselmi.

1 Sapegno, "Emilia-Romagna," p. 274.

2 For example, Bertacchini, *Emilia Romagna*.

rerum),³ a broader picture of it as “learned,” (*dotta*) – an authentic center of culture and a fulcrum of knowledge, a rich mosaic of individual yet interrelated tesserae. Bologna became the “nexus of the ancient and the new civilization, of scholastic and profane culture, of Latin and Romance literature.” This link between “ancient culture” and “modern culture” (the starting point for Sapegno’s essay), was the fortuitous and pioneering outcome of Tommaso Casini’s *tesi di laurea*, dedicated to Bolognese culture of the 12th and 13th centuries and published in 1883 in the first volume of the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, directed by Arturo Graf, Francesco Novati, and Rodolfo Renier. In that essay, Casini, a student of Giosuè Carducci, highlighted the essential nature of Bolognese culture by studying the “elements” that contributed to its creation. On the one hand, these elements included two literary influences. One was “classic, having survived within the ruins of ancient civilization throughout the Middle Ages,” and also included the new poetry of romance, “created by the fusion of Germanic and Latin populations and representative of the chivalric ideal of feudal civilization.” The other influence constituted the “popular tradition [that] unfolded in the political movement of the communes and was affirmed in popular art, once the linguistic development of the new Italian vernacular was almost complete.”⁴

During the next 70 years, although other studies of value were written, the interpretative ideas of Sapegno and Casini were not addressed and not given new life until re-invigorated by Carlo Calcaterra, whose work then became essential reading for generations of scholars. But the socio-political environment had changed profoundly and the fundamental issues were reignited by more intensive motives. Under the leadership of Calcaterra, who wrote in such a different and difficult time, amid the still smoking rubble and open wounds of the Second World War, scholars turned to the “recovery of ethics and civil coexistence.”⁵ Bologna’s general cultural contribution was to a broader construct of a shared European identity. Calcaterra, a student of Graf and Renier, seeking to trace the actions of *Alma Mater Studiorum* within cultural history, and to confront the desolate landscape offered at that time by human barbarity, created a moving dialogue with the “great immortals” (beginning with Rolandino de’ Romanzi, Accursio, Odofredo, and Egidio Foscherari) calling to them as they walked the streets of 13th and 14th century Bologna. He sought to find in Bologna of the past the light and lessons of a noble spiritual tradition

3 Bologna was also known as *craisse*, for example, in the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*. See Chines, *La parola degli antichi*, p. 13.

4 Casini, “La coltura bolognese,” p. 32.

5 Pasquini, “Introduzione,” p. 22.

that would illuminate the darkness of the present, and to do so with the “passion of an internal rebirth in a culture and solidarity that would not exclude judgement of the past.”⁶

What, then, were the “elements” that predominantly characterized Bolognese literary culture in the Due and Trecento? Calcaterra made an important observation: in Bologna the literary perspective gained its impetus and advantage from its tightly woven links (particularly through the art of rhetoric and the practice of glossing), with juridical studies, and benefitted from this felicitous contact in various ways. Throughout the 12th and 13th centuries there was great competition for entry into the law school of Bologna.⁷ Legal studies favored research of an exquisitely literary nature: in fact, jurists, in order to interpret Roman law, frequently had to seek an explanation of particular formulas and words in the works of Latin poets, historians, and philosophers, thus furthering familiarity with classical texts and “indirectly contributing to the conservation and transmission of the vast cultural heritage left to us by antiquity.”⁸ The ties between the commentators and the *dettatori* (letter writers, or practitioners of the *ars dictaminis*), were therefore profound, as were the links between the art of commentary on classical writers and the mode of glossing Roman law.⁹ Moreover, the bonds between the notarial world and its culture are revelatory when viewed from the perspective of Bolognese humanism, when “only substantial economic assets – and the income of the notaries is indisputable – permitted the purchase of codices of classical works (or *à la page*) that constituted the indispensable library of a writer, [a] custom that, in Bologna, unites in a tenacious tradition the Middle Ages of Enrichetto delle Querce, a notary who read Dante and [was an] *amateur* of Boccaccio long before the Renaissance of [Sabadino degli] Arienti and his composition of the *Novelle Porettane*.”¹⁰

Literary studies were richly cultivated in Bologna during the 12th and 13th centuries. Among the grammarians and rhetoricians in the Bolognese *studium* of that period were the above-mentioned Guido Fava, or Faba (c.1190-1243), *dettatore* in Latin and the vernacular and author of important works such as the *Dictamina rhetorica* (1226-27), the *Summa dictaminis* (1229), and the renowned *Doctrina ad inveniendas, incipiendas et formandas materias* (c.1237), which contains letters in Bolognese vernacular that are among the earliest

6 Raimondi, “Il cammino di un maestro,” pp. 18-19.

7 Casini, “La coltura bolognese,” p. 5.

8 Casini, “La coltura bolognese,” p. 6.

9 Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*, p. 108.

10 Basile, “Introduzione,” p. 17.

examples of vernacular literary prose (they were also collected separately under the title *Gemma purpurea*). The tradition is a long one: Boncompagno da Signa (at Signa c.1170, at Florence after 1240 where he taught from c.1190), an esteemed professor who gave his name to works such as the *Rhetorica antiqua* (a work that was laurel-crowned in Bologna in 1215), and the *Rhetorica novissima*; Bene or Bono da Firenze (born in Florence in the second half of the 12th century, d. between 1238 and 1242, lecturer from 1218), author of a *Candelabrum seu summa recte dictandi*, the *Summa gramaticae*, the *De accentu*, and the *Regulae de metris*; Bono di Lucca, composer of a *Summa dictaminis* called *Cedrus Libani*, a *Salutatorium*, and a *Mirra correctionis*; Gerardo di Cremona, who in contemporary documents is described as an esteemed professor of grammar; Bonaccio di Bergamo, whose school attracted many students; and Giovanni di Bonandrea, who taught at Bologna from 1292 to 1321. The literary tradition in Bologna was no less illustrious than the traditions of the jurists, notaries, and physicians.

Moreover, in an equally important development, the new literature from across the Alps was increasingly disseminated, spreading the ideals of feudal chivalry.¹¹ The taste for French and Provençal poetry in Bologna was spread not just by young scholars who gathered in the city for their studies in law, but also by the goliards, large numbers of whom converged in Italy, particularly in the first half of the Duecento.¹² It was in the Bolognese schools of law and rhetoric (also with ties to the nearby Este court of Ferrara), that the first Italian troubador writing Occitan verse, Rambertino Buvaelli, was educated (at Bologna in mid-12th century, later at Venice, 1221). While the classical and modern elements were jointly becoming culturally pervasive, the gradual transformation of the Latin vernacular that gave rise to the various Romance languages was also taking place: in Bologna those who were excluded from the language of the learned and forbidden by a ban in the communal statutes from listening to the stories sung by the French goliards in the *piazze*, knew and participated in lively poetry in dialect “and delighted in the glories of citizens narrated in the epic *sirventes* concerning communal events, or of religion glorified in devout eulogies, while finding themselves with their own sentiments and customs in the ballads of love.”¹³ Among the best known narrative poems is the *Serventese dei Geremei e dei Lambertazzi*, which recounts the conflicts

11 It entered “by a twofold pathway”: “an oral one, in which the populace also participated, and a written one, sought after by well-educated people.” Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*, p. 122.

12 Casini “La coltura bolognese,” pp. 20 and 22.

13 Casini “La coltura bolognese,” p. 26.

between civic factions of 1274-80. Moreover, during the Due and Trecento, Bologna hosted many esteemed cultural figures whose presence further stimulated the city's cultural environment. The poet Cino da Pistoia studied law in Bologna under Francesco d'Accursio, before completing his education in Orléans (1292-93).¹⁴ It was in Bologna, where his family had moved shortly after his birth, that Coluccio Salutati attended the school of rhetoric of Pietro da Moglio, and studied the *ars notaria*. Leaving the city in 1351, he practiced that profession in various Tuscan cities. Francesco Stàbili, known as Cecco d'Ascoli, was an acclaimed master of astrology at the *studium* between 1323 and 1326 (b. perhaps near Ascoli Piceno 1296, d. at Florence in 1327). He was, however, forced to flee the city in 1324 as a heretic, traveling to Florence in the service of Charles of Calabria. In Florence he was once again accused of heresy, tried, and burned alive at the stake.

Bolognese cultural industriousness, principally tied to the *studium*, was comparable to that of Paris, famous for theology, and to Oxford, renowned above all for its ties to scientific and philosophical naturalism. Furthermore, the presence of the university in Bologna contributed to making the city a "library" par excellence. For a better understanding of the city's cultural vitality, of great value would be analysis of the text collections owned by citizens from various intellectual sectors, as undertaken in Luciano Gargan's recent study;¹⁵ for instance, the collection of the physician Tommaso d'Arezzo (1286), the grammarian Filippo di Giacomo Cristiani (1341), or the *converso* friar Ugolino (1312) – collections that flowed into the library of the theology *studium* of San Domenico. Clustered around the civic *studium* were also active workshops of amanuenses of recognized merit. It was within the city of Bologna, ravaged by the civil conflict between the Geremei and the Lambertazzi, that Saint Francis preached, preceded by Bernardo da Quintavalle, in 1211; and Dominican spirituality thrived equally side by side with that of the Franciscans.¹⁶

The cultural landscape of Bologna in this period is far too complex to fully expound in this essay, but it should be emphasized that the cultural vivacity of Due and Trecento Bologna nurtured fruitful contacts and at times acted as an authentic crossroads of knowledge between literary culture and the profes-

14 He was also in correspondence with the Bolognese Gerarduccio Garisendi (four sonnets from the latter's poetic contest with Cino have survived).

15 Gargan, *Dante, la sua biblioteca*. But it is a complex chapter (and controversial) in the history of the culture of the epoch.

16 D'Amato, *I domenicani a Bologna*; Baloni, *I domenicani e la letteratura*; and see the essay by Riccardo Parmeggiani in this volume.

sional world.¹⁷ These include, for example, the marginal notes in the *Libri Memoriali* that contain evidence of the earliest poetic writings in the Italian vernacular. In these volumes, from 1265 to 1436, were registered transcriptions of all “public acts” and private contracts in order to guarantee authenticity and avoid alterations and falsifications. Uniquely, these registers in contrast to those compiled elsewhere, offered numerous poems, inserted into the acts (with the aim of filling the spaces left empty of registration, as a precaution against spurious additions being made at a later date), with some of the lyric poetry written by local poets including Guido Guinizzelli, Fabruzzo Lambertazzi, and Onesto degli Onesti (Dante refers to them among the “poetantes Bononiae,” *DVE*, I. XV. 6).¹⁸ It is in these very *Memoriali* that the earliest references to Dantesque writing in Bologna can be traced.¹⁹

Bologna was at the forefront, with its *studium*, in many and varied fields of knowledge in which studies were undertaken and methods were verified that enlivened cultural activity overall. Debates on philosophical speculation fostered certain important directions in literature, as can be seen in the dispute in 13th-century Bologna between “dialectic Aristotelianism” and “Arabic naturalism.” “Examination concerning the origins of life and the purpose of mankind is evident in the scientific turmoil that took place in Duecento Bologna, within and around the *studium*,” as indicated most symptomatically by the profound “religious changes” experienced by many of the professors of philosophy, physics and medicine, law, and other disciplines.²⁰

This highly multifaceted cultural atmosphere generated a felicitous concurrence of interests between physicians and poets. Examples of this harmony can be seen from one direction in the physician Dino del Garbo (d. in Florence 1327), who taught in Bologna and was an esteemed annotator of the work of the great Arabic doctor Avicenna.²¹ He was also an exegete of Guido Cavalcanti’s canzone *Donna me prega*, which includes a detailed commentary on the doctrine of love. From the other direction, we have a literary scholar such as Boccaccio, who in order to justify the important presence of love in his collection of short stories, refers in the Introduction to the Fourth Day (*Decameron* I. 10) to the medical knowledge of “Maestro Alberto da Bologna.”

17 Giansante, *Retorica e politica*.

18 Tavoni, “Introduzione,” pp. 115-16 and Fenzi, “Introduzione,” p. xxiv.

19 Saccenti, “Memoriali bolognesi”; Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, esp. pp. 133-70; Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante*, esp. pp. 4-5, 17-60. For additional bibliography, see the essay in this volume by Armando Antonelli and Vincenzo Cassi.

20 Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*, p. 99. On the *studium*, see the essay by David A. Lines in this volume.

21 See also Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy*.

The Bolognese medical tradition was in fact illustrious; one need only recall the renowned Taddeo Alderotti (Florence between 1215 and 1223, Bologna 1295),²² who acquired fame both as a medical practitioner and as an interpreter of Greek and Arabic medical texts (it is highly probable that Dante alludes to him in *Par.* XII. 83).²³ His scientific works were adopted as texts in schools of medicine and his vernacular edition of a compendium of Aristotle's *Ethics* received equal attention (and also was noted by Dante, this time critically, in the *Convivio* (I. 10. 10).

As has been eloquently stated: Bologna was able to "nourish the exercise of writing in verse with a new and bold 'sense' (*senno*), in questions of astrology, nature, philosophy, and medicine."²⁴ The "art of the verse" and "philosophical propensity" that culminated in the *stilnovo* of Dante and Guido Guinizelli, found valuable sources in Bologna as well as in Florence: natural philosophy circulated and thrived in Bologna from cogitation on the works of Averroes and Avicenna. The tenor of the disputes was strengthened by the texts of Bolognese men of letters (Angelo d'Arezzo, Jacopo da Piacenza, Antonio da Parma, Matteo da Gubbio, Cambiolo da Bologna, Giovanni da Parma, a Dominican friar, and the more famous Taddeo). Within the Bolognese milieu (from which, according to Maria Corti's celebrated and also contested theory, Dante acquired various ideas on the concept of language),²⁵ the ideas of Abulafia were debated, which greatly influenced Jewish circles.²⁶ Moreover, as certain contacts between Arabic and Islamic culture and the Christian world in the medieval epoch demonstrate, it was precisely in Bologna that Ugolino, the Dominican friar mentioned above, recovered the extremely important text of the *Libro della Scala di Maometto*, the Arabic original of which had been lost since the 8th century, while in Europe its diffusion was entrusted to two versions: one in French and one in Latin.²⁷

Guido Guinizelli and the Bolognese Origins of the "Dolce Stil Novo"

The learned jurist Guido Guinizelli was born in Bologna during the 1230s, at a time when poets in the city were already composing verse in the Provençal style and in the style of Guittone d'Arezzo. Guinizelli's Ghibelline ideas forced

22 Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti*.

23 On the "Arabic" culture of Alderotti (and his pupil Dino del Garbo), see also Salem Elsheikh, "Premessa," pp. 35-39 and 64-68. In general, also see Piro, "Introduzione," pp. xv-xviii.

24 Veglia, *Il corvo e la sirena*, p. 47.

25 Corti, *Dante a un nuovo crocevia*, pp. 17-37.

26 Eco, *La ricerca della lingua*, pp. 54-59.

27 See at least the classic work of Enrico Cerulli, *Il Libro della scala*, which should be supplemented with Idem, *Nuove ricerche*.

him to abandon Guelf Bologna in 1274; he died in exile in Monselice in 1276. But his years in Bologna and his contact with cultural trends from Tuscany proved to be fruitful. At Bologna he found, for example, Guittone d'Arezzo who resided there at length, as did the poet Monte d'Andrea between 1268 and 1273.²⁸ In this environment, Guinizzelli began by composing verse on the model of Guittone, but later changed his style, detaching himself from his master and that literary school. In doing so, he opened the path to *stilnovismo*. As is repeated in nearly all text books on the history of Italian literature concerning the learned origins of the *dolce stile novo*, it was precisely the Bolognese environment, rich in knowledge and doctrine, that contributed significantly, together with Tuscany, to the cultural formation of the man who became one of the most incisive exponents of Tuscan-Emilian poetry of the 13th century. Dante himself identifies Guinizzelli as the precursor of the *dolce stil novo* (*Purg.* xxvi. 97-99), able in his poetry to guide inspiration (by listening to the inner force of emotion) towards the spiritualized praise of the woman loved.²⁹

Dante Alighieri in Bologna

As noted above, many prominent literati came to live in Bologna for the purpose of study, attracted initially and later stimulated by the cultural environment of the city, contributing, in turn, to bringing new life to its fabric. Dante, who spent approximately three years in Bologna between 1290-95 (and who seems to have returned later for briefer visits), may have been influenced by ideas derived from classes held in the Dominican and Franciscan theological *studia* and in the university's faculty of arts. Dante certainly found material in Bologna for his ethical- political and linguistic reflections. Notations in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1. 9. 4-5, 1. 15. 2-3, 2. 12. 6) show him to have been a keen observer of the Bolognese spoken dialects, which differed between the outskirts and the center of the city, and also between the urban *borghi*.³⁰

Traces of Dante's interest in Bolognese stories and personages can also be found in his "sacred poem." Ezio Raimondi studied these references as an important revelation of the complexity of urban reality.³¹ Indeed, in the first canticle of the *Comedy* Dante finds among the sodomites the most famous glossator of his time, Francesco d'Accursio, who taught at the Bolognese

28 Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*, p. 127.

29 Borsa, *La nuova poesia*.

30 On Dante in Bologna, see Gargan, *Dante, la sua biblioteca* (with a rich and updated bibliography) and the essay by Armando Antonelli and Vincenzo Cassi in this volume; in general see Tavoni, *Qualche idea*, esp. pp. 96-104, 227-50.

31 Raimondi, "Una città nell'Inferno."

studium (*Inf.* xv. 110), and later at the beginning of the *Malebolge* he recalls one of the most powerful Bolognese politicians of the late Duecento, Venedico Caccianemico, supporter of the dynastic aspirations of the Este family over Bologna (*Inf.* xviii. 49-51). In the sixth *bolgia* the souls of two “hypocrites” are revealed to the poet: Catalano de’ Malavolti (more correctly called Catalano di Guido di donna Ostia), of noble Guelf ancestry, and Loderingo degli Andalò, a member of one of the most prominent Ghibelline families (*Inf.* xxiii. 76-108). Among the schismatics and sowers of discord, Dante finds Pier da Medicina, from a locality within the Bolognese *contado* (*Inf.* xxviii. 73-75). In Purgatory, on the ledge of the arrogant, Dante witnesses a serene encounter between two miniaturists belonging to different schools of art: Oderisi da Gubbio, active in Bologna in 1268-71, and Franco Bolognese, active in the city in the early years of the Trecento (*Purg.* xi. 79-84). A little further up the mountain of Purgatory, through the voice of Guido del Duca, Dante expresses his regret at the passing of a virtuous and noble Bolognese citizen, Fabbro dei Lambertazzi, who lived in the first half of the Duecento (*Purg.* xiv. 100).

Dante’s success in Bologna was immense but variable over time.³² Concerning the *Comedy*, there was fervid productivity by commentators in the second half of the Trecento in Bologna which culminated c.1375 in the public reading in the city of the three canticles knowledgeably glossed by Benvenuto da Imola, and continued in the teachings of Giovanni da Spoleto and Angelo dell’Aquila. Earlier, the notary Graziolo Bambaglioli, a Guelf and Bolognese chancellor, in 1324, just two years after the commentary of Iacopo Alighieri, wrote a Latin gloss of *Inferno* that led the way to a series of Bolognese commentaries of the poem. Especially to be noted is the Bolognese Iacomo della Lana who commented fully on the text of the *Commedia* (c.1323/24-28).³³

It would be too frustrating to pursue through the intricate pathways of a complex bibliography (one in continuous expansion, thanks to hitherto unexplored areas of research and new methodologies), the names of each of the many *letterati* (men of letters) who lived in Bologna during this era (some unjustly labeled by tradition as “major” or “minor”), or to pretend to provide by an encyclopedic approach what would be a fallacious picture of completeness. Instead we have chosen to dwell upon a significant episode in the biography of Dante which provides a clearer understanding of the cultural climate and

32 Celebrated is the sonnet, transcribed in the *Memoriali bolognesi* of 1287, in which is explicitly recalled the “Garisenda / tower” (*Rime* LI. 3-4). On Dante and Bologna, see *Dante e Bologna*.

33 Della Lana, *Commento alla Commedia*.

urban vista that is the object of our analysis. In this way it is possible to grasp the essence of one of the major aspects of Felsinean cultural life of the period.

We refer specifically to the invitation that Giovanni del Virgilio (docent of *humanae litterae* at Bologna)³⁴ extended to the Florentine poet to come and receive the well-deserved *laurea* from the city's illustrious *studium*. Giovanni del Virgilio, as is well-known, amicably lamented that even such a great poet as Dante had not decided to set aside the *volgare* in order to test himself in Latin poetry, thereby implicitly putting himself "in competition" with the achievements of Albertino Mussato, who had received the *laurea* in 1315 from the *studium* of Padua. Nevertheless, the invitation proved to be of value and resulted in an interesting "poetic correspondence" consisting of four letters, two from Dante and two from Giovanni, datable approximately to 1319-1320 and 1320-1321.³⁵

For Dante, there were no "environmental" conditions for going to Bologna: but above all he wanted to defend the dignity of the *volgare* as brought to his supreme achievement of the *Paradise* and as meritorious of every dignity, including the *laurea*, with which an ungrateful Florence should have endowed him. Dante showed himself, nevertheless, as flattered and full of respect for the invitation. He included in his response as a gift a few cantos of the *Paradise* (one of which, in contrast to the other two, Giovanni did not yet know of), almost as if to provide, in this exchange in the nature of a poetic "dispute" with Giovanni, a concrete sample to serve as a crown for the value of his positions and the "sublime" potentiality of the *volgare*.³⁶

An exemplary study by Gabriella Albanese and Paolo Pontari on the origins of the Dantean *Eclogues* highlights the importance of the Bolognese ambience – the university and notarial Felsinean *cenacoli* (salons), the masters of the *studium*, and the fierce political events that marked Bologna in those tormented years, with the cruel and brutal *podestà* Fulcieri da Calboli at its center.³⁷ The centrality of Bologna as a crucial crossroads of knowledge emerges and is confirmed – according to the available data – to such a degree

34 Pasquini, "Giovanni Del Virgilio," Martellotti, "Giovanni del Virgilio," and Billanovich, "Giovanni del Virgilio, Pietro da Moglio."

35 Martellotti, *Egloghe*, pp. 644-46; Malato, *Dante*, pp. 216-23; Idem, *Per una nuova edizione*, pp. 82-86; unfortunately, the dozens of commentaries to the *Comedy* that have overcrowded the field for years, often bringing few new insights, have not made significant comparisons to Dante the Latin poet and to the *Eclogues*, not even when commenting on the almost contemporary cantos of the Ravennese *Paradise*.

36 Tabarroni, "Ambienti culturali."

37 Albanese and Pontari, "Il notariato bolognese"; for a general picture, see also Albanese, "Introduzione" and Petoletti, "Nota introduttiva."

that it is truly incomprehensible how certain popular manuals continue to ignore the role of the city as strongly innovative in the transition from the Middle Ages to humanism.³⁸

On the one hand, everyone passed through or met each other in Bologna over the centuries, and it is always necessary to depart from Bologna in order to understand the decisive and certain measure of the culture of the period between Dante and Coluccio Salutati (who studied at Bologna). On the other hand, Ravenna and the other Emilian and Romagnol cities, while proudly defending their own identities, on literary, cultural, artistic, and architectural levels gravitated to Bologna and its *studium*, to its masters of law (who served as gateways to an understanding of Roman history and its laws), and to its innovative glossatory practices which gave life to that inexhaustible hermeneutic form, the “commentary,” of which the Bolognese masters of *humanae litterae* and law were the undisputed founders for the entire world. It is a path that can be traced from the jurist glossators through Pietro da Moglio (d. 1383), reaching finally to Beroaldo or Giovan Battista Pio.³⁹

Petrarch in Bologna

Petrarch arrived in the Bolognese *studium* in 1320. His father wanted him to complete his studies in civil law which he had previously studied for four years in France. Later the poet would refer to his youthful years, and his journey from Montpellier to the university in Bologna, in two instances in his epistolary prose: in the *Posteritati* and in the *Senile* (X. 2). In the former, the reference to the Bolognese *studium* is brief, however in the latter, “the memory of his sojourn in Bologna takes on the idealized tones of a nostalgic yearning for his carefree youth.”⁴⁰ From this perspective Petrarch testifies to the purported conditions of hardship experienced in Bologna toward the mid-Trecento, in contrast to the splendor of the ancient city that still existed in the early decades of the century.

In Bologna, in his youth, Petrarch was able to read, listen to, and repeat the poetry of Guinizzelli, savor the poets of the *stil novo*, know the works of Dante. “Literary historiography, and rightly so,” writes Calcaterra, “[...] tends to repeat that Bologna, with regard to his early artistic development, was Petrarch’s poetic birthplace.” Furthermore, Bologna was also “the birthplace of his Latin prose”: through his deeply personal studies of the classics, Petrarch achieved a

38 Many studies, volumes, international conferences with published *Atti* on this subject have been produced in recent years by various centers of Bolognese research.

39 On Pietro da Moglio see at least Quaquarelli, “Pietro da Moglio.”

40 Chines, *La parola degli antichi*, p. 12; Ahern, *Good-bye Bologna*.

level of writing “that had never before been reached by new writers.” The letters *De rebus familiaribus* and *De rebus senilibus*, the *Varie*, the *Sine titulo* “represent remarkable progress in the Bolognese school of letter writing.”⁴¹ This was the “illustrious” and “learned” Bologna experienced by Petrarch. It was there that between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, the spirit of cultural and literary renewal, both in Latin and the vernacular – the spirit that would characterize humanism – found fertile ground among jurists, notaries, grammarians, and scholars.

Humanism and the Renaissance in Bologna

Approaching the subject of Bolognese humanism, one must bear in mind certain contextual considerations, internal and external to the city, in order to avoid missing the significance of the macroscopic particularities of Bolognese reality. Throughout the Quattrocento and the early years of the Cinquecento, Bologna experienced a complex polycentrism of intellectual points of reference and patrons that is difficult to find in any other Italian city. The university returned to its ancient medieval splendors and once more became a fundamental center for cultural production and intellectual aggregation, attracting the best minds (teachers and students) from across Europe. Furthermore, the rich network of urban convents and monasteries continued to gain strength: the monasteries maintained their important role as centers of cultural production, both in contact with the university and autonomously. Finally, the Bentivoglio court had very different characteristics compared to the courts in other Italian Renaissance cities: elsewhere the crisis of the communes produced strong rationales for centralizing power in a signorial-absolutist key, but in Bologna the Bentivoglio (during the brief period of their *signoria*) did not fully achieve this goal. They were more “first among equals,” strongly circumscribed by other patrician families and by the papacy, rather than the undisputed rulers of the State (in contrast to the Medici in Florence, the Visconti in Milan, and the House of Aragon in Naples).⁴² Clearly this situation would have influenced their initiatives of patronage, directed as they were towards strengthening their own prestige, while having to contend with autonomous cultural centers such as the university and the Church, which were strongly endowed (and had been for centuries) with their own specific identi-

⁴¹ Calcaterra, *Alma Mater Studiorum*, p. 160.

⁴² On the nature of the Bentivoglio *signoria*, see the essay by Tommaso Duranti in this volume.

ties. The fall of the Bentivoglio and the passage to hegemonic rule under the strong reins of the papacy in the Cinquecento definitively closed the door to the “court literature” that played a significant role in other cities with a solid signorial tradition (for example, the Estense *signoria* in Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio and its literary circles).

The university and the most famous monasteries (San Francesco and San Domenico) inevitably represented places of “transit”: the fame of the Bolognese *studium* attracted, as it had earlier, students and scholars, men of letters and of philosophy, and scientists from across Europe. Even if only for a short while, a stay in Bologna, at its university, was almost obligatory for those in Italy wishing to acquire a suitable curriculum of study. The monasteries themselves, because of their importance and rich traditions, were host to important personalities from the various monastic orders. Renaissance Bologna, therefore, continued to maintain its own particular identity, acquired over the centuries, as a cultural crossroads, as a multiplier and accelerator of experiences that united, briefly merged, and combined, possibly only to be torn apart elsewhere, but nevertheless triggered by the rich and populous Bolognese *officina*. To name just a few of its illustrious scholars: Aurispa, Leon Battista Alberti, Filelfo, Pico della Mirandola, Copernicus, Pomponazzi, Cardano.⁴³

Internally cultural and literary polycentrism was thus preeminent at Bologna: court, Church, and university represented quintessential points of reference. Externally, relations did not consist merely of the “outside” world revolving around Bologna, but in Bologna being open towards important neighboring Renaissance centers of humanism, especially Ferrara. Humanists and teachers traveled between the two centers, as did artists and painters. In the field of literature, however, a courtly model comparable to that of the Este did not exist in Bologna, hence fascination with vernacular literature remained relative and only a few significant examples were produced. The links with Florence were more profound, not only because of relations between the Bentivoglio and the Medici and the strong attraction of the leading Florentine humanists, but also because in Florence Bolognese writers found themes developed that were particularly appealing to them – mythological invention with allegorical meaning, philology and rigorous study of the classics, and erudite preciousness in language. Florentine humanism can be epitomized, perhaps, in the figure and work of Angelo Poliziano, one of the most assiduous correspondents with the major Bolognese humanists and so admired that the first printed editions of many of his Latin and vernacular works were first published

43 For the presence of Copernicus at Bologna, see at least Basile, “Tra Medioevo e Rinascimento.”

in Bologna (1491-94). Relations with other important centers in the Po Valley and in the Veneto – Mantua and Padua – were also significant, particularly from the perspective of philosophy and science (especially for a particular tradition of radical and naturalistic Aristotelianism): humanism in Bologna and in Padua (much like the history of their two universities) was deeply interwoven.⁴⁴

Exemplary Figures in Bolognese Humanism

Certain protagonists in this fervid cultural era, under the impetus of Cardinal legate Bessarion, leader of the university's renewal in the 15th century, imparted particular vigor to classical studies and philology, paying specific attention to the teaching of ancient Greek and the pivotal texts of that tradition (the Bolognese *studium* played an essential role in that field). Among the outstanding academic figures were Lamola (1407-49), Perotto (1430-80), Lianori (15th century), who were in contact with the Ferrarese circles of Guarino Veronese and Filelfo, and the eccentric scholar, Galeotto Marzio (1427-90), whose "curiosity" brought him to tread the grounds of magic and astrology.

Preceded by the important teaching of Francesco del Pozzo (known as Puteolano, d. 1490), the period of great Bolognese humanists and "commentators" began more or less at the same time as the splendid *signoria* of Giovanni II Bentivoglio and with the full relaunching of the university. These scholars were the protagonists of the profound methodological innovations alluded to in the prior paragraph. Among them one name stands out as a personage of the greatest scholarship – Filippo Beroaldo the Elder (1453-1505), who was in contact with all the major thinkers of his era and was universally admired. His introductory lectures for academic courses, his masterful commentaries on Apuleius, Suetonius, and Propertius, his short treatises of orphic and sapiential inspiration, and the Latin poems of his own composition constitute a monument to the stimulating and lively erudition to which we have frequently referred as unique to Bolognese humanism.⁴⁵

The same can be said for the work of Antonio Urceo, known as Codro (1446-1500). In this singular figure of humanism, vast classical erudition joined with a radical irreverence of stereotypes, with a taste for paradoxical role reversals, in a sparkling and concise Latin style. In his writings, *fabula*, myth, and the

44 For a general overview see Basile, *Bentivolorum magnificentia*, and Anselmi and Giombi, "Cultura umanistica."

45 On Beroaldo see Chines, *La parola degli antichi*; Severi, "Il giovane cimento"; Idem, "Sulla fortuna dell'umanesimo bolognese"; Idem, *Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio*; Osler, "Humanists and Jurists."

great poets (Homer was his favorite) became real protagonists, the sources to which the modern scholar must look, outside any form of conventionalism and obsolete and decrepit disciplinary hierarchy.⁴⁶ The rigorous commentary tradition and philological meticulousness are found in one of Beroaldo's students, Giovan Battista Pio (1460-1540), another interpreter of great stature. For centuries throughout Europe, Beroaldo's commentary on Apuleius and Pio's commentary on Lucretius were the preferred starting points for these exemplary texts of classical culture.⁴⁷

Another humanist of considerable literary production was Giovanni Garzoni (d. 1505). Considered conventional by some, nonetheless conscious of the most passionately avant-garde debates and ready to test himself in multiple genres and disciplines, he was a true Renaissance polygraph, comparable to Antonio Cornazzano of Piacenza or the versatile Francesco Filelfo among the Quattrocento precursors to the typical prolific writers of the Cinquecento courts, figures that exemplify the average taste in Italian Renaissance literature and its most patronized and widespread genres.

Taking the most anti-conformist positions and linked to Venetian circles with a whiff of heresy, Achille Bocchi (1488-1562) was a proponent of a symbolic literature able to merge words and images suitable for communicating difficult and hidden truths. His *Simbolicae Quaestiones* was a treasure-trove of images, symbols, and emblems for much of Mannerist and Baroque literature and art. It was precisely in Bologna, beginning with Bocchi, that *impresistica*, a literary-visual textual genre, was formed and developed. This genre, later theorized by Paolo Giovio (*Dialogo dell'impresie militari e amorose*, 1551) exemplifies the erudite and sapiential taste that characterized Bolognese humanism. Finally, among the unique characteristics of Bolognese cultural life that continued uninterrupted from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance must be included the contribution of the learned professional classes, particularly the physicians and notaries, and their keen interest in the new literature and its innovative features. From within these classes, linked to the *studium* where they were trained, functionally embedded in the public structures and social organization of the city, they were nevertheless open-minded and curious, much like the Florentine mercantile class, and stood out not only as avid patrons but also as protagonists of cultural life, both in humanism and in vernacular production. Exemplary figures of these classes are the notary Cesare

46 For an overview on Codro's activity, see Raimondi, *Codro e l'umanesimo*; Anselmi, *Le frontiere degli umanisti*, pp. 13-51; Chines, "Antonio Urceo Codro"; Bacchelli, "L'insegnamento di umanità"; and Urceo, *Sermones* (1-4), with introduction by Ezio Raimondi.

47 Anselmi, *L'Età dell'Umanesimo*.

Nappi and Benedetto Morandi. Throughout the Quattro and Cinquecento these classes contended for the primacy and cultural hegemony that the aristocratic classes were to re-occupy forcefully during the Counter Reformation.

The Specifics of Bolognese Humanism

If one were to summarize the essence of Bolognese humanism in a single expression, it would certainly not be out of place to speak of “academic humanism.” It was a humanism in which, given the strong prominence of the *studium* in the city, the interests of men of letters were essentially addressed to the philological and erudite study of the ancient world and its literature, the preeminent use of Latin, commentary on the classics, and a rigorous research of texts that combined with other academic sectors of juridical, medical, physical, and philosophical knowledge. But this formula would not be sufficient to explain the wealth and complexity of Bolognese humanism. Study of the ancient world and its relation to classical literature doubtless constituted an essential basis of such a humanistic experience, as was the case in every other Italian city. Bolognese singularity and uniqueness consisted rather in the inexhaustible “curiosity” with which the major humanists at Bologna confronted the ancient world. The rigorous study of classical texts, for example, led to the notable production of many fundamental commentaries of a size and scale that is difficult to equal in the Quattro and Cinquecento, either in other Italian cities or in Europe. Commentaries (primarily the great commentaries of Beroaldo or Giovan Battista Pio) fulfilled many functions: exegesis, explication, and philological analysis of the text, with comparisons and full explanations of erudite notions and the more complex historical, literary, and mythological contexts to which the text alluded.⁴⁸

The great Bolognese humanists introduced, in a certain sense, the art of the modern comprehensive commentary, in accordance with the decisive teaching of Poliziano who was giving the field a form of philology that was wide-ranging and imbued with historical knowledge. As noted above, the art of the commentary, at its highest level, was nourished by a multiplicity of sources. Among Bolognese humanists great attention was given to debate on the language of the Romans, to experimentation in writing in the form of models infrequently employed in Latin (e.g., imitation of Apuleius rather than the more “canonical” Cicero), to great flexibility and versatility in testing themselves in various genres of classical literature (orations, epistles, historiography, erudite short treatises, Latin poetry, etc.), and to precocious curiosity towards

48 Anselmi, Avellini and Raimondi, “Il Rinascimento padano.”

objects, finds, figurative and material evidence of the ancient world – we are at the dawn of modern antiquarianism, of archaeology itself.

All of this was an inevitable consequence of a university teaching that was specific to Bolognese literary identity: pedagogical attention to explanation, clarification, and thorough and comparative analysis (optimally using an exquisitely pedagogical and explicative instrument such as the commentary). Furthermore, in nearby Ferrara in mid-Quattrocento, the great humanist Guarino Veronese for many years had pursued profoundly innovative teaching methods. Central to his pedagogical philosophy was the concept that the education of youth be understood as interior growth and as a continuous apprenticeship to the lessons of the ancients, to be accomplished by the revolutionary methodologies of new humanistic knowledge. This approach was based on tolerance and civility, to spirited dialectical debates on different positions and ideas. In fact, with humanism the literary genre of the “dialogue” regained vigor everywhere.

Bolognese humanists, in their commentaries, treatises, and the introductory orations to their academic courses, wove into their erudition a taste for stimuli and explanation. The lecturer’s “curiosity” became the methodological axis around which was constructed the “curiosity” of the pupils. In the course of their apprenticeships they became indefatigable researchers, never sated with knowledge or new hermeneutic directions, assured but not dogmatic, enthusiastic but open to critical doubt.

Erudition and academicism were thus clearly present in Bologna, but in a very different sense, if not in opposition, to what those terms often indicate today. This was not knowledge embalmed in stereotyped rules, closed and dogmatic, but a spirited, open-minded, tolerant knowledge, eager for new challenges, in accord with the inductive and profoundly innovative canons that characterized the principal vanguards of Italian humanism during the Quattro and Cinquecento.⁴⁹ But not even this pedagogical feature, although exceedingly significant by itself, can explain the profound and original methodology adopted by the Bolognese humanists. For them, the ancient literary texts offered a gateway to knowing more deeply the “hidden” structures of the world, the nature of reality, the ties between nature and man, among men, and between man and God. Their greatest attention was devoted to myth (the so-called *fabulae*), understood by Bolognese humanists not as simple nuclei of inspiration for literary works or as works surviving from the childhood of the world, but as genuine discourses on truth, stemming from a deep and ancient wisdom that fell to the scholar to illuminate and, to the degree possible, unveil.

49 Anselmi, “Beroaldo, Codro.”

Through a series of paradoxes of extreme radicalism, Codro even reached the point of affirming that the *fabulae* contained intrinsic truth; that no one other than the poets had known how to grasp, through the use of mythological tales, the transitory passing of man among earthly appearances, through the shifting shadows, unable to know the context of his existence.

The originality, transgression, and radicalism of the Bolognese position was perceptible to all. Boccaccio had already forcefully established the fundamental terms of the problem: mythology was deeply woven into the very nature of literature; literature was, with its myths, a *viaticum* for truth, a “different” pathway (compared to theology and philosophy), but equally efficacious for knowledge and consciousness and not subordinate to any discipline.

In this atmosphere, interaction among writers, philosophers, and artists developed, as it did in many Italian Renaissance cities. In Bologna, however, this interaction was uniquely shaped by the above-noted polycentrism that characterized the places of cultural production and aggregation. This idiosyncrasy, far from separating places, acted as an efficient multiplier of intertwining experiences, as a crossroads of patrons and beneficiaries. This phenomenon is evidenced in the chronicles, in works of literature, and in the figurative arts. Exemplary and often cited are the cases of Francesco Francia (c.1450-1517), who painted a portrait of Codro, and the “catalogue” of greater contemporary artists classified by Giovanni Filoteo Achillini (1466-1538) in his *Viridario*. In reality, however, it is the comprehensive dimension of Bolognese humanism that demonstrates in and of itself the great richness of these intersections that begin with the fundamental junction for Bologna – the relationship with classical culture and the problem of its restoration.

Beroaldo, Codro, and Pio initiated a period of hermeneutic study of the great classics (Propertius, Suetonius, Apuleius, Lucretius, Homer, Hesiod, Virgil), with the simultaneous pursuit of diverse objectives. Primary was restoration and elucidation of the texts (the “commentary” underwent exceptional qualitative and quantitative development in Bologna), connected to the demands of university teaching. But restoration and elucidation of the texts were only the first steps in a much broader hermeneutic effort aimed at bringing to light the extent of ancient wisdom, even its most hidden aspects, identifying its preferred vehicle in the *fabulae* and in mythological narrative.⁵⁰

Classical literature, art, and myth were central and key activators for the Bolognese humanists, serving as sources of knowledge to be reached by the scholar’s inexhaustible “curiosity” (a critical and methodological approach of

50 Chines, “Il dominio della parola.”

great appeal to the Bolognese humanists). In myths they read the outline of a tolerant and peaceful truth, very ancient and yet entirely compatible with Christianity. Hence neither philosophy nor theology, law or medicine – the traditional university disciplines – were able to tread the fine thread of that hidden meaning, given how hegemonic, arrogant, and deceptive they were in their fundamentalist pretext of truth (the harshest, most bizarre, and mocking attack came from Codro). Literature, rhetoric, and the arts – beloved offspring of the “creators of myths” and the locations par excellence of myth – were in reality at the pinnacle of the disciplinary hierarchy, able (in spite of every platonic condemnation) to remove the thin and archaic veil from hidden and allusive truth. Already cherished by Boccaccio and clearly present in Poliziano, this intuition through commentaries, introductory lectures, and the speeches of its humanists found in Bologna a center of unceasing research and emphatic approval. Myth, therefore, was the object of narration but above all else the subject that represented the “manifestation” of knowledge. This feature of hermeneutic tension permeated all of Bolognese culture, as much among artists as among humanists and men of letters. Mythological representation in Bologna appears to have been more symbolic-allusive than narrative-descriptive, in contrast to Ferrara, for example, where the presence of a consolidated courtly structure and an ongoing tie to the chivalric epic traditions of the north privileged a form of literature clearly directed toward a playful narrative of myth, to its “entertaining” nature for a court audience.

Restoration of the ancient “forms,” and the privilege accorded to the mythological *fabulae* within them, were thus placed at the center of a hermeneutic circuit common to Bolognese humanists and artists. The latter, particularly in designs and prints, took possession of the allegorical ideas within Beroaldo’s great commentary on Apuleius, or Codro’s influential reading of Homer, or the vernacular poets themselves, in order to give figurative contours to the ancient message of wisdom.

The problem of intersection and interweaving is connected to the question of patrons and beneficiaries. Especially for artists, the passage in status from medieval artisan to humanist courtier involved the necessity of an education suitable to life at court. It was useful for artists to have a knowledge of classical culture, since they had to manage mythological subjects for which, from the 16th century, dictionaries compiled by Cartari, Giralaldi, and Ripa offered a valuable repertoire.⁵¹ Although it is not possible to verify with any certainty which

51 The mythological manual of Vincenzo Cartari’s *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi* can be read in the modern edition by Auzzas, Martignago, Pastore Stocchi and Rigo; the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa in the commentary by Maffei.

texts became part of the essential stock of the workshop, the Quattro and Cinquecento Bolognese ambience, as described here, offers an image of a common circulation and a constant cultural relationship among the diverse disciplinary areas. In this environment the artist was situated in the middle, between a patron and a beneficiary which, in the case of many prints and particularly designs of various artists, presupposed a public more selective and more attentive than that for an altarpiece or a fresco in a church or *palazzo*. The “first” public seems to have been the artists themselves, interested in ownership, for the purposes of study, of reproductions of drawings by the great masters (see the copies of Dürer, for example); or even, for certain prints, one might consider that they were destined to serve as “emblems,” given their conformity to specific literary texts or sayings (*motti*) of strong hermetic significance, similar to the principles of the later *impresistica* and emblematic genres. One could postulate, with recourse to rhetorical language, that the *compositio* of the artist was situated between the *inventio* of the patron and the *dispositio* of a learned counselor, even if at times the first stage might be eliminated if the patron were able to develop the *dispositio* without recourse to the advice of others or when the artist was able to offer an appropriate *dispositio* directly to the patron without intermediaries, as can be seen, for example, in the letters from Raphael to Baldassar Castiglione.

The remarkable development of printing in Bologna between the 15th and 16th century is also evidence of a rapport among literati, typographers, and artists that clearly projects the sense of a humanistic cultural “community,” of a common foundation of civic culture. The university was not the only institution to manage relations in the book trade, indeed a rather diverse number of publishing societies existed (such as that of Puteolano) in cooperative forms, composed of custodians, lecturers, book sellers, and students. Bologna proved itself to be both a driving force and a catalyst also in this area. As noted above, Poliziano preferred to publish in Bologna, and furthermore, Bolognese manuscripts are found in all European libraries. In the flow of books between Bologna and Venice and vice versa the number of Bolognese editions of university texts in Venice increased substantially in the late 15th century.

Strong classical traces and an open-minded acceptance of modernity and the avant-garde thus seem to have permeated Bolognese humanism in many ways, even if it is to classicism (to an original classicism) that one must look in the first instance. Classicism, through the fascination of the myth, permeates the cultural environment of the entire city, from humanist commentators to allegorical parades and representations for festivals and celebrations, including a significant antiquarian-archaeological aspect. Bologna looked to Romagna, and Bologna and Romagna looked to Rome. Biondo Flavio’s influ-

ence is rooted on this axis; it is significant that the principal Bolognese humanists and men of letters were not only collectors of ancient artifacts but also keen observers of monuments, of the remains of great civilizations, so that in Bologna antiquarian-archaeological interests always accompanied the educational program of lectures, men of letters, and graduates, with growing intensity in the Cinque-Seicento (exemplary is the multifaceted personality of Liceti). For a long time, furthermore, the antiquarian passion, based on the hermeneutic *logos* of a rigorously philological stamp, did not tend to oppose the fascination with mythology. Indeed, during the Quattro and Cinquecento, prior to being separated into various disciplinary specialties, the correct reconstruction of the ancient world went hand in hand with the evocation of its hidden knowledge. Furthermore, the endless series of “exercises” and variations imitating antiquity developed by Bolognese artists, far from exhausting itself in a mere repetition of “commonplace” images, acted as a very powerful multiplier of sapiential fable writing. It is impossible to think of the preference given to copying particular monuments, statues, and bas-reliefs (triumphant images, deities, actions emblematic for their “theatrical” drama or comedy, from the death of Meleager to the games of nymphs and satyrs), without linking this privilege to the debates within humanist circles, the interests of literati and patrons, and the widespread taste for antiquity that, thanks to the very exercises of the artists, was already viewed as a “fragment,” a “segmented” gateway to a world whose total recovery appeared chimeric and yet irresistible. Furthermore, the gloss of the commentator, the verse of the *literatus*, the *bon mot* of the *signore*, the engraving and drawing of the artist, closely bound in an environment as vibrant as was Bologna’s in the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento, laid the foundations for genres of Mannerism par excellence, those of *impresistica* and emblems, which, from their Bolognese origins, were to rapidly become European-wide. The Milanese-born Andrea Alciati (1492-1550), considered the “instigator” of the emblematic genre, studied law at Pavia and Bologna (1507-14) and practiced jurisprudence in Bologna. These genres, featuring the “formulation of poetic ideas through concrete images,”⁵² represent something more refined and intellectual than the games of courts and courtiers: they express the tension towards a tolerant and allusive truth that speaks out over the overbearing dogmatism of hegemonic culture that bears the Tridentine seal, using a universal language, in which words and figures together coagulate into a richer density of knowledge. Bocchi’s great work in the late Cinquecento elegantly summarizes the trajectory of a culture and a

52 Moffit, *A Book of Emblems*, pp. 10-11. The emblematic differed from the *impresistica* genre in having an explanatory text.

hermeneutic sphere whose rich origins have been discussed above, a culture that was indeed complex.

Great Attention Turned Again to Myth

The Bolognese scholars Beroaldo, Codro, and Pio, although they were erudite professors, forcefully upheld the cognitive primacy of literature (and in the last instance, art), founding a substantially new disciplinary hierarchy, in which literary scholarship, genetically grounded in mythology, assumed primacy among the cognitive disciplines of the world, as it was the “co-author” of the world and everything that happens therein. Thus we have, in Bologna, a paradox, but only on the surface, if one looks at the great potential of intellectual energies liberated by humanism throughout Italy and Europe. Academics, strongly embedded in the established disciplinary structure of the university, were ready to uproot hierarchical traditions (the primacy of theology, philosophy, science, etc.) and place literature and the mythological fabric that had given it substance since Antiquity, at the center of the curriculum.⁵³

The Bolognese humanists executed a break not only with traditional academic knowledge of Aristotelian and Thomist derivation, but also with other forms of an avant-garde humanism that in those years had turned to recovery of the teachings of Platonism and Neo-Platonism. The Platonic condemnation of art, literature, and ancient myths in the name of the primacy of philosophy and its rational laws (the supremacy of the *logos*) was not accepted nor did any form of radical Platonism penetrate the Bolognese ambience. One must look to Florence, to Landino and Poliziano to find trends in harmony with those prevalent in the Bolognese cultural debate. Since myth and literature were the sources of truth, they had to be investigated and cultivated in their symbolic value, often esoteric (hence the prominence in Bologna of glosses and commentators).

Having overturned the disciplinary hierarchies, the *doctores* also laid the foundations for literature as a new discipline based on the study of myth. This specifically Bolognese situation began to germinate beyond academic and humanist soil in the sense that it influenced the very production of vernacular literature for entertainment and the figurative arts, especially of drawing and printing. Instead of storytelling, the playful narrative of pure entertainment, and the mythological illusion as a refined society game, the *bolognesi* generally preferred the symbolic and allegorical reference, myth as a series of possible initiations to truth, a *viaticum* to knowledge and ethical apprenticeship. From this inclination flowed a whole series of poems, verses, and vernacular

53 Anselmi, “Beroaldo, Codro.”

treatises, and a remarkable production of prints, engravings, drawings, and medals by artists inspired by the same set of values.

Learned Bolognese patrons themselves (notaries, doctors, aristocrats) seem to have been influenced by this climate, and as noted, the lack of a court similar to that found in other Italian cities, discouraged the excessive expansion of literature for pure entertainment, and facilitated the construction of the study of classical literature as a profound pathway to truth, in which literary studies and sapiential methodology joined together with very original results. If the worldly and courtly genre had any impact on the cultural geography of Bologna, it is to be found in the theatrical apparatus and set design for festivals, weddings, banquets, funerals, and triumphant entrances that occurred so frequently in Bologna that they filled entire pages of the period's local chronicles. The Bentivoglio and the major aristocratic families competed in erecting grandiose theater sets. Their dominant tone and choreography were frequently represented by the very myths and mythological allegorical sequences that an entire class of intellectuals and artists had been taught to study and recognize in classical texts. Their message could thus flow back out to a very broad circle and amazed audience – to the entire “city in celebration.”

Archaic popular culture came into contact with a world that was, in short, extraneous to it, and from which it voluntarily kept apart. Certain “forms,” however, were adopted and, although contorted, were re-elaborated in hybrids that in Bologna and in the Romagna gave life to popular arts that were as widespread as they were unique – the literature of almanacs, the rules of fortune telling by card reading and astrology, magic formulas, proverbs, love songs, etc. The classical myth, variously read and enjoyed, was binding together sequences (by means of ancient analogical processes) that were otherwise incompatible. In other words, myth superimposed its entire discourse onto many cultural levels.⁵⁴

Study of the ancient world and classical culture – the essential driving force for the birth and development of the Renaissance movement – thus assumed in Bologna between the mid-Quattrocento and the early Cinquecento a significance and latitude that are indisputable in their originality. Nor is it excessive to assert that classicism in Bologna reached a threshold and that the city became one of its leading creative centers. One must look to the melting pot of Bologna, to the nourishment of its too often neglected Renaissance literature, in order to understand the dominant classical valence of some of the fundamental phenomena of modern culture.

54 Anselmi, “Umanesimo a Bologna.”

Similar open-minded “curiosity,” such as the preeminence of original and autonomous interests concerning the many aspects of ancient culture, or the method of scientific inquiry and moral life, which was new and based on a particular reading of classical texts, assumes even greater significance when one examines the fruit born from its crossbreeding with the powerful strand of Christian culture. This is an important theme for the Renaissance as a whole, but obviously of particular interest for those who study Bologna during that era, who must consider the rich religious and monastic fabric that had always permeated the city. Indeed, the confluence of the new, open-minded humanistic classicism with the Christian tradition produced singular effects in Bologna. All literary genres of the period were rich in the theme of religious and Christian orientation. Devotional poetry, sacred dramas, saints’ lives, and doctrinal explications of orthodox scholastic thought were all common in the university environment, at court, among aristocratic families, and in learned circles; in addition, obviously, to the designated places par excellence (churches, convents, etc.). One finds among the wide-ranging writers of this sphere both the refined work of the humanist Giovanni Garzoni, a Latin rhetorician, educated in the school of the classics, faithful to orthodoxy and later conventionality, next to the mystic ardor of Caterina de’ Vigri, the effective dilettante woman of letters and popular saint. But within learned circles, such a strong presence of orthodox and conventional Christian thought never seems to have crossed over into a blind and a priori dogmatism. For that matter, Beroaldo, Codro, Pio, and Bocchi, when they dedicated themselves to religious reflection, became interpreters of the profound need for renewal, tolerance, reconciliation, and peace among people and factions.

A similar link can be seen between the Latin poems and the treatises of a great humanist poet who lived for many years in Bologna – the Carmelite Giovan Battista Spagnoli, known as Mantovano, who was a tenacious supporter of reforming impulses. The same observation applies to certain splendid pages of commentary by Beroaldo on the prayer to Isis in Apuleius’s *The Golden Ass*, which coexisted alongside the piercing remarks addressed by Cordo to the overly rigid and dogmatic disputes of scholasticism of the time, or to Pio’s notes to the more dramatic and sapiential passages of Lucretius.

Conventional orthodoxy, reforming ferment, and daring reflections on ancient pagan knowledge coexisted in a climate of tolerance that, founded on firm foundations in the Quattrocento, survived at length in Bologna, even into the Seicento, during the height of the Counter Reformation (for example, Bocchi and his circle), and was bowed only with difficulty. Humanist classicism, born in Bologna with the characteristics described above, spread its discourse into the religious sphere itself, ensuring that Bologna was, in this

respect as well, a unique example of the Italian High Renaissance, comparable perhaps only to Venice, whose livelier and more intemperate cultural circles were in close contact with those of Bologna during the Seicento. In Bologna the Renaissance humanist movement was lively, open-minded, attentive to the debates of the fiercest of the Italian avant-garde and engrossed at the same time in a rich and original study of the ancient world.

Confirmation of these tendencies can also be seen in the very rapid growth of Bolognese publishing and printers. Rich production of manuscripts was quickly replaced in the second half of the Quattrocento by equally wide-ranging editorial activity. The importance of printing was immediately understood by humanists, scholars, professors, and patrons, so that in the space of 50 years, not only were all the classics printed in Bologna, including some translations of works of fundamental importance, but also many of the above-mentioned commentaries, the most variegated scientific and philosophical texts, the production of many poets of the time (for example, Poliziano), and the works of the great vernacular poets of past centuries. Bolognese editions numbered over 400 even before the Cinquecento. Printing fully satisfied the needs of the university and the conventual centers: it met the increasing demand of learned readers and students; it flexibly adapted to the most disparate demands of authors (glossed or illustrated texts). Bologna was an early adopter of printing as a significant multiplier and disseminator of the humanistic and Renaissance thought described above.

Vernacular Literature

This exquisitely Bolognese method of annotating, elucidating, and thoroughly examining ancient texts, almost canonizing their classicism, had its equivalent in the treatment of great authors of Tuscan vernacular literature, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Indeed, in Bologna these authors' works were studied, edited, and imitated with passion and assiduity – the Bolognese literary environment was among the first to establish these works as models par excellence of vernacular literature.

The veneration of Dante in Bologna that had developed from his years in Ravenna is well-known: it was continued uninterruptedly from the Tre to the Cinquecento by humanists and the learned professional classes. The Petrarch of the *Canzoniere* was rapidly assimilated and Bologna became the starting point from which this particular Petrarchan strand of Italian poetry assumed its great importance throughout Cinquecento Italy. The allegorical and erudite works of Boccaccio were also widely collected, clearly appealing to the taste of Bolognese humanism (from the *Amorosa visione* to the *Genealogiae deorum gentilium*), as well as his narrative texts, above all the *Decameron*. The latter

was widely read at court and by various social classes of the city, and furthermore found in Bologna one of its worthiest imitators in Sabadino degli Arienti, author of the *Porettane*. Arienti also wrote a work with Petrarchan antecedents in the *laude* genre (*Gynevera delle Clare Donne*), in praise of 32 women, while he was at the Bentivoglio court, followed by Ercole Marescotti's *Dell'eccellenza della donna* in 1589.⁵⁵ Thus within the Bolognese literary environment not only was the ancient world viewed with new eyes, but also at the same time modern vernacular literature was embraced by enthusiastic admirers.

Although this enthusiasm did not produce a great masterpiece, it did generate such a rich proliferation of texts and authors that it made Renaissance Bologna one of the most important centers for the diffusion of certain relevant literary traditions. In the field of poetry, Giusto de' Conti (1390-1449) was long active at Bologna and his *canzoniere* is an admirable and early example of Petrarchism and linguistic purism. In this field one also finds poets such as Nicola Malpighi or the notary Giovan Battista Refrigerio, the latter a typical exponent of a professional class in Bologna that was especially open to literary interests. In 1472 he edited the *Canzoniere* of Giusto de' Conti. Cesare Nappi was also a notary (1440-1518), whose inspiration extended beyond the boundaries of Petrarchism to features of a variously polemical, carnivalesque, and playful character. The same can be said for other 15th- and 16th-century poets: Giovanni Andrea Garisendi (c.1470-1525), Bornio da Sala (c.1400-69), Angelo Michele Salimbeni (d. 1517), and Sebastiano Aldrovandi (b. 1456). Again, Bolognese literature was not linked to the court as much as it was to the multiple interests of the learned *bolognesi*.

The allegorical and mythological strand found a prominent protagonist in the vernacular in the *Viridario*, a mythological and pedagogical poem by Filoteo Achillini (1466-1538). Achillini also edited, in 1504, the *Collettanee*, in memory of the great poet Serafino Aquilano, a collection of Latin, Greek, and vernacular poems by many Italian poets of the era, who enthusiastically participated in the initiative, the first of its kind on such a large, national scale. This cultural and editorial enterprise sanctioned the formation of a "poetic constitution" of Italian courtly lyric poetry: the initiative began in Bolognese literary circles. Throughout the Cinquecento, Bologna became a place of "transit" for successful poets from other regions, as it already had for humanists, scientists, and professors.

Although, as noted above, the role of the Bentivoglio as patrons of literature was not great (the discourse would be different for other arts and disciplines), the family was important in this area as well. Great humanists such as Beroaldo

55 Murphy, "In praise of the ladies of Bologna."

and Codro, despite their dependence on the university, maintained close relations with the *signori* of Bologna. Many literati and humanists passing through the city received hospitality and subsidies from the Bentivoglio; and there was an entire strand of literary production, in poetry and prose, learned works and works inspired by folk tradition, treatises and historiography, predominantly in the vernacular, that lauded the Bentivoglio *signoria*.

The most refined and distinguished product of this court literature is the *Porettane* of Sabadino degli Arienti (1445-1510), a notary with close ties to the Bentivoglio. Composed in 1478, the *Porettane* is a collection of 71 short stories which the author portrays as being recounted over a period of five days by a group of noble men and women from the entourage of Andrea Bentivoglio, who were at the baths of Porretta in the summer of 1475. The tone, in its form and contents, is moderate; its worldly and elegant allusiveness is fed by many suggestions from humanistic circles; “the art of conversing” is at the heart of this refined courtly entertainment. The debts to Boccaccio are evident yet do not compromise its originality. The late *operetta* by Sabadino, the *Descrizione del giardino della Viola* (referring to the villa of Annibale Bentivoglio and Lucrezia d’Este), is the delightful and delicate product of a courtly literature that was not as fruitful at Bologna as it was elsewhere, but sufficient to please even today’s reader.⁵⁶ Throughout the Renaissance a rich production of texts inspired by folk tradition was also maintained at Bologna, such as theater performances with a religious background, saints’ lives, songs on love or satirical songs in dialect, and goliardic productions. The latter were particularly vigorous given the constant presence of students and young people in the city. Bologna was thus a city of variegated literary environments, extending from the learned circles of humanists and jurists to the writers of courtly and folk-inspired works, but one in which creative efforts crossed boundaries in a singular and efficacious mode.

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⁵⁶ James, *Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*; Quaquarelli, “Clara gente e camere pinte.”

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Painters, Miniaturists, and Goldsmiths (mid-13th-early 15th Century)

Raffaella Pini

The Guilds

The Duecento represents the golden age of Bologna: under its communal institutions the city prospered and with it the *studium*, the latter the veritable foundation of an economy undergoing strong growth. It is not surprising therefore to find in this setting miniaturists, who specialized in the ornamentation of juridical codices, and goldsmiths, producers of luxury goods (belts, buckles, etc.), true status symbols to which students, for the most part young and well-to-do, frequently turned,¹ but it is surprising to learn how very high was the number of such artists (242 of the 792 members of the *Arte dei Fabbri* at the end of the 13th century).² The figure is even more startling when compared to the number of goldsmiths in other cities; for example in larger Milan in 1311 there were “only” 96 members of the goldsmiths’ guild and in larger and wealthier Florence between 1323-27 there were 24 members in the guild.³

At the time the earliest communal statutes were redacted (1250-67), when the number of societies admitted to the government was fixed at 21, the goldsmiths already constituted one of the largest subgroups of the *Arte dei Fabbri*, a complex federation of guilds whose members practiced a metallurgical craft.⁴ In the course of a few decades, however, the goldsmiths gained ever-greater importance within the federation and at the end of the 1280s presented themselves as a well-defined group able to formulate their own statutes. The earliest statutes of the goldsmiths (1288) established a series of specific norms that would regulate the production of precious metals and provide constant control over the places, tools, and workers of their craft. These rubrics empha-

1 Pini, “La presenza dello Studio”; Idem, “Lo Studio. Un faro culturale.”

2 R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, p. 16.

3 Romagnoli, *Le matricole degli orefici*, p. 24; Guidotti, “Gli orafi e l’oreficeria,” esp. pp. 172-73.

4 For an exhaustive study of the society of the *Fabbri*, see Tavoni, *Gli statuti della società*; for the birth and evolution of the society of the goldsmiths, see R. Pini, “Cento anni di storia”; Eadem, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 11-23.

size, moreover, dispositions relative to admission to the society and to its management (election of *massari*, syndics, a notary and a nuncio). In 1293 the goldsmiths were still a dependent part of the *Arte dei Fabbri*, but just a few years later achieved autonomy, probably in 1298, when the *matricula* of the goldsmiths was separated from that of the *Fabbri*.⁵ In 1299 statutes were redacted in which the "*societas aurificum*" is identified as a distinctive category,⁶ signaling the beginning of a phase of prosperity and strong expansion for the society. It was in this period that Manno di Bandino da Siena, who was living and working in Bologna, carried out the imposing *Statue of Boniface VIII* (234 cm) which was placed on the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico in 1301.⁷ The simulacrum, gilded with embossed copper, depicts the pope in an act of benediction. One must mentally recreate the missing keys of Saint Peter that once were clutched in his left hand, the diadem placed on his chest, linked to the edges of his short cape, and probably other decorations on the tiara (Fig. 20.1). The statue was one in a strong current of celebratory representations of Boniface VIII (statues at Anagni, Orvieto, Florence, and Rome),⁸ but this statue was of local distinctiveness in its use of copper, a material employed in manual labor, instead of marble, and in the nature of the craftsman himself – a goldsmith rather than a sculptor; a choice, I contend, that expresses the willingness of the commune to recognize the increased political and social prominence of the goldsmiths.

What might explain the accelerated pace of the goldsmiths' emancipation within the brief period of one decade, from issuance of the statutes of 1288 in which they comprised a subgroup (*membrum*) to those of 1299 where they are recognized as an independent *societas*? Certainly the high number of those matriculated, almost one-third of the entire *Arte dei Fabbri*, played an important role in the society's gaining autonomy, but a factor equally important may have been the economic prosperity of the goldsmiths, stemming from the presence of the *studium* with its dense and rich ranks of students. It was not by chance that the majority of goldsmiths lived in the quarter of Porta Procola, where the schools of the *legisti* were located, and that a significant percentage also lived in Porta Stiera, location of the *artisti*.⁹ Luxury was not an exclusive prerogative of the students, of course, and the repeated attempts of the com-

5 The membership lists of the goldsmiths from 1267, 1298 (with additions to 1313), and 1410 (with additions to 1797) are published in R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 121-40.

6 ASB, Capitano del Popolo, Società d'Arti e Armi, Busta gbis.

7 R. Pini, "La statua di Bonifacio VIII"; Eadem, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 49-56.

8 Gardner, "Boniface VIII as a patron."

9 Cavazza, *Le scuole*, p. 65 for the location of the *legisti* and p. 119 for the *artisti*.



FIGURE 20.1 *Manno di Bandino*, statue of Boniface VIII. MUSEO CIVICO MEDIEVALE DI BOLOGNA.

mune to limit luxury by statute indicate how much the *cives* as well as the students were accustomed to turn to the work of these artisans. The causes that brought the goldsmiths to independence may thus only be inferred, but it is certain and noteworthy that this society was the first to be officially recognized by the commune beyond the number of 21 corporations that had been fixed in the statutes of 1250-67, a number that had remained stable for decades.¹⁰

The sources for locating the residences of the miniaturists are not as rich as those for the goldsmiths but do show that they also had a strong preference for Porta Procola.¹¹ The production of books in Duecento Bologna had become the most unique artisanal industry of its economy and continued its important role in the following century. Production of a book required a long, costly, and laborious process which integrated the work of diverse professionals: from parchment-makers to the *scriptores* who transcribed the texts which were then reviewed by the *correctores*.¹² The miniaturists' function at the end of production was to "illuminate" individual letters at the beginning of a line or entire pages of the text.¹³ Shortly after the middle of the 13th century, thanks to the continuing expansion of the *studium*, the city faced an increasing demand for books, especially for juridical texts, and in the lay *scriptoria* new techniques were developed to shorten production, for example, the *littera nova* or *littera bononiensis* and the new decorative module of the "early style," with rapidly written characters in cursive.¹⁴ Jacopino da Reggio, a *scriptor* and miniaturist active at Bologna in the last 30 years of the 13th century, was an eminent leader in this early phase – for example, his signed rendition of the Gratian *Decretum* (Vat. Lat. 1375, fol. 350r) offered a style of swift drafting within a limited range of colors, mainly of red lead, orange, green, and blue. At the close of the century the work of miniaturists at Bologna (Oderisi da Gubbio and Franco

10 *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, Bk. 11, Rubric 182 "Quod ordinamenta seu reformationes facta et reformata per omnes et singulas societates artium et armorum civitatis bon. et per universum populum sub anno m.cc.lvij. sint firma et rata," vol. 3, pp. 446-54, esp. pp. 451-62.

11 Between 1348 and 1430, 146 painters and 25 miniaturists can be documented at Bologna. R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori*, pp. 37-38.

12 On the organization of the *botteghe* of the Bolognese miniaturists in the early Trecento, see D'Arcais, "L'organizzazione del lavoro." Production was of a "semi-industrial" nature with the bookseller (*stationarius*) hiring out several quires (*peciae*) of an exemplar to various scribes, a system that made production faster and more accurate.

13 On the activity of the *scriptoria* tied to the *studium*, see Medica, "La città dei libri." On the illumination of juridical texts in Bologna, see L'Engle, "The Illumination."

14 Conti, *La miniatura bolognese*; Medica, "La città dei libri."

Bolognese) was recognized universally and celebrated in Dante's *Purgatory* (XI. 82-84).¹⁵ In the following years courtly models in the Byzantine tradition evolved, as in the "second style" of the Master of the Gerona Bible, with a greater plasticism of Giottoesque grandeur developing at the dawn of the Trecento.

The advent in the city of Cardinal legate Bertrand du Pouget (1327) put an end to the communal regime; the guilds were consequently deprived of the political power they had held since the early decades of the 13th century and were returned to their original economic role and function as societies of mutual aid. The profound economic crisis of the following decades was relieved only in part with the birth of the "second commune" in 1376, at which time the goldsmiths revived and redacted new statutes in 1383. However, the new normative *corpus* reflects changed political and economic conditions: the local market had recovered but was still far from the level of the late Duecento and early Trecento, in which the society of the goldsmiths had so prospered. Their statutes manifest a protectionist attitude and a concern of a socioeconomic character that made it more difficult for new members to be admitted to the society; the days of closure were more closely regulated and the level of fines was raised.¹⁶

Establishment of the "second commune" in 1376 was accompanied by a general reorganization of the guilds to make them more consonant with actual economic conditions. It was in this context that the guild of the *Quattro Arti* was formed, comprising the saddlers, shield-makers, sword-makers, and the painters and miniaturists (who joined the guild in 1399). It was an artificial association whose components had little in common except that their members worked with primary materials such as leather, and that aspects of their work included decorating those primary materials (the "daily work" of the painters was above all the decoration of weapons, shields, and other urban and domestic furnishings).¹⁷ Like the goldsmiths, the *Quattro Arti* show a strong protectionist tendency in their statutes, probably in response to the negative impact of political upheavals and the lack of a stable government during the course of the Trecento. The great architectural projects of the late Trecento

15 Despite the fame of the Bolognese miniaturists in the Duecento, the school's importance, as Robert Gibbs has noted, has been neglected, possibly because of the "manifestly flat quality of [its] book decoration and a remarkably pure emulation of Byzantine art at its most refined." Gibbs, "Recent Developments," esp. p. 638.

16 New members had to pay an entrance fee of 25 *lire*; foreigners remained excluded, but could practice the craft after depositing 50 *lire* and promising complete adherence to the statutes. R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 21-23.

17 R. Pini, "Le Società"; Eadem, *Il mondo dei pittori*, pp. 145-58.

employed masons and architects and only later painters, leaving the latter group in continued difficulty that contributed to their protectionist policies. The political situation also diminished the number of requests for works of art and caused a significant fall in patronage from the ruling class, in contrast to other regions (e.g., Florence and Siena) where the development of local schools of painting was greatly favored. To be sure, there were important years of intense artistic activity, as in the 1330s when Cardinal legate du Pouget had a sumptuous fortress built at Porta Galliera to receive Pope Giovanni XXII on his re-entry from Avignon. The fortress-palazzo was embellished with precious furnishings, liturgical objects, polyptyches, tapestries, sculptures (the altar of Giovanni di Balduccio survives), and even frescoes by the great Giotto.¹⁸ For a brief period Bologna became a destination for well-known artists and strongly attracted their more obscure colleagues, seduced by the mirage of work and a pontifical court.¹⁹ The citizen insurrection of March 1334 and the subsequent destruction of the fortress ended papal plans and the hope of commissions for many artists. To be sure, in the following decades Bologna was a theater of urbanistic changes with the opening of new building sites and the enlargement of pre-existing ones, above all the churches of the mendicant orders, palazzi for the Pepoli *signori* and for the lieutenants of foreign *signori* (Rocca di San Felice), and the construction of university colleges, especially that of the Collegio di Spagna in Porta Procula in 1368. The latter project offered important and remunerative opportunities for masons and *lapicidi*, and for painters as well, who were called upon to carry out simple decorative tasks (comparable today to plastering),²⁰ but also to execute true “artistic” works. Andrea de’ Bartoli was commissioned to paint frescoes in the chapel of San Clemente – the *Annunciation*, the *Adoration of the Kings*, and the *Ascension*,²¹ and Lippo degli Scannabecchi (known as Lippo di Dalmasio) the beautiful *Madonna of Humility* in the same chapel.²²

But these few, sporadic building projects could not absorb and maintain the presence of these renowned artists and other great masters, such as Vitale degli Equi (called Vitale da Bologna) and Iacopo Avanzi, who were forced to migrate to other cities in search of more generous patronage. Later in the century, however, under the impetus of the “second commune” – the *signoria del popolo e delle arti* (1376-1401) – buildings for the guilds (Palazzo della Mercanzia,

18 Medica, *Giotto e le arti*.

19 Castelnuovo, “Bologna come Avignone.”

20 Filippini and Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna. Documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV*, p. 210.

21 Filippini, “Andrea da Bologna”; Volpe, “Per il problema,” pp. 45-54.

22 Lucco, “Lippo di Dalmasio,” pp. 57-60; Boggi and Gibbs, *The Life and Career*.

Palazzo dei Notai) and above all initiation of the great project of the basilica of San Petronio marked another period of activity, one reflected in the changed status of the painters.

In the 1380s, when their first statute was redacted, the painters occupied a position of relatively little importance within the *Quattro Arti*, but after only a few years (and here initiation of the great building project of San Petronio in 1390 must have played a part) their prominence was significant. In the *matricula* of 1410 one finds the names of all the painters at the highest level in Bologna, including Iacopo di Paolo, Cristoforo di Iacopo, and Francesco Lola. However, in contrast to earlier years, painting at Bologna had become a “family affair,” and the *societas pictorum* required its members to inscribe their sons in the guild as soon as they reached 14 years of age. Indeed, with the exception of Bartolomeo di Geminiano *de terra de Mutina* and his son Giorgio, all those inscribed were *bolognesi*; the most outstanding absence from the list is Giovanni di Pietro Faloppi (known as Giovanni da Modena). Active and a *habitans Bononie* at least since 1409,²³ he was inscribed in the guild as an associate only in 1440 together with his son Cesare. Apparently he had entered the guild as an *obbediente* and only after having lived at Bologna for 20 years had become a *civis bononiensis* and was then able to move to the status of full guild associate.

In the early years of the 15th century, with the end of the “second commune,” the guilds definitively lost their political power but not their economic significance: the painters increased in importance until they separated in 1570 from the *Quattro Arti* (thereafter called the *Tre Arti*).²⁴ After a brief interval of union with the *Bombasari*, the painters constituted an autonomous guild whose first statutes were redacted in 1602.²⁵ In 1709 the guild of painters essentially dissolved, with the majority of its members entering the more prestigious Accademia dell’Istituto or Accademia Clementina, in imitation of the Roman Accademia di San Luca which combined painters with sculptors and architects. The guild of the goldsmiths, however, continued to operate until the Napoleonic suppression of 1797.

23 Filippini and Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna documenti del secolo xv*, p. 84. On the presence of foreign painters and miniaturists in Bologna, see R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori*, pp. 37–50.

24 On the guilds in the early modern period, see Gheza Fabbri, *L'organizzazione del lavoro*. For the painters' guild, Malaguzzi Valeri, “L'arte dei pittori,” pp. 309–14.

25 Cammarota, “Cronache della compagnia,” pp. 62–64.

The *Bottega*: A Family Affair

The list of those inscribed in the *matricula* of the goldsmiths of 1298 reveals a constellation of workshops of a rather large size, characterized by well-consolidated family structures: at least 81 kinship groups, composed generally of two or four components, but in two cases even of seven, for a total of 202 artisans, constituting 53 per cent of the total membership (378), to the point where it is possible to speak of a kind of "professional caste."²⁶ Ease of admission into the society was not the only advantage of a member's son: he gained, from an early age, diligent instruction in the paternal craft, otherwise only taught in a workshop during an apprenticeship. To learn a craft, he who was not a "son of the guild" was sent, while still a child, to the *bottega* of a master, for a period of variable duration but which in order to gain greater proficiency, had to begin precociously. The direct transmission of technical knowledge from master to disciple was strictly regulated by the guilds which established specific norms on the duration and conditions of apprenticeship, formalized through a notarial contract.²⁷ For the goldsmiths the apprenticeship was initiated before completion of the child's 14th year and could last for five or seven years.²⁸

The "flight" of an apprentice could carry serious consequences, weakening the work force and threatening an eventual diffusion of techniques that had been learned at the workshop. The preservation of such knowledge was obviously better protected in the *botteghe* managed by members of the same family. Considering that the craft of the goldsmith consisted principally of precision work in metals, and that even more often the craft was tied to empirical experimentation, one can understand how the familial structure typical of many goldsmith workshops would have constituted an efficacious safeguard of the workshop's secrets. Sons were therefore encouraged to pursue the work of their fathers and even the wives, daughters, and sisters of goldsmiths were able to find space within this family activity.²⁹ Moreover, sons were often encouraged to specialize in different sectors of the craft or in related ones, as for example in the case of the da Roffeno family, in which Giovanni di Rodolfo was a goldsmith and miniaturist, his brother Andrea a miniaturist, his son Giovanni a painter, and Andreolo a *scriptor*.³⁰ The celebrated Iacopo Roseto, artisan of

26 R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 30-36.

27 For the evolution of notarial formularies, see Greci, *Corporazioni e mondo del lavoro*, pp. 162-75.

28 Samaja, "L'Arte degli orefici," pp. 32-33.

29 Samaja, "L'Arte degli orefici," p. 35.

30 Filippini and Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna. Documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV*, p. 10.

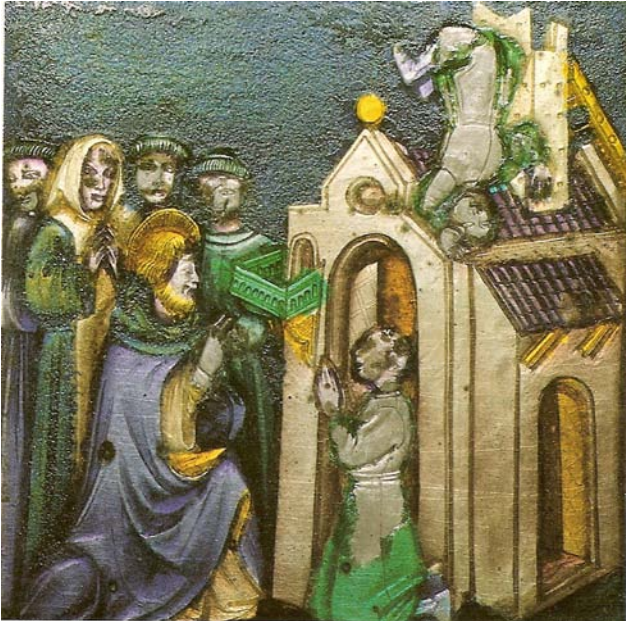


FIGURE 20.2
*Iacopo Roseto, reliquary
 of Saint Petronius,*
 Miracle of the Fallen
 Worker during the
 Construction of Holy
 Jerusalem. MUSEO DI
 SANTO STEFANO DI
 BOLOGNA.

the *Reliquary of Saint Petronius* (1380) and the *Reliquary of Saint Dominic* (1383), was the son of the miniaturist Alberto di Prendiparte Azzi and brother of the well-known Stefano di Alberto Azzi.³¹ The latter, some of whose works have survived, was active in the second half of the Trecento, and together with Nicolò di Giacomo (for whom see below), ranked among the most skillful and esteemed artisans of the “second commune,” so much so as to have gained for himself a fair patrimony of properties and to have held public offices.³² Iacopo Roseto’s relationship with a family of miniaturists and his having become accustomed to the techniques, designs, and composite models closely correlated to the goldsmith’s art, may well explain the naturalness and narrative expressivity that he succeeded in giving to the enamels of his reliquaries. Called for in the Statutes of 1376 and executed in 1380, the *Reliquary of Saint Petronius* is a masterpiece not only of the goldsmith’s art, but also of sculpture, architecture, and painting³³ (Fig. 20.2, 20.3). In the enamels of the plinth, the life of the saint unfolds for the first time with a narrative rhythm that is

³¹ R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 65–67.

³² On the Azzi family, see R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 65–66 and 129–43 for his patrimony and public offices. On the miniaturist Stefano di Alberto Azzi, see Avril, “Azzi, Stefano”; Medica, “Azzi, Stefano di Alberto.”

³³ R. Pini, *Oreficeria e potere*, pp. 65–72.

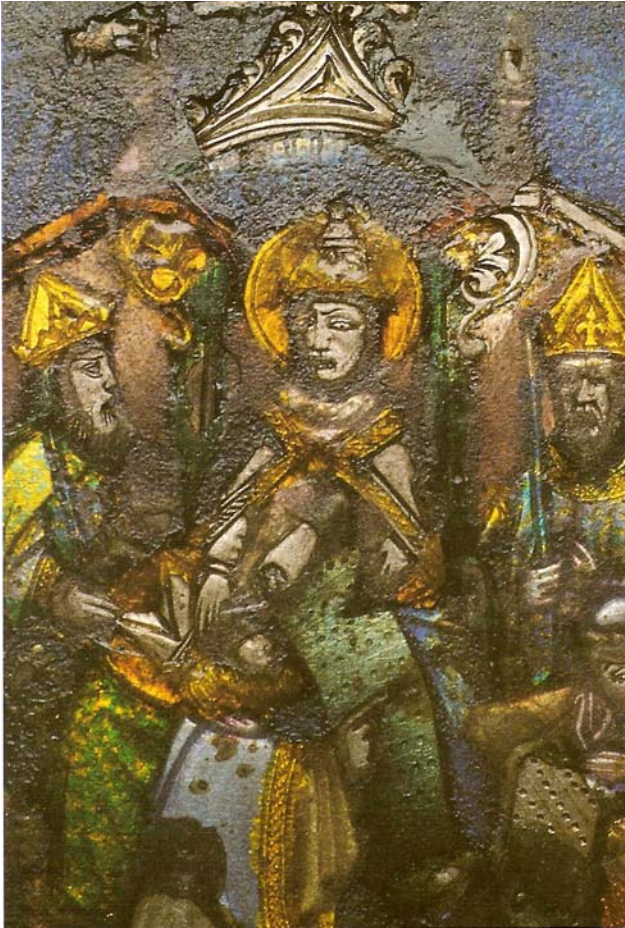


FIGURE 20.3
*Jacopo Roseto, reliquary
 of Saint Petronius,
 Concession of the
 Theodosian Privilege.
 MUSEO DI SANTO
 STEFANO DI BOLOGNA.*

vivacious and intense. In vibrant colors – yellow, green, blue, and violet – of translucent enamel, personages are animated against a background of architecture without any iconographic precedent, for example, the details of the mariners spreading the sails in the episode of the saint's departure from Constantinople, or the ploughman with oxen and *carroccio* at the saint's entrance into Bologna. The account is portrayed in eight quadrangular plates, larger than the traditional polylobed blocks, and hence would have been more visible to the jubilant faithful who accompanied the procession. The story of Petronius is set in late Trecento Bologna in scenes dominated by crenelated towers and gothic-echoing buildings with double-lancet windows and pointed arches. The saint himself, just like the other represented personages, is dressed in clothes of medieval fashion and with a heavy beard that frames his face. The

reliquary fixed, for the first time, the Petronian iconography and established a set image followed by artists of that time and succeeding generations in the popularization of the saint's cult.

Family ties thus constituted the hinge of many of the goldsmiths' *botteghe*. Some dynasties endured for more than two centuries, such as the Pellacane, Vedocacci, Lodovisi, Gombruti, Canonici, and Sclarici. In addition to blood ties there were ties of affinity established through marriage, which solidified alliances among associates and guaranteed a certain homogeneity in production. The same policy of protection of the craft through the nuclear family characterized the painters. I have found 15 kinship groups comprising approximately 40 individuals, related by a blood tie or by marriage.³⁴ Thus we have the clans of Cristoforo di Iacopo, Dalmasio degli Scannabecchi, and Iacopo di Paolo. Cristoforo di Iacopo was the son of the painter Iacopo di Benintendi, called *il Biondo*, and father of Nicolò, registered in the *Quattro Arti* in 1410. The well-known painter Dalmasio degli Scannabecchi, active in Bologna and in Tuscany, married the sister of Simone di Filippo (known as Simone dei Crocefissi) and was the father of Lippo di Dalmasio, a highly esteemed artist in Bologna. Simone himself married the daughter of the painter Gerardino di Giovanni. But perhaps the most emblematic example of a family of artists is that constituted by Nicolò di Giacomo and Iacopo di Paolo and his sons. Head of this long dynasty of painters, which continued at least until the early years of the 16th century, was the painter Iacopo di Nascimbene, identified by Robert Gibbs as the father of the miniaturist Nicolò di Giacomo.³⁵ Nicolò had a brother, Paolo (father of Iacopo) and a sister Iacopa (mother of Andreuccia). Discovery of the tie between Andreuccia, Nicolò, and Iacopo supplies the missing link for reconstructing this clan's genealogy, a tie that joins the miniaturist Nicolò di Giacomo to the painter Iacopo di Paolo.

Iacopo di Paolo was extremely successful in combining his eclectic artistic talent with his gifts as an impresario-head of a *bottega*. He died between 1402 and 1404 without heirs and it was then the task of his nephew Iacopo to carry forward the ancestral craft. The latter not only became one of the highest paid and sought-after artists in Bologna but also expanded his family's professional sphere: of his 12 sons for whom we have documentation, three were painters (Paolo, Pietro, and Orazio) and two daughters married painters (Caterina with Bartolomeo di Bartolomeo degli Erri da Modena and Lucia with Michele di Matteo). Furthermore, six sons of Orazio are listed among the painters inscribed in the guild in 1441, proof of the continuing and flourishing activity

34 Of these 14 were *bolognesi* and one a *modenese* (the degli Erri). R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori*, pp. 51-67.

35 Gibbs, "Two Families," p. 567.

of the family *bottega*. One of the great advantages of this style of family workshop was the diversification of its production: Jacopo (nephew of Iacopo di Paolo) was a painter, miniaturist, sculptor, goldsmith, and engineer, and his sons also were multi-disciplinary in their work. This variety of specializations made it possible to respond to a variegated and changing market; thus the *bottega* of Iacopo produced tables, polyptyches, flags, banners, weapons, miniatures, and other types of artistic objects.

If Iacopo di Paolo epitomizes the most successful of artistic entrepreneurs, Nicolò di Giacomo, celebrated for his creativity in the depiction of narrative scenes, represents the pinnacle of artistic achievement among the ranks of the miniaturists. During the second half of the 14th century he and to a lesser extent his disciple Stefano di Alberto Azzi held a virtual monopoly over the decoration of manuscripts for the commune and guilds, and his productive *bottega* met almost the entire market demand tied to book production, from the decoration of statutes to the illustration of liturgical and juridical texts.

In his illuminations Nicolò di Giacomo combined artistic innovation with communal traditions of professional values to capture the desired expression of civic patriotism and guild loyalty to the "second commune" and to legitimize the leadership role of the guilds³⁶ (Fig. 20.4). He also incorporated the iconography of Bolognese pastoral cults into this ideology, in recognition of the reconciled relationship between the commune and the papacy, for example, in his decorations of the communal statutes of 1376. There he joined republican and signorial values, especially in his strategic positioning of images of Saint Peter, the first Bolognese patron saint, at the beginning of the first two books treating the magistracies of the *anziani*, *podestà* and *capitano del popolo* and also in the middle of the second book at the rubric concerning the election of the *capitano del popolo*.³⁷ One of the last of his great enterprises was the decorative cycle he was commissioned to execute by the commune for the *Libri del Monte di Pubbliche Prestanze* in 1394, a task of significant political importance. The five books contained the names of citizens, four for each quarter and one for ecclesiastical entities, who were registered to provide loans to the commune, representing a radical reform in public finance, symbolized by the unusual richness of the manuscript's decoration, with its 45 figures and 25 emblems³⁸ (Fig. 20.5, 20.6).

36 Giansante, "Politica in miniatura," passim and pp. 529-31 for the manuscripts illuminated by Nicolò and Stefano Azzi. Giansante presents a revision of recent historiography which he maintains has undervalued the vitality of the communal revival.

37 Giansante, "Politica in miniatura," pp. 536-37. Also see Medica, "Miniatura e committenza."

38 Giansante, "Politica e Miniatura," pp. 544-47. On the relationship between the iconography of the miniaturists and the changing political ideology that accompanied the shifts from



FIGURE 20.4 Nicolò di Giacomo, Statuto degli Orefici, 1383. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA, CODICI MINIATI, 25.



FIGURE 20.5 Nicolò di Giacomo, *Libro dei creditori del Monte di pubbliche prestanze*, *Quarter of Porta Ravennana*, 1394. Saint Petronius holding a model of the city. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA, CODICI MINIATI, 25.



FIGURE 20.5 *Nicolò di Giacomo*, Libro dei creditori del Monte di pubbliche prestanze, *Quarter of Porta Ravegnana*, 1394. Top row Saints Peter, Paul, Ambrose; middle row Saints Dominic, Francis, Florian; bottom row coats of arms of the king of France, Pope Boniface IX, and the popolo bolognese. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA, CODICI MINIATI, 25.

Monumental Art during the Trecento and Early Quattrocento

The spheres of Bolognese miniature and monumental painting were quite distinctive, in contrast, for example, to Tuscany, where artists often worked in both areas and applied the same style to both types of painting.³⁹ A survey of the most significant works in monumental art in late medieval Bologna is particularly daunting because of the almost total loss suffered during the Counter Reformation and the 18th century of the frescoes that ornamented the urban churches, from the cathedral of San Pietro to the churches of the most important religious orders.⁴⁰ Historical and touring literature of the 17th and 18th centuries, which offers direct testimony to a patrimony then more varied and extensive, was focused particularly on transmitting information tied to the tradition of devotional memory, to the detriment of our knowledge of the actual works.⁴¹ The only two figurative samples of any fullness upon which to base a study of Bolognese painting of this period are the cycle from the oratory of the small suburban church of Sant'Apollonia (or di Mezzaratta) and the frescoes in the basilica of San Petronio, which served as strong catalytic magnets for the principal urban artistic masters.

Situated halfway up a steep slope (*rata* in vernacular) on the hill leading to the monastery of the Franciscan Observants, the Oratory of Mezzaratta was the ancient seat of a confraternity that brought comfort to those condemned to death and offered shelter to pilgrims, at least until 1352 when the brothers were transferred to the city, to the *strada* San Mamolo to open a hospital later called "Buon Gesù."⁴² The oratory had a cycle of frescoes (only a little more than half have survived, located today in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna) with episodes from the Old and New Testaments, executed by a concourse of different artists, first between 1335-40 and then c.1450.⁴³ Given the non-coordinated nature of the scenes and their placement at various levels (three on the south wall, two on the north wall), the pictorial complex must have consisted

communal governments of the *popolo* to the signorial regimes of the 14th century, see Idem, "Miniatura e potere," esp. pp. 14-15.

39 Gibbs, "Recent Developments," p. 640.

40 For a broad survey of Bolognese painting during this period, see Benati, "Pittura del Trecento," pp. 208-25; Grandi, "La pittura tardogotica," pp. 222-27.

41 D'Amico, "Modi e fortune," p. 55.

42 Fanti, *Confraternite*, pp. 57-58.

43 The most systematic and complete examination of the Mezzaratta frescoes is in Castagnoli, Conti and Ferretti, *Pittura bolognese del '300*, pp. 136-48; also see Gibbs, "Two Families," pp. 460-67; Idem, "Cristoforo da Bologna"; Benati, *Jacopo Avanzi*, pp. 43-56; Skerl Del Conte, *Vitale da Bologna*; Volpe, *Mezzaratta*.

of votive frescoes, painted at intervals by a patronage of a devotional character and hence tied to irregularly-paced donations, which would explain the time-spread in the depicted stories.

The iconographic program must therefore have been established in general early on: on the left wall were the stories of the New Testament, on the right those of the Old Testament. Art historians are generally in accord that the pictorial undertaking was initiated c.1345 by Vitale degli Equi (known as Vitale da Bologna) and his *bottega* with the *Stories of Christ* and the vibrant execution of the *Nativity* and the *Annunciation* on the entrance wall. Next to those works were executed some features by his followers, identifiable through their signatures, as in the case of the "Symon" (or Simone di Filippo) who signed the *Healing of the Paralytic* on the lower level and to whom belong also the *Circumcision*, the *Presentation at the Temple* and perhaps the *Slaughter of the Innocents*; and of "Jacobus," painter of the *Pool of Bethesda*, and, together with "Symon," the *Adoration of the Kings*.

The eastern wall, subdivided into three sections, with the *Stories of Isaac and Joseph* in the first, *Moses* in the second, and in the third and lower section some biblical episodes whose subjects are difficult to identify, datable however to c.1450, presents greater problems of attribution because of the evident presence of different "hands." The signature of "Jacobus," which appears in the label between the episodes of *Joseph Sold to the Merchants by his Brothers* and the *Lamentation of Job*, has led Robert Gibbs to identify this painter with Iacopo del Biondo, father of Cristoforo, and to propose Iacopo and his son Cristoforo as the painters of all the *Stories of Isaac and Joseph*, since the presence of both artists is evident in the upper level.⁴⁴

The middle level with the *Stories of Moses* represents the thorniest problem in attribution since the distinctive characteristics of three painters have been identified. The first three scenes (the *Fall of Manna*, *The Striking of the Rock*, *Moses Receiving the Ten Commandments and the Breaking of the Idols of the Hebrews*),⁴⁵ might belong to the painter indicated as "Cristoforus" by the signature as read by Vasari,⁴⁶ and then referred to as such in all successive literature, while the painter of the *Slaughter of the Idolatrous Hebrews* was probably Iacopo Avanzi.⁴⁷ *The Giving of the Tablets to the People* and *The Punishment of the Rebels to the Priesthood of Aaron* should be ascribed to Iacopo di Paolo.

44 Gibbs, "Two Families."

45 This is the Cristoforo di Iacopo del Biondo who also was the painter of the *Storie di Santa Maria Egiziaca* in the church of San Giacomo at Bologna, and of various *tavole*.

46 Vasari, *Le Vite*, p. 281.

47 Benati, *Iacopo Avanzi*, pp. 65-69.

Thus two generations of painters, among the most prominent on the Bolognese scene, worked in the limited space of the Oratory of Mezzaratta.

The other outstanding period of figurative concentration in the Bolognese panorama revolves around the construction (begun in 1390) of the basilica of San Petronio.⁴⁸ Envisioned by the commune as a symbol and expression of its liberty, and dedicated to the city's 5th-century bishop, Saint Petronius, the church still rises impressively in the Piazza Maggiore in close symbiosis with the communal palazzi (Palazzo del Podestà and Palazzo Comunale). The basilica, constructed at the expense of the city and *contado* of Bologna, was the incarnation of religious sentiment and civic pride and Saint Petronius became, more than ever, the banner of the "free" commune. The basilica's character as a civic temple is also reflected internally in the civic bodies and governmental magistracies that are found among the 22 patrons of the chapels – the *Dieci di balia* and the *Sedici Riformatori*, the guilds of the notaries and butchers, and the families particularly prominent in political life from the 14th to the 17th century.⁴⁹

Within three years from the start of construction the government decided to celebrate itself in the church's first chapel, dedicated to San Giorgio (today the chapel of San Abbondio) by honoring the *Dieci di balia*, originally planning to have their images, names, and coats of arms sculpted in marble, but deciding instead in 1397 on a less grandiose design, consisting solely of ten shields in hard sandstone (*macigno*), bearing the heraldic devices of the *Dieci*, five each on opposite walls, still visible today.⁵⁰ In the meantime Lippo di Dalmasio and Giovanni di Ottonello painted the traditional image of San Giorgio killing the dragon on the ceiling of the chapel (1393).⁵¹ During this same period Iacopo di Paolo, painter of the Bolognini polyptych, was constantly active on this project and from him the site's administrative committee (the *fabbricieri*) commissioned designs *in cartis caprinis* for the sculptures at the base of the façade (1393), and furthermore gave him the task of constructing a model of the church (1402). Also present at the San Petronio building site were Francesco Lola and Pietro di Giovanni Lianori, artisans of numerous votive images, and finally Giovanni da Modena, the celebrated painter of the frescoes in the *Dieci della balia* and Bolognini chapels.

In 1420 the *fabbricieri* commissioned Giovanni da Modena, with a large stipend of 80 *lire*, to fresco "works from the Old and New Testaments" in the *Dieci*

48 On painting in San Petronio, see Volpe, "La pittura gotica"; D'Amico, "Modi e fortune."

49 Pini, "Tra orgoglio civico"; Giacomelli, "Corporazioni d'arte."

50 Zucchini, "La cappella di S. Abbondio."

51 Supino, *L'arte nelle chiese di Bologna*, vol. 1, p. 345.

chapel and to decorate the escutcheons of the *Dieci* “de auro fino.”⁵² The result was imposing: on opposite walls, above the emblems of the magistrates, Giovanni depicted the *Allegory of the Redemption* on the left, and the *The Dispute between the Church and the Synagogue* on the right.⁵³ He portrayed these frescoes in extremely clear language so that they would be well understood by the lay public, and we have to suppose that the patrons were also laity since the chapel was primarily used for guild ceremonies.⁵⁴ The *Redemption* is portrayed with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in the center, having grown on the grave of Adam and then becoming the wood of the Cross on which Christ is crucified. The Redeemer is turned towards the Virgin, the Apostles and the Saints: on the other side are arrayed Adam and Eve, caught in the moment of temptation and original sin, and next to them are the Patriarchs and Prophets among whom are Abraham and Moses. Eve holds a scroll on which is written “human nature was ruined by a worthless food / you will die because you closed the door to heaven,”⁵⁵ to which the Virgin responds “I open now the heavens which Eve had closed to you / by my son who will save any offender.”⁵⁶ On the opposite wall, in the *Dispute between the Church and the Synagogue*, the true Church is portrayed as a young woman crowned by a hand that descends from the Crucifixion, holding a chalice full of the blood that had gushed from Christ’s side. She holds a scroll on which is written “born from blood I am called the Bride of Christ / to heaven rises he who opens his misdeeds to me.”⁵⁷ She rides a winged lion with a human face and paws that are differentiated to symbolize the four Gospels (human, aquiline, leonine, bovine). Opposite her is a distraught and blindfolded woman, a representation of the Synagogue, with her head pierced by a sword and mounted on an agitated and fiendish billy goat. This figure holds a scroll that reads “the blood of the goats deceives me like a serpent. Alas, I am blinded and separated from the

52 The contract is published in Filippini and Zucchini, *Miniatori e pittori a Bologna. Documenti del secolo xv*, p. 85.

53 Volpe, “La pittura gotica,” pp. 272-79.

54 The chapel was utilized by the guilds until the 16th century and then closed to serve as a storage area. It was restored in the 19th century when it came under the patronage of the *Provincia*. Zucchini, “La cappella di S. Abbondio,” pp. 8-9.

55 “per esum vanum destrui(tur) genus humanum / vos moriemini qua(a) clausi ianua(m) celi.”

56 “resero nu(nc) (a)et(h)era q(u)em vobis clauserat eva / per filium meum salvabo quenlibet reum.”

57 “sanguine docta su(m) xri [Christi] sponsa vocata / ad coelu(m) scandit q(ui) mi(hi) selera pandit.”

kingdom of God.”⁵⁸ Completing the allegory are two arms that extend from the wood of the Cross: the one on top opens the doors of Paradise; the one below knocks down the doors of Limbo. But, as discussed below, the fame of Giovanni da Modena is closely tied to his work on the Bolognini chapel, especially for the *Inferno* fresco, which took place some years earlier.

Shortly after the construction of San Petronio was begun, the government found itself very constrained to identify new channels of subvention for continuing work on the imposing structure. In 1395 it was decided to sell the patronage of the planned chapels, either to individuals or to entities, for payment of 500 *lire*, commitment to donate an altar, provision of furnishings for the celebration of the chapel's cult and for maintenance of a chaplain or rector to officiate every day of the year. Among the first to take advantage of such an opportunity was the silk merchant Bartolomeo Bolognini (for the chapel dedicated to the Three Kings), who had distinguished himself not only as an active and skillful merchant, but also for the public offices he held. Elected four times as a procurator or supervisory official of the San Petronio building project (between 1398 and 1406), he also served as an ambassador for the commune and entered into contact with Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, becoming one of his closest personal counselors.⁵⁹

On 10 February 1408 Bolognini made his testament and in addition to various bequests, legacies, and final dispositions, he was concerned to define precisely his place of burial.⁶⁰ This was to be in the basilica of San Petronio, in the fourth chapel on the left, which had already been secured a few years earlier for this purpose, as noted in the plaque in the chapel of May 1400.⁶¹ The merchant's wishes are expressed in directions that are extremely detailed and accurate for the epoch; a sign of his specific iconographic intentions which are further delineated in the agreements made between the patron (Bolognini himself or his testamentary executors) and the painter, Giovanni da Modena, charged with producing the following: a starry sky in the vault, Paradise (*gloria vitae aeternae*) and Inferno (*penas infernales horribiles quantum plus potest*) on the wall towards the piazza; on the one opposite, the *historia trium magium*, the patron saints of the merchants and hence of Bartolomeo.⁶² As can be still

58 “hirco(rum) sanguis me decipit velut anguis / he(u su(m) cecata et a regno dei separata.”

59 Pini, “Bartolomeo Bolognini.”

60 His will is published in Frati, “La Cappella Bolognini.” One the different copies of the will see Kloten, *Wandmalerei im grossen Kirchenschisma*, pp. 38-46 (already noted by Mario Fanti).

61 Grandi, “Cantieri e maestranze,” p. 151.

62 Frati, “La Capella Bolognini.”

seen today, the expectations of the merchant were perfectly carried out.⁶³ Not to be found, however, is any testamentary counterpart for the scenes of the life of Saint Petronius on the frontal wall, the name of the bishop of Bologna on the overlooking lunette, or the polyptych on the altar (the latter was probably executed earlier by the painter Iacopo di Paolo). It is possible to infer the important influence of the patron in the figurative decoration in the frescoes described in Bolognini's testament, for example, in *The Three Kings*, who are portrayed in the clothes of travelers – and in this they are more similar to merchants – and in the centrality that their voyage, made with danger and uncertainties, plays in the economy of the account, a particular emphasis to the disadvantage of the traditional importance given to the Adoration of the Child. In contrast, the sections of *The Last Judgment* dedicated to *Paradise* and the *Inferno* are presented according to customary iconography and the two realms of the hereafter are placed one above the other, without continuity, culminating in the *Coronation of the Virgin with Christ in mandorla*. To this point the frescoes follow the prescriptions of Bolognini, but the choice of an iconographic model for the *Inferno* and the portrayal of the life of Saint Petronius with the name of the then bishop of Bologna (Giovanni di Michele) in the overhanging lunette offer evidence of a specific political intent.⁶⁴

In these years (1412-15) the Church was torn by the profound Schism which produced three claimants to the papacy: Gregory XII, Benedict XIII, and John XXIII (Cardinal Cossa), the latter elected at Bologna. In the center of the *Inferno* are portrayed two sinners, Mohammed and the apostate Nicola, enemies par excellence of the Christian Church and identifiable, according to Ilka Kloten, as the schismatic popes Gregory XII and Benedict XIII,⁶⁵ antagonists of the pope supported by the *bolognesi* and hence condemned, at least in imagery, to Hell (Fig. 20.7, 20.8, 20.9). At the time the frescoes were painted, in fact, Bologna was faithful to the Holy See, openly in favor of Baldassarre Cossa as announced also in the scene in the lunette from the stories of the *Vita di San Petronio*. But still to be resolved is the identity of the true promotor of the frescoes. If indeed Bartolomeo Bolognini chose the portrayal of *Paradise* and the *Inferno*, work on the frescoes nevertheless did not begin until two years after his death (July 1411) and certainly after November 1412 when the name of the bishop Giovanni di Michele was placed on the lunette, a point *post quem* for the entire decoration. For the choice of the iconographic program it is therefore necessary to

63 On the frescoes see Volpe, "La pittura gotica"; Kloten, *Wandmalerei im grossen Kirchenschisma*; R. Pini, *Le giustizie dipinte*, pp. 95-116.

64 Kloten, *Wandmalerei im grossen Kirchenschisma*, pp. 38-46.

65 Kloten, *Wandmalerei im grossen Kirchenschisma*, pp. 75-87.



FIGURE 20.7 *Giovanni di Modena, Inferno, basilica of San Petronio, Bolognini chapel. ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO SOPRINTENDENZA BSAE, BOLOGNA, ARCHIVIO RAGAZZI.*

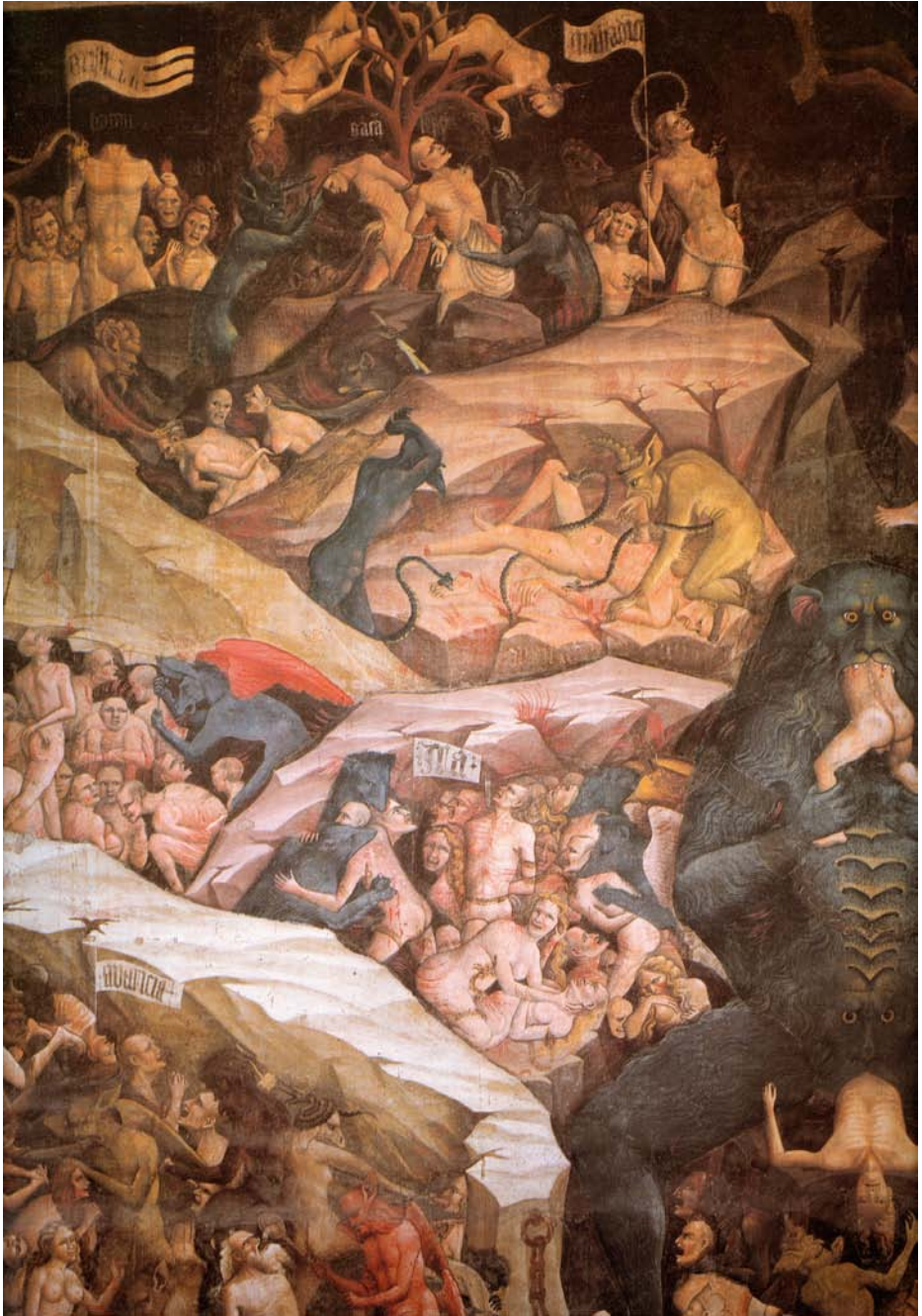


FIGURE 20.8 *Giovanni di Modena, Inferno, detail, basilica of San Petronio, Bolognini chapel.*
 ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO SOPRINTENDENZA BSAE, BOLOGNA, ARCHIVIO
 RAGAZZI.



FIGURE 20.9 *Giovanni di Modena, Inferno, detail, basilica of San Petronio, Bolognini chapel.*
 ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO SOPRINTENDENZA BSAE, BOLOGNA, ARCHIVIO
 RAGAZZI.

look elsewhere; certainly the *nipote* and executor of the testament, Girolamo, played an important role. He confirmed his support for the new pope, and it was perhaps the link of fidelity tying the family to Baldassarre Cossa that determined the portrayal of the frescoes. The celebration of John XXIII and the condemnation of his adversaries does not seem, however, a pure homage to the pontiff but, on the contrary, conveys a clear message of political propaganda, the promoter of which was, I would contend, Cossa himself with the intention of legitimating a much discussed name. The reason why he selected a private chapel for the spreading of a public message is not difficult to intuit: the work already existed and hence the period of time for its implementation would have been very brief; the Bolognini family were faithful supporters and not least of all, the basilica of San Petronio was then the religious and political

center of the city as well as that of the pontifical court, which had its seat in the city. Therefore the choice would have guaranteed a rapid and effective spread of the propaganda. The chronology of the frescoes is also closely connected to these events and the beginning of the work could have been postponed yet another year with respect to the November 1412 date, when Cossa was at Rome and re-entered Bologna in November 1413, remaining there until August of the following year. It is in this brief period of time (November 1413-August 1414) that the beginning of the decorative work took place and the *Inferno* was definitely executed, tied thus to political contingencies that would, however, fade a few months later, with the Council of Constance and the deposition of John XXII (29 May 1415).⁶⁶

The Bolognini chapel therefore lent itself to a double function: funereal for the family of the donor and public for the entire citizenry that was “indoctrinated” to the contingent political situation. In order to render its message more effective and credible, the frescoes were enriched, moreover, with elements of daily life which observers were easily able to recognize. The assembly of the saints arranged in order in choral stalls recalls, for example, the many scenes of lectures held in the *scholae* of the *studium*, while the great variety of infernal torments reflects the plurality of penalties and executions inflicted by the criminal courts of the *podestà*. The operation succeeded perfectly: the visual impact on the imagination of contemporaries was significant and well beyond the combination of motives that had determined selection of the themes. But the delicate and often deeply stressed balance among communal, individual (family), and papal traditions of patronage, achieved brilliantly in the Bolognini chapel, eroded under the partnership of aristocrats and Bentivoglio *signori* of the 15th century and essentially collapsed in the 16th century as Bologna completed the transition from medieval commune to papal city of the Renaissance.

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66 R. Pini, *Le giustizie dipinte*, pp. 110-11.

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Art and Patronage in Bologna's "Long" Quattrocento

David J. Drogin

For the art historian, Bologna's "long" Quattrocento is characterized not only by its extension into the 16th century, but also by its late start. From the viewpoint of major artistic projects, the period opens in 1425, when Jacopo della Quercia signed a contract for sculptures at San Petronio, and ends in 1508, when Michelangelo's monumental bronze *Julius II* was hoisted above those same sculptures; or, as late as 1516 with installation of Raphael's *Saint Cecilia Altarpiece* in San Giovanni in Monte. These monuments embody paradigmatic shifts that coincide with the city's emergence from foreign dominance in the early 1400s to its submission and burgeoning as the second city of the papacy in the 1500s. This period was marked by power struggles between the *comune* and the papacy; rivalries and influences of civic bodies and oligarchic families; and the creation or subsumption of Bolognese artistic identity in the face of foreign artists, patrons, and influences. This essay explores examples of painting, sculpture, and architecture in Bologna's "long" Quattrocento that illustrate and shaped these contextual dynamics.

Bolognese art was defined by the city's fundamental characteristics. For instance, there was little marble sculpture and architectural decoration because that material was a costly import. Bologna's geographic position between powerful artistic and political centers – Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, Milan, and Venice – gave Bolognese artists and patrons rich models to emulate and reshape, but also put them at the risk of being overwhelmed by dominant foreign trends.

The struggle between local autonomy and papal control is manifested in Jacopo della Quercia's façade sculptures for San Petronio (Fig. 21.1). From the start of the church's construction in 1390, it was a statement of Bologna's independence: its dedication to the city's patron saint, its projected size, and its location in the heart of the city – Piazza Maggiore – next to seats of Bologna's republican offices made the "civic cathedral" a challenge to the actual cathedral, San Pietro, the seat of the bishop as the Church's representative.¹

1 On the early years of San Petronio's construction, see Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities"; Fanti, *La fabbrica di San Petronio*; Supino, *L'arte nelle chiese*, vol. 1, pp. 318–24;



FIGURE 21.1 *Jacopo della Quercia, Porta Magna, 1425-38, Bologna, basilica of San Petronio.*
VANNI ARCHIVE/ART RESOURCE NY.

In 1425, the *Fabbrica* commissioned the Siennese Jacopo della Quercia to decorate the central portal. Before Jacopo's death in 1438, he completed ten Old Testament pilaster reliefs, prophet busts on the jambs, five New Testament lintel reliefs, and, in the lunette, the *Virgin and Child* between *Saint Petronius* on the right and *Saint Ambrose* on the left (completed by Domenico da Varignana, c.1510).² The program varies from the original contract's project, most importantly with *Ambrose* replacing figures of Pope Martin v presenting a kneeling figure of legate Louis Aleman (who drew up the first contract).³

The project is indebted to Emilian church portals and to Tuscan examples reflecting Jacopo's origins, but the figures and the design changes are rooted in Bolognese identity and contexts.⁴ Originally putting Martin v and the legate on equal footing and scale with Bologna's patron saint, Petronius, reflected the political reality that Bologna was governed jointly by the *Sedici* and the legate through the mid-1420s. With these figures (and planned statues of Peter and Paul above the pilasters), the papal imprint would have countered the building's autonomous connotations. However, tensions in late 1428 (including the legate's expulsion and Martin v issuing an interdict against Bologna) led to a revised design by January 1429.⁵ *Ambrose* replaced *Martin v and Legate Aleman*, and the figures of Peter and Paul were omitted.⁶ These changes were a repudiation of papal power in the wake of preceding tensions, since Ambrose is patron saint of Milan, a papal rival.⁷ Nonetheless, in the pilaster reliefs, the Old Law stands as foundation for the New, with the Old Testament pilaster narratives supporting New Testament scenes above. The reliefs' themes of

Trombetti Budriesi, "I primi anni." On San Petronio as civic cathedral, see Ronzani, "Chiesa del Comune."

- 2 The completed Old Testament reliefs are, on the left from the top: *Creation of Adam*, *Creation of Eve*, *Temptation and Fall*, *Expulsion from the Garden*, *Adam and Eve at Work*. On the right: *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, *Cain Slaying Abel*, *Noah Leaving the Ark*, *Drunkenness of Noah*, and *Sacrifice of Isaac*. The New Testament lintel reliefs are *Nativity*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation in the Temple*, *Massacre of the Innocents*, and *Flight into Egypt*.
- 3 Originally there were to be 14 pilaster reliefs, three lintel reliefs, and a gable with Christ and angels. See (including drawings): Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia*, vol. 1, p. 109; Idem, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, fig. 6; Seymour, *Jacopo della Quercia*, pp. 67-68.
- 4 On precedents, see Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, pp. 26-28.
- 5 Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, pp. 21-22, docs. 131, 233; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, p. 29; Tamba, "I documenti," p. 20.
- 6 Jacopo made a revised drawing, now lost but copied by Baldassare Peruzzi. Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, p. 23, fig. 7; Zucchini, *Disegni antichi*, tav. 3 and p. 15.
- 7 Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, pp. 22, 69-74; Seymour, *Jacopo della Quercia*, p. 68.

authority and disobedience relate to the Quattrocento Church's insistence on its unquestionable authority following the Council of Constance.⁸

Bolognese patrons continued hiring foreign sculptors for major commissions through the mid-Quattrocento. Most importantly, the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita (Bologna's oldest confraternity) and the friars of San Domenico hired Niccolò dell'Arca to sculpt the *Lamentation* (Fig. 21.2) and the lid for Saint Dominic's tomb, respectively. Both commissions, like Jacopo's, relate to local power struggles and influenced regional artistic practice.⁹

The *Lamentation* consists of seven life-size, polychrome terracotta figures representing Christ dead on the ground surrounded by Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Salome, the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist, Mary Cleophae, and Mary Magdalene, mourning Christ's death with degrees of grief escalating from Joseph's quiet mournfulness to Mary Magdalene's dynamic grief, rushing forward with robes flying. Documents date the sculptures to 1462-64.¹⁰

With the figures' expressive naturalism, Niccolò incorporates the viewer into the group mourning Christ's death in the Holy Sepulcher, as described in the Bible.¹¹ The figures personify models or stages for grief, once arranged from left to right, building from interiorized sorrow to explosive anguish, from Joseph of Arimathea through Saint John, Mary Salome, the Virgin Mary, Mary Cleophae, and Mary Magdalene.¹² The reactions also articulate contemporary gender norms: the men's stoicism exemplifies "appropriate" behavior while the women's demonstrativeness (especially Magdalene's) expresses contemporary fears about female hysteria as a threat to the social order.¹³ The life-size figures' realism catalyzes the narrative, heightening devotion by making the viewer fill the role of Nicodemus, the only absent figure.¹⁴ Niccolò thus anticipated later

8 On the portal's iconographic program, see Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, pp. 63-78; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 259-60.

9 On Niccolò in Bologna, see Agostini, "Niccolò dell'Arca"; Dodsworth, *The Arca*; Eadem, "Dominican Patronage"; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 260-62; Fanti, "Nuovi documenti"; Ferretti, "Per la ricostruzione"; Geddes, "Niccolò Bolognese"; Gnudi, *Niccolò dell'Arca*; Idem, *Nuove ricerche*; Klebanoff, "The Bolognese Sculpture"; Eadem, "Passion, Compassion"; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 2, pp. 120-21.

10 Documents include workshop payments, a 1464 papal bull, and 17th-century hospital references. Beck, "Niccolò dell'Arca," pp. 11, 49-52; Gnudi, *Nuove ricerche*, pp. 5-6, 10-16, 37; Klebanoff, "Passion, Compassion," pp. 148-49, 162, n. 14.

11 Matthew 27:57-61; Mark 15:43-47; Luke 23:50-56; John 19:38-42.

12 Ferretti, "Per la ricostruzione," p. 93; Klebanoff, "Passion, Compassion," p. 169.

13 Klebanoff, "Passion, Compassion," pp. 154-57; Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, pp. 10-15.

14 Niccolò's figure has pliers, so is the one who removed Christ from the Cross (Joseph), not the one who applied unguent (Nicodemus). Agostini, "Niccolò dell'Arca," pp. 305-06;



FIGURE 21.2 Niccolò dell'Arca, Lamentation, 1462-64, Bologna, church of Santa Maria della Vita. SCALA/ART RESOURCE NY.

Renaissance themes by integrating the spectator in a “transitive mode,” without which the representation is incomplete.¹⁵

With this commission that unfolds in a proxy, sacred site, the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Vita served the confraternity’s and church and hospital visitors’ devotional needs. Late medieval and Renaissance devotional practice often emphasized identifying with Passion protagonists, and the uncanny realism of Niccolò’s *Lamentation* could trigger such engagement. Also, reminding viewers of Christ and his followers’ pain and mourning, the *Lamentation* offered solace for the destitution and grief experienced at the hospital.¹⁶ For the confraternity – divided between the *stretta* (flagellants) and the *larga* (focused on communal service) – the *Lamentation* manifested the former’s self-inflicted pain and impassioned devotion as well as the latter’s absolution of anguish.¹⁷

The *Lamentation* also helped the confraternity surpass its rivals because, while others sponsored temporary Passion re-creations, it made Santa Maria della Vita’s version permanent.¹⁸ Santo Stefano, Bologna’s oldest church, was a rival because it held the relics of Saint Petronius in a complex that emulated Passion sites housing proxy relics such as Pilate’s basin.¹⁹ Now Santa Maria della Vita surpassed Santo Stefano with its own Holy Sepulcher conjured by Niccolò’s *Lamentation*. In short, its visceral realism and papal recognition compensated for the confraternity’s lack of miracles and holy origins, and made it a primary locus in sacred topography.²⁰ The sculptures were so successful that they spawned a type – the terracotta Lamentation group – that became a hallmark of Emilian art, as in the work of Vincenzo Onofri and Guido Mazzoni.

Competition also factored in Niccolò’s lid for the Arca of San Domenico, installed in 1473.²¹ The Dominicans’ long rivalry with the Franciscans catalyzed their projects for Saint Dominic’s tomb. First the friars moved Dominic (d. 1221) from a wood casket to a marble sarcophagus in 1233 as part of his canonization campaign, spurred by Francis’s canonization five years earlier. The Dominicans then commissioned Nicola Pisano’s marble sarcophagus in 1264,

Fanti, “Nuovi documenti,” pp. 72–73. For a reconstruction of the group with eight figures, see Ferretti, “Per la ricostruzione.”

15 On the later phenomenon Shearman, *Only Connect*, pp. 27, 32–36.

16 Klebanoff, “Passion, Compassion,” p. 148.

17 Klebanoff, “Passion, Compassion,” pp. 152–54. On Bologna’s Renaissance confraternities, see the essay by Nicholas Terpstra in this volume, as well as Idem, *Lay Confraternities*.

18 Klebanoff, “Passion, Compassion,” p. 151.

19 Fanti, “Sulla simbologia.”

20 Klebanoff, “Passion, Compassion,” p. 152.

21 The 1469 contract is published in Dodsworth, *The Arca*, doc. XLIII.

likely spurred by the popular tomb of the Franciscan Saint Anthony of Padua, finished in 1263.²² And, through the period, development of the San Domenico complex in Bologna (consecrated in 1251) remained a priority as the Dominicans sought to keep up with Saints Francis and Anthony's successful cultic sites.

Niccolò's Arca lid was part of a comprehensive refurbishment of San Domenico in the mid-Quattrocento.²³ When installed in 1473, Niccolò had completed various figures including Dominic, Florian, Vitalis, Agricola, the Evangelists, a candle-holding angel, and pinnacle figures, but not other contracted figures including Petronius, Vincent Ferrer, Thomas Aquinas, and a second candle-holding angel. As discussed below, Michelangelo carved *Saint Petronius*, *Proculus* (who replaced Aquinas), and the second angel in 1495. Girolamo Cortellini's *Saint John the Baptist* replaced the planned Saint Vincent figure in 1537.

The lid's iconography and sources speak to the city and convent's identities and to relevant funerary-monument traditions. *Saint Dominic* and *Saint Petronius* stand in the center on the front of the lid, as fitting for Bologna's patron saints and the inhabitant of the tomb; likewise, Vitalis and Agricola were both Bolognese, and Florian was highly revered in the city.²⁴ The arrangement of iconic saints around the structure integrates the lid with Nicola Pisano's 13th-century sarcophagus and with sculptural traditions of medieval saints' tombs.

Niccolò's Arca sculptures contrast strongly with his *Lamentation*: the former are static and classicizing, with echoes of medieval precedent blended with well-observed naturalism, while the latter represents passages of viscerally emotive realism with unprecedented dynamism. This is because the narrative *Lamentation* means to elicit empathy and devotional response, whereas the Arca sculptures coordinate with medieval saint-tomb traditions and the 13th-century sarcophagus. The latter factors restricted Niccolò's latitude for innovation at San Domenico, whereas there were no such limitations at Santa Maria della Vita, where his sculpture was groundbreaking.

Judging from major early 15th-century commissions, one can conclude that sculptors were the innovators. Bolognese painting through mid-century – exemplified by Giovanni da Modena – remained embedded in International Gothic traditions and illustrated the city's absorption of Ferrarese and Paduan influences. The colorism, calligraphic qualities, and sculptural three-dimensionality associated with Squarcione, early Mantegna, and Cosimo Tura

22 Moskowitz, "On Sources."

23 Dodsworth, *The Arca*, p. 33.

24 Dodsworth, "Dominican Patronage," p. 285.

catalyzed a shift at mid-century, also fed by an increased presence of central Italian art in the region. Paolo Uccello frescoed a (now badly damaged) *Nativity* in San Martino in 1437 and Piero della Francesca was nearby in Rimini and likely in Bologna in the 1450s. Perhaps Uccello's work was too radical to have had an immediate impact in the 1430s, so was only influential after artists were more attuned to a Tuscan idiom, post-1450s.²⁵ By that time, Piero's student Galasso was active in Bologna, when he painted a *Funeral of the Virgin* in 1455 in San Michele in Monte (destroyed). Niccolò Baroncelli and Donatello's mid-century sculptures in Ferrara and Padua had an enormous impact across media in the region, making naturalistically observed classicism and a general Tuscan aesthetic new priorities.²⁶

These shifts are embodied in Marco Zoppo's Bolognese painting.²⁷ Zoppo worked with Squarcione in Padua in the 1450s prior to returning to his native Bologna in 1461. His Bolognese painting is exemplified by the *Crucifix* for San Giuseppe and the Collegio di Spagna *Virgin and Child with Saints* altarpiece. Their formats and gold backgrounds are conservative (mandated by the tradition-bound genres of altarpiece and painted crucifix), but the bodies and draperies' sculptural three-dimensionality point to Donatello and Jacopo's regional work. Lively contouring is redolent of Tura, while the figures' monumentality and lighting suggest that Zoppo looked to Piero della Francesca, who was nearby if not in Bologna in the 1450s.²⁸

The Ferrarese painter Francesco del Cossa worked in Bologna in the 1460s-70s. In Bologna, his painting shifted away from the more decorative approach appropriate in courtly Ferrara toward a simplified monumentality catalyzed by Bolognese models' stylistic influence and by the city's republican, rather than signorial, identity.

Cossa also integrated a Ferrarese chromatic vivacity with central Italian trends emphasizing perspective and still, volumetric figures. All of this is illustrated by the *Osservanza Altarpiece* (c.1470), an Annunciation notable for its polychromatic classicism. And in the *Pala dei Mercanti* (Fig. 21.3, 1474), Cossa's classicizing monumentality is particularly redolent of Jacopo's Bolognese sculpture.

25 Lucco, "La pittura a Bologna," vol. 1, p. 240.

26 On central Italian artists' effects on regional style, see Samoggia, "L'ambiente storico-culturale."

27 Armstrong, *The Paintings*; Giovannucci Vigi, *Marco Zoppo*, passim; Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, pp. 27-29; Ruhmer, *Marco Zoppo*.

28 Bacchi, "Vicende della pittura," pp. 287-90.



FIGURE 21.3 *Francesco del Cossa, Pala dei Mercanti, 1474, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale.*
SCALA/MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI/ART RESOURCE NY.

Cossa often worked for 15th-century oligarchic families. In 1472, for Giovanni II Bentivoglio, he inserted an image of Giovanni I into the miraculous fresco, *Madonna del Baraccano*,²⁹ and painted a large altarpiece with Ercole de' Roberti for the spice merchant Floriano Griffoni in San Petronio, c.1473. For the altarpiece (dismantled), he painted a central panel of Saint Vincent Ferrer and panels of Peter and the Baptist; at top, *Crucifixion* and *Annunciation* tondi sit above Saints Lucy and Florian. The paintings recall Mantegna with crisp drapery and, in upper sections, a strong *di sotto in su* perspective.

Cossa's largest project in Bologna was the Garganelli Chapel frescoes in San Pietro, painted from c.1475 and completed by Ercole de' Roberti. When finished, they covered over 100 square meters but were lost when the cathedral

29 Bacchi, *Francesco del Cossa*, pp. 11, 76.

was rebuilt, c.1600.³⁰ Cossa was close to the prominent patron, Domenico Garganelli, from a family of merchants and notaries.³¹ Cossa died in 1478, by which time he had completed an *Annunciation* on the entrance wall and dramatically foreshortened prophets and Apostles in the vault.

Ercole de' Roberti's frescoes in that chapel were the culmination of a significant career in late Quattrocento Bologna, including other collaborations with Cossa.³² For the *Griffoni Altarpiece* c.1473, he painted lateral saints (e.g., Michael and Apollonia) and the predella of miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer.³³ These are close to Cossa's style, though with more attenuated, livelier, calligraphic forms and contours, and stronger psychological expression – in short, more undilutedly Ferrarese.³⁴ He also painted the double profile portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio and his wife, Ginevra Sforza, unifying the (unofficial) ruler with his territory in the background, recalling Piero's double portrait of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza (Ginevra's half-sister).³⁵

Between 1482 and around 1486 when he returned to Ferrara, Roberti completed the Garganelli Chapel frescoes under the patronage of Domenico's son, Bartolomeo. His scenes represented the *Dormition of the Virgin* and a *Crucifixion* on facing walls, each about 6 meters tall and 8 meters long. Their appearance is known through drawings and copies, and a fragment of Magdalene's head survives at Bologna's Pinacoteca Nazionale (Fig. 21.4).³⁶ The paintings were unmatched in scale and impact in Bologna's Quattrocento, the *Dormition* displaying a sober monumentality with grand architecture and balanced figural groups, including artist and patron portraits. The *Crucifixion* was, in contrast, an explosion of emotion, foregrounding narrative abilities seen in the *Griffoni Altarpiece* predella. This was achieved with dramatic foreshortening and the figures' expressiveness, exemplified by the fragment of Magdalene's screaming, tearful face as she rushes forward with robes flying. Here, Ercole looked to Niccolò dell'Arca's *Lamentation* Magdalene and we see how Bolognese idioms inflected Ercole's firmly Ferrarese style. Ercole's predella for the high altar of San Giovanni in Monte illustrates similar themes in its *Pietà*, *Garden of*

30 For the chapel's history, see Ciammitti, "Ercole de' Roberti."

31 Cossa also designed Domenico's tomb, a bronze and marble floor slab, now in the Museo Civico. Bacchi, *Francesco del Cossa*, pp. 9–11.

32 On this period, see Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, pp. 36–47, 128–34, 180–82; Manca, *The Art*, pp. 29–57.

33 Manca, "Non-Believers."

34 Manca, *The Art*, pp. 29–32.

35 Brown, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio"; Manca, *The Art*, pp. 104–06.

36 Ciammitti, "Ercole de' Roberti"; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 270–71; Manca, *The Art*, pp. 45–51; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 3, pp. 141–45.



FIGURE 21.4 Ercole de' Roberti, *Mary Magdalene, detail of head*, c.1482-86, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale. SCALA/MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI/ART RESOURCE NY.

Gethsemane, and *Ascent to Calvary*. The vivid expressionism of Ercole's 1480s Bolognese painting also indicates his and patrons' interest in northern European art, including work of Rogier van der Weyden and Martin Schoengauer.³⁷

Both Cossa and Roberti painted for Giovanni II Bentivoglio in the 1470s as Giovanni used cultural production to fashion himself ruler of Bologna. Yet Giovanni II was only one (and last) in a line of 15th-century Bentivoglio to control the city and employ art to frame authority.³⁸ The first to establish a

37 Ciammitti, "Ercole de' Roberti," p. 137; Manca, *The Art*, pp. 48, 52.

38 Giovanni I Bentivoglio had taken control of Bologna for a few months in 1401. His son Antongaleazzo declared himself *signore* in January 1420, but was soon exiled by Pope Martin V and local rivals. He returned in December 1435, when Pope Eugenius IV (Bologna's former legate) and Cosimo de' Medici coordinated his reestablishment, but he was murdered two weeks later. On the early 15th-century Bentivoglio: Ady, *The Bentivoglio*;

Bentivoglio imprint in the city artistically was Annibale, who dominated Bologna from 1443 to 1445. Annibale established a lasting Bentivoglio artistic program, purchasing the family chapel site in San Giacomo Maggiore in 1445 and, across the ambulatory, installing the tomb monument for his father Antongaleazzo, who had been a highly paid university professor, city leader, and papal man-at-arms (Fig. 21.5). The wall tomb represents a *gisant* of the deceased on the lid, with standing figures of saints and Virtues; a tripartite relief on the front represents the professor *in cathedra* in the center lecturing to students bent over desks on either side. The funerary monument was begun by Jacopo della Quercia in the 1430s for a Ferrarese professor, but Annibale likely obtained the incomplete monument in 1443 on his return from exile.³⁹

The professor's tomb with classroom reliefs of lecturer and students was uniquely Bolognese and long used to commemorate politically dominant academics.⁴⁰ This explains why Annibale celebrated his father with a university lecturer's tomb, even though Antongaleazzo had been a man-at-arms and *signore*: the iconography associated the family with local authority, contrasting it to the foreign powers (Milan, the papacy) that had interfered with Bologna's autonomy and Bentivoglio leadership over the previous 50 years.⁴¹ The iconography was codified by local 14th-century monuments, most importantly those to Rolandino Passaggeri, Giovanni d'Andrea, and Giovanni da Legnano, university lecturers with leading roles in Bolognese politics.⁴² In these three examples, as in Antongaleazzo's and the dozen other surviving examples of late medieval Bolognese professor monuments, the classroom iconography signifies authority in ways that resonate for city rulers: figures' hierarchical arrangement, lecturers' gestures of address, students bent submissively before them, and the proliferation of books – all articulate authority and domination. Such imagery was useful for a family asserting its dominance in Bologna, and

Bocchi, "I Bentivoglio"; Colliva, "Bologna dal XIV al XVIII secolo"; Costa, *Il tempo dei Bentivoglio*; Poli, "Le vicende dei Bentivoglio"; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*; Viroli, *I Bentivoglio*. On Bentivoglio patronage: Drogin, "The Bentivoglio"; Idem, "Bologna's Bentivoglio Family"; Idem, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority."

39 Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia e il portale*, pp. 73-74; Idem, *Jacopo della Quercia*, vol. 1, p. 197, vol. 2, pp. 495, 547; Drogin, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 30-48; Matteucci, "Le sculture,"; Seymour, *Jacopo della Quercia*, pp. 73-74; Supino, *La scultura in Bologna*, pp. 171-76.

40 Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 250-52; Idem, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 48-90; Grandi, *I monumenti*.

41 Drogin, "The Bentivoglio," pp. 87-89; Idem, "Professors and Princes," pp. 45-48.

42 Drogin, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 48-90; Gibbs, "Images of Higher Education," pp. 270-77; Grandi, *I monumenti*, pp. 118-20, 163-67;



FIGURE 21.5 *Jacopo della Quercia, Tomb of Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, 1430s, Bologna, church of San Giacomo Maggiore.* ALINARI/ART RESOURCE NY.

– since professor monuments in other university cities do not have the classroom-lecture imagery with the Bolognese examples' frequency – celebrated Antongaleazzo with emphatically local iconographies of power. This was a valuable resource as the Bentivoglio assembled a fragile *signoria* in the face of foreign threats.

Annibale's funerary monument – the equestrian relief cenotaph (1458) inside the family chapel – indicates a shift from local to ubiquitous iconographies. (Fig. 21.6) This reflects a change in Bentivoglio authority under Sante Bentivoglio, the likely patron, who broadened horizons for strategies of self-fashioned rulership during his control of Bologna, 1446-63. Born and raised in Florentine territory, Sante had important connections with other Italian rulers, through marriage and other political maneuvers. He also negotiated favorable political accords and favors with Pope Nicholas V and Emperor Frederick III. Sante thus positioned the Bentivoglio as other rulers' peers on the European stage, not merely as a local power. In this context, Sante incorporated wider Italian trends in the equestrian relief commission, since drawing from emphatically local signifiers of authority, as in Antongaleazzo's tomb, would no longer have been effective.⁴³

The sculpture represents Annibale in armor on a rearing horse, above an inscription identifying him as the city's liberator from tyrants, referring to his victory over the Milanese.⁴⁴ It is installed on the right wall of the Bentivoglio Chapel, on top of (and obliterating) paintings commissioned by Sante's successor, Giovanni II, in the 1480s (this, and the figure's orientation away from the altar, indicate this is not the relief's original location). Its classicism and passages of naturalism point to Tuscan influences, while the dense decorative passages echo Valpadana motifs; the unsigned relief was thus likely carved by a regional artist connected to a major Tuscan sculptor's workshop in the area in the 1450s, such as Donatello in Padua or Niccolò Baroncelli in Ferrara.⁴⁵

43 On Sante, see Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, pp. 32-33; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," p. 111, n. 144-45; Idem, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 141-44; Viroli, *I Bentivoglio*, pp. 61-80.

44 The relief is inscribed at bottom: QUO NEMO UTILOR PATRIAE NEC PACE NEC ARMIS / BENTIVOLAE GENTIS ANNIBALE HIC SITUS EST / EXPULIT IS DUDUM POSSESSA EX URBE TIRANNUM / ET PROFUGOS CIVES RESTITUIT PATRIAE / A QUIBUS INGRATE SCELERATA MORTE PEREMPTUM / SED MERITUM SUMPSIT FACTIO SUPPLICIUM / NAM SCELERIS TANTI AFFINIS QUICUMQUE FUISSET / HIC FERRO AUT FLAMMA PREMIA DIGNA TULIT. On the monument and its models: Drogin, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 91-151.

45 Gnudi, *Niccolò dell'Arca*, p. 74; Grandi, "La scultura," p. 29; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 264, 311; Idem, "Professors and Princes," pp. 51-52; Idem, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 99-116.



FIGURE 21.6 *Annibale Bentivoglio, cenotaph, 1458, Bologna, church of San Giacomo Maggiore.*
 ALINARI/ART RESOURCE NY.

Annibale's funerary commemoration is in line with contemporary *condottieri* and princely monuments throughout Italy and Europe: it "humbly" commemorates Annibale in his actual role as military leader, and aspirationally suggests a role as head-of-state. The monument's themes include Tuscan influences mixed with local vernacular and familiarity with international and classicizing trends, all of which points to Sante Bentivoglio as patron, given how his background and career resonated with similar motifs.

Grander artistic commissions linked to Sante confirm his patronage strategies and adhesion to his mentor Cosimo de' Medici's prototypes. For instance, Sante likely began the Bentivoglio Chapel and, beginning in 1460 across the street, the Palazzo Bentivoglio. These adapted to a Bolognese context the Medici models of the Old Sacristy and Palazzo Medici. Like those, the chapel and palace mark the city with ecclesiastical and domestic stamps of the Bentivoglio as citizen-princes and as honorable for their acts of *magnificenza*. Both were likely designed by Pagno di Lapo Portigiani, a Tuscan architect and sculptor who, before coming to Bologna by 1453, worked with Donatello and Michelozzo in Florence, and whose mid-century Florence-Bologna trajectory paralleled Sante's.⁴⁶ This hybridity is seen in the Bentivoglio Chapel, with citations of Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy in its layout, classicism, and modular ratios, but embellished with Padana chromatic decorativeness.⁴⁷

The Bentivoglio Palace was an imposing but nuanced statement of Bentivoglio princely aspirations. Begun by Sante in 1460, it was completed by Giovanni II, who added a tower and, next to San Giacomo Maggiore across the street, barracks and stables.⁴⁸ The palace was razed in 1507 after the family's

46 Pagno worked with these artists on the tomb of Pope John XXIII in the Baptistry and the Tabernacle of the Annunciation in Santissima Annunziata. In Bologna he also worked on windows at San Petronio, the portico of San Pietro, and the Palazzo Bolognini. Billings Licciardello, "Notes on the Architectural Patronage," pp. 99-110; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 2, pp. 445-47; Von Fabriczy, "Pagno di Lapo Portigiani."

47 The chapel was probably begun by Sante but completed and decorated by his successor Giovanni II. A less likely scenario is that Giovanni demolished Sante's chapel and rebuilt the present one on its site. See Billings Licciardello, "Notes on the Architectural Patronage," pp. 2, 13-19; Brown, "The Church of Santa Cecilia"; Conti, "Cappelle di derivazione brunelleschiana"; Drogin, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 138-39; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 100; Malaguzzi Valeri, "La chiesa ed il portico"; Ottani Cavina, "La Cappella Bentivoglio"; Marr, "Die Erlösungsallegorie," p. 521.

48 Antonelli and Poli, *Il Palazzo dei Bentivoglio*, includes descriptions from contemporary sources and reproductions of primary documents and drawings; see pp. 39-56 on Sante and the palace's origins, pp. 57-95 from Giovanni II to the palace's destruction. Also Billings Licciardello, "Notes on the Architectural Patronage," pp. 179-241; Clarke, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," pp. 171-72; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 269-70;

flight from Julius II, but the main building (in a complex that covered 2 acres) was a three-story palace with its façade along Strada San Donato; its long portico had columns every 12.5 feet punctuating bays 25 feet square. A central corridor stretched from the entrance to the rear gardens, passing two or three courtyards. Lorenzo Costa and Francesco Francia frescoed heroic historical narratives, including in the rooms of Giovanni II and his eldest sons, Annibale II and Antongaleazzo, an apostolic protonotary. The chronicler Cherubino Ghirardacci wrote that Costa painted a courtyard with the *Fall of Troy* (of which two heads survive in Bologna's Pinacoteca Nazionale) and, in Giovanni's rooms, scenes from the 1470 tournament on the feast day of Saint Petronius in which Giovanni II was the victor (addressed below).⁴⁹ Vasari wrote that Francia decorated Giovanni's apartments with fictive reliefs of philosophers and the story of Judith and Holofernes.⁵⁰ A garden loggia was reportedly embellished with images of Greeks, Romans, and Persians, and Antongaleazzo's rooms contained *nobilissimi storie*.⁵¹ Francia also painted the barrack and stable façades with lives of paladin counts and Charlemagne, as well as coats-of-arms of princely families to whom the Bentivoglio were intermarried: the Sforza, d'Este, and Gonzaga.⁵² In scale and decoration, the palace was on par with contemporary examples such as the Medici Palace, the d'Este's Palazzo del Corte in Ferrara, and Federico da Montefeltro's palace in Urbino.⁵³ However, as appropriate for a republic's citizens, the "humble" brick construction tempered the palace's princely appearance, in contrast to castle-like court palaces in Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua; as noted by Georgina Clarke, this architectural modulation echoes the Medici's strategy with their palace, where princely grandeur is counterbalanced by rusticated stonework so that the family is posited as *primus inter pares*.⁵⁴

Giovanni II completed the palace so grandly because by the time he took Bologna's helm, the family was secure as Bologna's pseudo-princes. From 1463 until the Bentivoglio fled in 1506, Giovanni consolidated power and prestige, collecting rights, titles, and *condotte* from the Sforza, d'Este, Gonzaga, papacy,

Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 371; Marchesini, "Un portale erratico"; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, p. 145; Wallace, "The Bentivoglio Palace."

49 Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 226, 371-72; Varese, *Lorenzo Costa*, p. 9.

50 Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 3, pp. 539-40.

51 Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Bentivoglio, Serie Patrimoniale, Libro 21, Fascicolo 40.

52 Cuppini, *I palazzi senatorii a Bologna*, pp. 52-54; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 372.

53 Billings Licciardello, "Notes on the Architectural Patronage," pp. 204-12.

54 Clarke, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," p. 172.

and emperor.⁵⁵ However, his tenure also included violent upheaval: 1488 saw the Malvezzi conspiracy, the uncovering of which led to slaughter and exile of Giovanni's former allies; in 1501, the thwarting of the Marescotti conspiracy brought greater violence.⁵⁶

With Giovanni's signorial aspirations, his cultural activity marks another shift in the family's patronage patterns: rather than Annibale's focus on local paradigms of authority (with Antongaleazzo's tomb), or Sante's emulation of the Medici as leading citizens in a republic (with the chapel and palace architecture), Giovanni adapted northern Italian princes' artistic and political strategies, since these were the men from whom he drew his authority and whom he considered his peers. Indeed, Giovanni married Sante's widow Ginevra Sforza, cementing ties with the duchy in Milan and her Pesaro branch of the family.⁵⁷ It was also these princely families into which Giovanni married his children.

One way that Giovanni enacted his princely pretensions was with ludic rites, including usurpation of Bologna's civic festival, the Feast of Saint Petronius (4 October), and by celebrating related themes in art – a tactic common among Quattrocento peers. For instance, the Bentivoglio were protagonists of the 1470 and 1490 Saint Petronius festival games in Piazza Maggiore. As with the 1487 wedding celebrations for Giovanni's eldest son Annibale II and Lucrezia d'Este, these activities glorified the Bentivoglio in the eyes of Bologna's citizens and foreign dignitaries.⁵⁸

Annibale's wedding and the 1490 San Petronio festival were contemporary with Giovanni's decoration of the Bentivoglio Chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore and inform its pictorial program. Giovanni's commissions in the chapel began in 1488, with Lorenzo Costa's *Madonna and Child with Bentivoglio Family* on the

55 On this period and Giovanni princely aspirations: Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, pp. 103-33; Clarke, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," pp. 162-86; De Benedictis, "Quale 'corte'"; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 265-66; Idem, "The Bentivoglio," pp. 92-96; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 207-89; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*; Viroli, *I Bentivoglio*, pp. 81-208. Giovanni's *condotte* began with Ferdinand of Aragon in 1467 and continued through the 1490s, including payments as much as 30,000 ducats. Clarke, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," p. 172; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 265-66.

56 Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, pp. 103-10, 128-30; Belvederi, "*I Bentivoglio e i Malvezzi*," p. 58; Berti, *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*, pp. 68-72, 89; Nadi, *Diario bolognese*, pp. 144-45.

57 On Ginevra, see Bernhardt, "Behind the Scenes"; Eadem, "Ginevra Sforza."

58 Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, p. 171-74; Clarke, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," pp. 162-68; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 266-67; Idem, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 220-23; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 206, 257-62; Nadi, *Diario bolognese*, pp. 120-24, 156-57.

right wall, continued in 1490 with Costa's *Triumph of Fame* and *Triumph of Death* on the left wall (Fig. 21.7, 21.8), and ended in 1494 with Francesco Francia's *Madonna and Child with Saints* altarpiece. As in other of Costa and Francia's paintings from this period, both artists amalgamated Ferrarese, Tuscan, and Umbrian models into their own idiom.⁵⁹ Costa's lithe, spindly figures in broad settings speak to his Ferrarese roots and training with Ercole de' Roberti, while Francia's polished, classicizing figures show his orientation toward central Italian sources and Venice, including the work of Ghirlandaio, Perugino, and Giovanni Bellini. This marks a move away from Bolognese standards defined by Zoppo and Cossa's mid-century painting, as well as from the Ferrarese influence dominant in Costa's work.

Costa's painting most clearly articulates Giovanni II Bentivoglio's efforts to assume a princely guise for the dynasty, starting with the 1488 family portrait representing Giovanni and Ginevra on either side of an enthroned Virgin and Child with 11 children below. The painting speaks to a moment when Giovanni forged dynastic identity, as confirmed by the group portrait of Giovanni's ancestors, immediately to the right (destroyed by the reinstallation of Annibale I's equestrian relief). Giovanni's pictorial investment in dynastic identity was catalyzed by Annibale II's recent wedding to Lucrezia d'Este and concomitant hopes for extending the family line. Concern about the dynasty's vitality was also catalyzed by the recent Malvezzi conspiracy. Indeed, the "family portrait" quality of the painting overshadows its nature as a devotional image.⁶⁰

In 1490, Costa painted the facing, north wall with the paired scenes of the *Triumph of Fame* and the *Triumph of Death*. These paintings integrate Petrarchan triumphal imagery – the Fame painting conflated with a *Triumph of Fortune* – with generations of Bentivoglio portraits, promoting the Bentivoglio's dynastic authority and positioning Annibale II as the next prince.⁶¹ Costa primarily drew from Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* and *Triumphus Fame*, from the six-part cycle featuring allegorical triumphal processions. In the *Triumph of Death*, on the right, chariot-riding skeletons lead a procession of figures of varying status, wealth, and undress, articulating the universality of death. Watching the procession, but not following it, are assorted Bentivoglio figures: several of Giovanni's daughters stand on the left, including Laura holding a green flag (corresponding to Petrarch's Laura as Chastity, in the poem). Some of Giovanni's sons also appear: Apostolic Protonotary Antongaleazzo is in black at lower right and Alessandro, Giovanni's second-youngest son, stands

59 Bacchi, "Vicende della pittura," pp. 310-27; Varese, *Lorenzo Costa*, pp. 17-24.

60 Nieuwenhuizen, "Worldly Ritual," p. 193.

61 Drogin, "Representations of Bentivoglio Authority," pp. 188-211.



FIGURE 21.7 *Lorenzo Costa, Triumph of Fame/Fortune, 1490, Bologna, church of San Giacomo Maggiore. ALINARI/ART RESOURCE NY.*



FIGURE 21.8 *Lorenzo Costa, Triumph of Death, 1490, Bologna, church of San Giacomo Maggiore. ALINARI/ART RESOURCE NY.*

on the other side of the chariot. The family functions as bystanders, corresponding to the still-living witnesses representing glory and happiness whom Petrarch describes in the poem, where he writes of a “schiera di donne, non dal corpo sciolto,” and a “bella compagnia [...] ivi accolta pure a vedere e contemplare il fine.”⁶²

The *Triumph of Fame*, on the left, includes sky-borne roundel scenes that suggest this painting is combined with a Triumph of Fortune, illustrating Fortune's changing favors with scenes from Antiquity.⁶³ The entourage below includes Ginevra Sforza and additional daughters, along with five generations of Bentivoglio leaders – most notably Giovanni II and his eldest son, Annibale II, in the foreground.⁶⁴ The painting's emphasis on Fortune and Annibale II's appearance in festive attire link it to the 1490 Saint Petronius tournament, where Annibale triumphed over the Bolognese militia captain, fighting for Fortune in a politically weighted allegorical battle. Meanwhile, Giovanni II converses with a bearded, turbaned man and another in armor. Giovanni thus aligns himself with the Active and Contemplative Lives, Arms and Letters – the areas with which Fame saves man from the obsolescence of death, and the two complementary fields in which ideal Renaissance princes excelled.⁶⁵ Giovanni's appearance in full armor is also a nod toward his many *condotte*.

This imagery complemented related themes of dynasty and leadership in the chapel's earlier artwork, addressed above regarding Annibale's equestrian relief and Antongaleazzo's tomb. This iconography reified the Bentivoglio's sense of self and was also directed toward illustrious guests, including Duke Ercole d'Este, who attended events in the chapel such as Giovanni II's regular knightings.⁶⁶ The chapel was therefore a semi-public stage of courtly rites and self-fashioning and is an example of Giovanni II emulating courtly peers who decorated similar spaces with related imagery in Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, and Florence. The links to the Medici example – Gozzoli's *Journey of the Magi* frescoes in the Palazzo Medici chapel, representing generations of Medici leaders in idealizing, allegorical roles – are the strongest. Both reference civic festivals appropriated for dynastic gain and, in both chapels, Lorenzo and Annibale II are prioritized as future dynastic leaders, with courtly glorification cloaked in

62 Petrarch, *Triumphus mortis* 1, 106-12.

63 Wegener, “*Mortuary Chapels*,” pp. 194-205. The narratives are taken from Dio Cassius and Diodorus Siculus. See also Ottani Cavina, “La Cappella Bentivoglio,” pp. 120-24.

64 Marr, “Die Erlösungsallegorie,” p. 528.

65 Nieuwenhuizen, “Worldly Ritual,” p. 196.

66 On the chapel as stage for performing signiorial identity, see Clarke, “Giovanni II Bentivoglio”; De Benedictis, “Quale ‘corte’”; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 264, 291-92; Nieuwenhuizen, “Worldly Ritual.”

decorous literary or biblical imagery. Such "camouflage" was necessary because the Medici and Bentivoglio were republican citizens who could not explicitly celebrate themselves as princes, unlike titled contemporaries. And, both the Medici and Bentivoglio programs are, unlike court examples, in religious spaces used as rule-affirming ceremonial stages.

Giovanni II extended the Bentivoglio footprint at San Giacomo Maggiore and near the palace in the 1480s and early 1500s with the Oratory of Saint Cecilia, located behind the Bentivoglio Chapel and the apse of San Giacomo Maggiore, and originally an autonomous church before being annexed to its neighbor in 1323.⁶⁷ Giovanni II financed its renovations after building (with Virgilio Malvezzi, in 1481) the portico along San Giacomo's flank that necessitated raising the oratory's floor.⁶⁸ The Bentivoglio considered this another family space, as evidenced by the 1506 letter to Isabella d'Este from Giovanni's son Antongaleazzo, who referred to it as "Giovanni's new chapel."⁶⁹ Around 1504, Giovanni commissioned frescoes representing scenes from the lives of Saints Cecilia, Tiburtius, and Valerian. These were painted c.1505 by Costa and Francia, joined by native Bolognese painter Amico Aspertini – each painting two facing frescoes – and, after the Bentivoglio fled in 1506, others including Bagnacavallo the Elder, Chiodarolo, and Cesare Tamaroccio.⁷⁰

The frescoes by Aspertini, Costa, and Francia are loosely coordinated in their continuous landscape and figural groupings; Costa and Francia's paintings also share a quiet gracefulness. The paintings are nonetheless discrete statements of Costa's and Francia's mature styles and, for Aspertini, a distinct approach in his first major Bolognese work. For example, on the one hand Costa's *Saint Cecilia Donating Alms* echoes his Ferrarese heritage in the figures'

67 Brown, "The Church of Santa Cecilia"; Calvesi, *Gli affreschi*; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 271-73; Idem, "Bologna's Bentivoglio Family," pp. 89-90; Scaglietti, "La Cappella"; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 3, pp. 539-40.

68 Brown, "The Church of Santa Cecilia," p. 317; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 341; Nadi, *Diario bolognese*, p. 98; Scaglietti, "La Cappella," p. 135.

69 Scaglietti, "La Cappella," p. 145, fn. 16; Faietti and Scaglietti Kelesian, *Amico Aspertini*, p. 134.

70 Aspertini painted the *Martyrdom* and the *Burial of Saints Valerian and Tiburtius*, Costa painted *Saint Cecilia Donating Alms* and the *Conversion of Saint Valerian*, and Francia painted the *Marriage* and *Burial of Saint Cecilia*. The other four frescoes' attribution is uncertain, although Tamaroccio likely painted the *Baptism of Valerian* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia*, and Chiodarolo or Bagnacavallo the Elder painted the *Coronation of Saints Cecilia and Valerian* and *Saint Cecilia before Almachio*. Colombi Ferretti, "La pittura in Romagna"; Ekserdjian, "Amico Aspertini"; Faietti and Scaglietti Kelesian, *Amico Aspertini*, pp. 134-35; Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, pp. 105-11.

attenuation and calligraphic drapery; Francia's more classicizing harmonies (as in the *Marriage of Saint Cecilia*) show emulation of Perugino and early Raphael. Aspertini, on the other hand, distinguished himself with an antiquarianism (including grotesques), dynamism, and lively, even contorted physicality drawn from contemporaries such as Filippino Lippi, Luca Signorelli, Pinturicchio, and Piero di Cosimo (Fig. 21.9).⁷¹ Overall, the oratory frescoes reflect the state of Bolognese painting c.1500 and also the character of the city under Giovanni II, ranging from elegant courtliness to unpolished dynamism and outbreaks of violence; in the words of Bruno Basile, it was a city of "Bentivoglio marble" and "Bolognese brick," a dichotomy evident in these paintings.⁷²

Giovanni II also integrated the Bentivoglio into Bologna's topography with public projects.⁷³ The aforementioned construction of the portico on San Giacomo Maggiore marked a long stretch of Strada San Donato leading to the Bentivoglio Palace from the city center.⁷⁴ Even more conspicuous was Giovanni's involvement with the Palazzo del Podestà, the seat of the chief magistrate, facing San Petronio in Piazza Maggiore (Fig. 21.10). The 13th-century building was the oldest civic structure in this central urban theater and was thus a prominent site for its location, heritage, and purpose.⁷⁵ Although the project began as a renovation, the *Sedici* commissioned a new building (perhaps with Aristotele Fioravanti as architect) in 1472, naming Giovanni II Bentivoglio as an overseer in 1483. It was almost complete by 1500.⁷⁶ With Giovanni's involvement, its architecture should be read as part of his strategy of artistic self-fashioning, like the chapel and palace.⁷⁷ And it was a bold statement: in a city dominated by late medieval architecture, the building's classicism was a conspicuous departure and showed Giovanni aligning himself and Bologna with patrons and cities on the forefront of the early Renaissance's classical revival – specifically the men and places from whom Giovanni gained

71 Bacchi, "Vicende della pittura," pp. 327-35; Dacos, *La découverte*, pp. 39-40, 82; Faietti and Scaglietti Kelesian, *Amico Aspertini*, pp. 131-36; Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, pp. 60-62; Scaglietti, "La Cappella," pp. 135-37.

72 Basile, *Le Porrettane*, pp. XXV-XLIII.

73 Clarke, "Magnificence and the City"; Eadem, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," pp. 170-76; Tamborrino, "Bologna, XV-XVI secolo."

74 Clarke, "Giovanni II Bentivoglio," pp. 174-76.

75 Miller, *Renaissance Bologna*, pp. 74-82; Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, p. 16.

76 Billings Licciardello, "Notes on the Architectural Patronage," pp. 150-77; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, p. 263; Nadi, *Diario bolognese*, pp. 100, 111; Sighinolfi, *L'architettura bentivolesca*, pp. 74, 147, 153 and docs. 1, 7; Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, pp. 27-28; Zucchini, *La facciata*, p. 11.

77 Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, p. 28.



FIGURE 21.9 *Amico Aspertini, Martyrdom of Saints Valerian and Tiburtius, c.1505, Bologna. Oratory of Santa Cecilia. SCALA/ART RESOURCE NY.*



FIGURE 21.10 *Palazzo del Podestà, c.1485-1500, Bologna.* ALINARI/ART RESOURCE NY.

his authority and whom he considered his peers.⁷⁸ The proportions, compound piers, and superimposed orders recall Brunelleschi, Alberti, Filarete, and Bernardo Rossellino, and point to landmarks such as Pius II's buildings in Pienza, Paul II's Palazzo Venezia in Rome, and other examples of progressive Tusco-Roman architecture associated with leading citizens of Florence, Rome, and central Italy.⁷⁹

Other infrastructure and urban projects in the late Quattrocento – particularly in preparation for Emperor Maximilian's visit in 1494 – transformed Bologna and reflected positively on Giovanni II's stewardship. Commercial viability improved considerably in late 1494, when the city gained more direct access to the Reno and Po rivers through the Porto Nuovo at Porta Galliera and the newly completed Canale del Reno.⁸⁰ From 1496 to 1499, the Via Emilia between Piazza Maggiore and San Francesco, along the northern side of the Palazzo Comunale, was renovated to host a market. This facilitated moving the

⁷⁸ Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, pp. 28-30.

⁷⁹ Billings Licciardello, "Notes on the Architectural Patronage," pp. 175-77.

⁸⁰ Berti, *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*, p. 78; Nadi, *Diario bolognese*, p. 178.

overcrowded market from Piazza Maggiore, transforming that square into a more regularized, ceremonial space that, as discussed above, was site of civic and Bentivoglio-sponsored rites.⁸¹ In this way, citizens and visitors, from merchants to emperors, saw Bologna marked by Giovanni's *magnificenza* and modernizing interventions, enhancing perceptions of his rule.

The 1490s also saw Michelangelo's first stay in the city: he arrived in late 1494 and was hosted for a year by Gian Francesco Aldrovandi, an associate of Giovanni II who arranged for Michelangelo to make three figures for the unfinished Arca di San Domenico.⁸² These are *Saint Petronius*, next to Niccolò dell'Arca's *Saint Dominic*; *Saint Proculus* on the rear; and a candle-holding *Angel* at the right front corner. These sculptures are among Michelangelo's earliest public works but demonstrate a savvy artistry that integrates figures into their setting and forges directions that appear throughout his career.

Saint Petronius is the most prominent figure, for its placement and subject (Fig. 21.11). It stands in pronounced *contrapposto*, holding a model of the city before his left shoulder. Michelangelo emphasized its physicality, as in the prominent thigh and the hands' naturalism, and its heavily curling drapery. The most important precedent was Jacopo's version of the saint on San Petronio, because of affinities for a corporeal heftiness and thick, undulous drapery; nonetheless, Jacopo's figure has a gothic elegance that Michelangelo forgoes. Another important local model is Francesco del Cossa, whose figures have a similar physicality. Michelangelo might have drawn from Cossa's Garganelli frescoes or, more pointedly, Cossa's *Petronius* in the *Pala dei Mercanti*, which has a familiar liveliness in the drapery. Ercole de' Roberti, with his similarly serpentine lines, could also have been an influence.⁸³ And, given the long shadow that Ferrarese painting cast over 15th-century Bologna, perhaps the abstract arabesques in the garments of Michelangelo's *Petronius* point to Cosimo Tura.⁸⁴

Saint Proculus, representing a Bolognese saint highly venerated in the city, seems less indebted to regional precedents and foreshadows Michelangelo's *David*, particularly in the pose and troubled, psychologically intense gaze.

81 Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore*, pp. 31-34. For contemporary accounts: Bernardi, *Cronache forlivesi*, vol. 1, p. 146; Borselli, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum*, p. 114; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 290, 297; *Mathei de Griffonibus Memoriale*, pp. 486, 517, 550; Nadi, *Diario bolognese*, pp. 218-21, 254-55.

82 Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo*, pp. 16-17; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 275-77; Emiliani, "Michelangelo a Bologna," p. 129; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 8, pp. 146-47; Wallace, *Michelangelo*, pp. 54-56.

83 Bottari, *Larca*, p. 80.

84 Emiliani, "Michelangelo," p. 132; Wilde, *Six Lectures*, p. 29.



FIGURE 21.11 *Michelangelo, Saint Petronius, 1494-95, Bologna, basilica of San Domenico.*
ALINARI/ART RESOURCE NY.

There is no definitive explanation why this figure replaced Thomas Aquinas, whom Niccolò dell'Arca was to place there. Perhaps in the mid-1490s, Aquinas was too closely associated with Savonarola, problematically dominating Florence in those years, and Bologna's political instabilities at the time – threatening the *signoria* of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, Aldrovandi's friend and one of the original patrons of the Arca lid – motivated installing a local protector saint.⁸⁵

Michelangelo's *Angel* is heftier than Niccolò's lithe version and has a unique, soft fleshiness. Perhaps Michelangelo did this to integrate the figure with Nicola Pisano's reliefs on the Arca's base, immediately behind the angel, as these also have broad features and a plush carving.⁸⁶ This may be an early example of Michelangelo's self-fashioning, aligning him with Tuscan tradition (a priority throughout his career) as he emulates the Tuscan Pisano rather than the Puglian Niccolò dell'Arca.⁸⁷

Michelangelo left Bologna in 1495, reportedly because of tensions with envious Bolognese sculptors.⁸⁸ His first period in Bologna was part of the Bentivoglio era: his patron and the Arca were associated with them, and his points of reference were predominantly 15th-century Bolognese art. Michelangelo's next work in Bologna, the monumental bronze *Pope Julius II* for San Petronio's façade (1506-08), marked a shift: Michelangelo was then a renowned, mature artist and it was a new era in Bologna because on 1 November 1506 the Bentivoglio had fled in advance of Julius and allied forces.

In the summer of 1506, the pope had set out to retake "rebellious" cities in the Papal State.⁸⁹ Once in Bologna, Julius began programs illustrating his control of the city, and Michelangelo's bronze *Julius* was a centerpiece in Piazza Maggiore, joining Alfonso Lombardi's stucco *Julius* raised on the Palazzo del Commune in late 1506.⁹⁰ On 29 November 1506 in Bologna, Julius asked Michelangelo for the bronze statue for San Petronio's *frontespizio*, for which

85 Dodsworth, *The Arca*, pp. 36-38.

86 Luchs, "Michelangelo's Bologna Angel."

87 Luchs, "Michelangelo's Bologna Angel," p. 225. This theory, however, does not account for the strong Bolognese/Ferrarese tenor of *Saint Petronius*.

88 Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo*, p. 17.

89 Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, pp. 130-33; Bernardi, *Cronache forlivesi*, vol. 2, pp. 187-99; Berti, *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*, p. 119; Frati, *Le due spedizioni*; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, pp. 135-39; Tamba, "I documenti," p. 22; Zanardi, *La marcia*.

90 Beck, "Il cardinale Alidosi"; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 277-78; Podestà, "Intorno alle due statue," pp. 109-10.

the artist was to be paid 1000 ducats.⁹¹ Julius reportedly examined a model in Michelangelo's workshop two months later and their purported discussion articulates the project's symbolism: when Michelangelo asked whether the figure should hold a book, Julius replied, "What book! A sword, for what do I know of letters!" Michelangelo also suggested that the raised right arm was, rather than a benediction, a threat to rebellious Bolognese.⁹² And as a pointed statement of Julius's victory, the bronze came from the Bentivoglio Palace and a city canon.⁹³ The bronze *Julius* was hoisted onto San Petronio's façade on 21 February 1508. The seated figure was 9 or 13 feet tall, with the left hand holding papal keys and the right hand raised in its (threatening) gesture of benediction.⁹⁴

The sculpture was among assorted projects that illustrated Julius's domination, including instructing that the legate live in the abandoned Palazzo Bentivoglio (ultimately razed in the spring, 1507).⁹⁵ Julius commissioned a fortress at Porta Galliera, completed in August 1508. The intimidating fortifications – 137 by 234 meters – were built on remains of those commissioned by Pope Eugenius IV and faced Ferrara, where exiled Bentivoglio planned their return – it was thus connected to a history of papal fortitude and was a statement of continued vigilance.⁹⁶ Julius also commissioned a new wing for the Palazzo Comunale, designed by Bramante and envisioned as a proxy Vatican, as articulated by the *scalone* (like Bramante's grand Vatican staircase), the *aula magna*, and the chapel (imitating the Sistine).⁹⁷ The *Strada Giulia* with which Julius wanted to connect his Porta Galliera fortress to the Palazzo Comunale would have created an axis between papal nodes of military and civic power – like Pope Alexander VI's road connecting the Castel Sant'Angelo and the Vatican –

91 Beck, "Il cardinale Alidosi," pp. 215-21; Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo*, pp. 16, 28; De Tolnay, *The Youth*, p. 219; *Carteggio inedito*, vol. 2, pp. 85, 91; *Le lettere*, p. 427; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 7, pp. 168-72. On Michelangelo in Bologna, see Wallace, *Michelangelo*, pp. 76-88.

92 Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo*, p. 28, Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 7, p. 171; Wallace, *Michelangelo*, p. 85.

93 Podestà, "Intorno alle due statue," pp. 111, 113. The wax model was finished in April 1507 and was cast by July.

94 Vasari wrote it was 5 *braccia* tall and Michelangelo wrote it was 7, with about 23 inches to a Florentine *braccio*. *Le lettere*, pp. 75-80, 88, 427; Podestà, "Intorno alle due statue," pp. 111-13, 123; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 7, p. 170.

95 Berti, *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*, p. 116; Frati, *Le due spedizioni*, pp. 99-101; Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, pp. 371-72; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, p. 145; Zanardi, *La marcia*, p. 445.

96 Berti, *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*, p. 33; Tuttle, "Against Fortifications," pp. 191-92; Idem, "Julius II," p. 4.

97 Tuttle, "Julius II," pp. 5-6.

transforming Bologna into another Vatican Borgo.⁹⁸ In addition, the papacy explained that Julius had been implored by Saint Petronius to take Bologna and Julius personally translated the saint's remains to San Petronio.⁹⁹ He thereby justified his conquest as carrying out the patron saint's divine will and, overseeing the relics' translation, asserted his control over the city's spiritual identity. However, Julius's projects were mostly eradicated in the year the Bentivoglio regained control, from May 1511 to June 1512.¹⁰⁰ The fortress and stucco *Julius* were destroyed immediately and Michelangelo's bronze *Julius* was beheaded and pulled down in December 1511.¹⁰¹

Raphael soon left his mark in Bologna with the *Saint Cecilia Altarpiece*, painted between 1513 and 1516 for the chapel of the Blessed Elena Duglioli dell'Olio, in San Giovanni in Monte, new home of Saint Cecilia's relics (Fig. 21.12).¹⁰² Unlike Michelangelo's work in the city, Raphael's had a lasting local effect, seen through the graceful ecstasies represented in 17th-century Bolognese Baroque painting.¹⁰³ But like Michelangelo's bronze, Raphael's painting embodies the papal era's subordination of the Bentivoglio one, albeit more subtly: previously, Saint Cecilia's cultic site in Bologna was the Bentivoglio's Oratory of Saint Cecilia, which the new chapel at San Giovanni in Monte superseded with the saint's relics and a painting by the papal court artist.¹⁰⁴

The painting represents a group of standing saints before a landscape: Cecilia is surrounded by Paul, John the Evangelist, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene. Cecilia gazes in rapture at a cloud-borne vision of singing angels and drops her organ into a pile of broken instruments on the ground. The iconography relates to Neoplatonic concepts of the earthly and heavenly in relation to music and love: the virginal Cecilia listens to ideal *Musica angelica* or *Musica coelestis* from above, manifesting divine glory and (according to Saints John and Augustine) only accessible to those in a state of ecstasy; the broken instru-

98 Tuttle, "Julius II," p. 7.

99 Tuttle, "Julius II," p. 6.

100 Annibale II retook Bologna with help from the French but was abandoned by his allies and left the city definitively. Ady, *The Bentivoglio*, pp. 202-05; Berti, *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*, pp. 126-30; Sorbelli, *I Bentivoglio*, p. 158.

101 See contemporary accounts in Podestà, "Intorno alle due statue," pp. 109-10, 114-27.

102 See Duglioli's anonymous biography, Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, *Del nascimento della candidissima et Preclara Vergine Elena, Leggenda anonima*, B 4314, fol. 102; Drogin, "Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities," pp. 278-79; Mossakowski, "Raphael's 'St. Cecilia,'" p. 1; Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, pp. 196, 212-13, 267-68, 853-57, 1690; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 4, pp. 349-50; Zarri, "Storia di una committenza," p. 30.

103 Oberhuber, *Raphael. The Paintings*, p. 211.

104 Zarri, "Storia di una committenza," pp. 21-25.

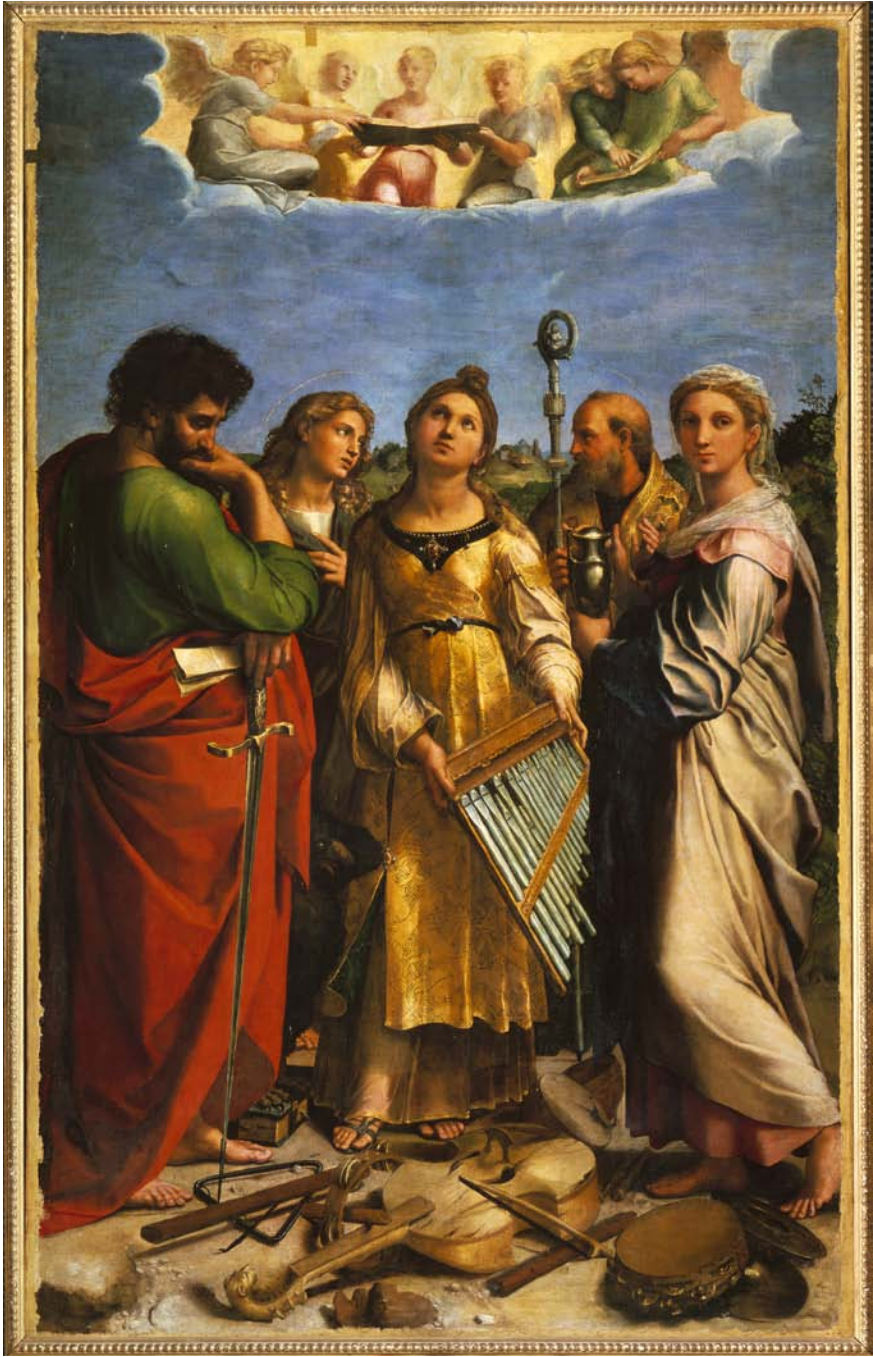


FIGURE 21.12 *Raphael, Saint Cecilia Altarpiece, 1513-16, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale. SCALA/ART RESOURCE NY.*

ments below represent *Musica instrumentalis*, secular music and the *vita voluptaria*.¹⁰⁵ The saints represent *Musica humana* and a conflation of body and soul that can bridge – with a chaste life and sacred music – the corrupt earthly world and the ideal, sacred one above.¹⁰⁶ Like Raphael's contemporary late paintings, *Saint Cecilia* displays early Mannerist gracefulness (as in Magdalene's spiraling form) as well as visionary themes.¹⁰⁷

The painting's iconography and role in Mannerism's origins are linked to its patronage. The Blessed Elena Duglioli – revered in Bologna for her chaste life – began the chapel at San Giovanni in Monte in 1513, shortly after Cardinal legate Alidosi presented her with Cecilia's relics.¹⁰⁸ She was close to the bishop of Pistoia, Antonio Pucci, who was associated with Duke Lorenzo de' Medici and his Neoplatonic circle as well as with Medici Pope Leo X, great patron of music and Raphael's leading patron in the years the artist engendered Mannerism. Pucci's background and connections suggest he likely funded the chapel and commissioned the painting from Raphael, to whom he had access through Medici associates; he likely also developed the altarpiece's iconography.¹⁰⁹

Vasari introduces Raphael's painting at the end of his biography of Francesco Francia, where he recounts that when Raphael shipped the painting to Bologna, he asked Francia to oversee its installation.¹¹⁰ According to Vasari, when Francia unpacked it and beheld the superiority of Raphael's painting, he fell ill and died of grief, melancholy, and obsolescence. This apocryphal account speaks to a Renaissance viewpoint that Raphael's painting marked the abrupt end of an era, Bologna's "long Quattrocento." Michelangelo and Raphael's works are not unusual as local interventions by major foreign artists – from Jacopo's sculptures at San Petronio, this was a norm in 15th-century Bolognese art, as explained in this essay. But Michelangelo and Raphael's Bolognese works are distinct and mark the end of an era because of the ways they not only embody new paradigms of style – from High Renaissance monumentality and

105 Oberhuber, *Raphael. The Paintings*, p. 212; Mossakowski, "Raphael's 'St. Cecilia,'" pp. 4-6.

106 Oberhuber, *Raphael. The Paintings*, pp. 211-12.

107 Bernardini, Zarri and Emiliani, *L'estasi di Santa Cecilia*, p. xxiii.

108 Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, *Del nascimento della candidissima et Preclara Vergine Elena, Leggenda anonima*, B 4314, fols. 100-01; Mossakowski, "Raphael's 'St. Cecilia,'" p. 16; Zarri, "Storia di una committenza," p. 29.

109 Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, *Del nascimento della candidissima et Preclara Vergine Elena, Leggenda anonima*, B 4314, fols. 100-02; Mossakowski, "Raphael's 'St. Cecilia,'" pp. 1-10; Pucci, "La Santa Cecilia," p. 6; Zarri, "Storia di una committenza," pp. 25, 29-31. Vasari writes the patron was Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, Antonio's uncle. Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 4, p. 349.

110 Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 3, p. 546. See also Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, pp. 87-91.

terribilità to Mannerist *grazia* and intellectualism – but also articulate Bologna's subordination to Rome as the second city of the Papal State.

Epilogue. Late Renaissance Bolognese Art after the “Long” Quattrocento

Bologna became well integrated into the Papal State in the 16th century, but what it lost in autonomy it made up for as a high-profile site of international events and related artistic activity.¹¹¹ For example, the city was the stage for reconciliation between Pope Clement VII and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1529-30, culminating in Charles' coronation. Bologna was again an international stage when the Council of Trent met there briefly in 1547. Such events, even more emphatically than Julius II's previous interventions, transformed Bologna into a proxy Vatican.

Befitting this identity, 16th-century Bologna saw major architectural development around Piazza Maggiore, most notably Vignola's Palazzo dei Banchi (c.1565) and Terribilia's Archiginnasio (c.1563), which centralized the university next to San Petronio, under Pope Pius IV and Vice-Legate and Governor Pier Donato Cesi. Cesi also commissioned Giambologna's bronze *Neptune Fountain* (1563-66). Boldly displaying Cesi and Pius's *stemmi* in the Piazza del Nettuno, adjacent to Piazza Maggiore, it marked the civic center with papal presence and beneficence. Likewise, Alessandro Menganti's large bronze *Pope Gregory XIII*, installed on the Palazzo Comunale in 1580, signaled papal oversight of Bologna, but also celebrated native son Ugo Boncompagni, elected pope in 1572.

For the first decades of the 16th century in painting, a “devout style” personified by Francesco Francia's son Giacomo, Bagnacavallo the Elder, Chiodarolo, and Garofalo, continued trends of docile, enraptured figures established by Costa, Francia, and Raphael's *Saint Cecilia*. This was followed by Mannerism in the region most associated with Correggio and Parmigianino in the 1520s and 1530s (the latter in Bologna 1527-30, when he painted the *Saint Roch* in San Petronio).

Later 16th-century Bolognese painting was shaped by the Council of Trent, the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, and Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti. These men shared a faith in painting's mandate to represent “truth”: the naturalist's endeavors encouraged an artistic milieu that was part of a proto-scientific

111 For a survey of the following topics, see Drogin, “Art, Patronage, and Civic Identities,” pp. 279-97.

quest for veracity; the cardinal encouraged art as a tool of doctrinal truth, as argued in his 1582 *Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre e profane*. This argued that painting must be direct, legible, chaste, and based on (Catholic-approved) fact, including facts of nature. Aldrovandi and Paleotti's views catalyzed Post-Tridentine changes already shaping contemporary painting, and should not be understood as directives imposed from above. From the 1550s onward, Prospero and Lavinia Fontana, Pirro Ligorio, Bartolomeo and Passerotto Passerotti, and Domenico Tibaldi, among others, tempered Mannerist themes with naturalist details or simplified compositions that foregrounded doctrinal and observed veracity.

In the 1580s, Annibale Carracci, his brother Agostino, and their cousin Ludovico built on intensifying themes of naturalism and narrative clarity to break from Mannerism and its perceived overreliance on imagination, inadequate study of nature, and overly polished appearance. Seeking an alternative to the Tusco-Roman, Mannerist hegemony espoused by Vasari, the Carracci drew strongly from regional, northern Italian art. Their boldly naturalistic style was characterized by intense colorism, *chiaroscuro*, brushwork, and narrative simplicity. The Carracci promoted their artistic philosophy through academy tradition, founding the Accademia dei Desiderosi (later the Accademia degli Incamminati) in 1582.

The Carracci reform was evident from the early 1580s in paintings including Annibale's *Bean-eater* and *Baptism*, or Ludovico's *Annunciation*, but their most significant early work was the frescoes for the Palazzo Fava (1584) and Palazzo Magnani (1590). In the former, they painted cycles including a frieze of Jason and Medea that articulate their nascent ideology, including growing interest in landscape. In the Magnani's palace, the Carracci frescoed an even bolder statement of monumental naturalism and narrative drama: a frieze of Romulus and Remus scenes in an illusion of marble-framed canvasses juxtaposed with atlantes, bronzes, and "real" satyrs and *putti*.

In 1595, Annibale and Agostino moved to Rome on Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's invitation. Annibale worked in Rome until his death in 1609, spreading the Carracci revolution and securing his fame with paintings including the Farnese Gallery ceiling, completed in 1601. With the Accademia in Bologna and with Annibale painting in the international spotlight of Rome, what had started out as a rebellious, rhetorically local Bolognese style morphed into a Baroque tradition that dominated 17th-century Western art – as with Guido Reni, the highest-paid and most sought-after painter of the time, coming from Bologna and the Carracci Academy. Ironically, the seeds of this hegemony were sown in a Renaissance city losing its autonomy to Roman domination; it was

only once Bologna was subordinated as a satellite in the Papal State that its art achieved a certain supremacy.

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